



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

1506 1/11/6 2vals

of 1 mott

187

~~3.13.4.2.~~

BX
5133
.F97
1891
V.1

VOLUME I.

THE COLLECTED SERMONS

OF

THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

THOMAS FULLER. S.T.D.

Ætat 53. 1661.

ALLISON

BRAND

MASTERS

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918

1919

1920

1921

1922

1923

1924

1925

1926

1927

1928

1929

1930

39600
THE
COLLECTED
SERMONS
OF
Thomas Fuller, D.D.
1631—1659.

Edited by
The late JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY, F.S.A.

Completed by
WILLIAM E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L.

VOLUME 1.

LONDON:
The Gresham Press.
UNWIN BROTHERS,
27, Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
PICKERING & CHATTO,
66, HAYMARKET, S.W.
M.D.CCC.XCI.

*This work is the Copyright of
Messrs. Untch Brothers,
and has been entered at Stationers' Hall.*

111
112

CONTENTS.



| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| EPISTLE DEDICATORY. <i>William E. A. Axon</i> | vii |
| LIFE AND WIT OF THOMAS FULLER. <i>John E. Bailey</i> | xi |

SERMONS.

| | |
|--|---------|
| 1631 (circa). A Comment on Ruth [preached circa 1631]. London, 1654. 8vo | 1 |
| 1640. Joseph's Party-coloured Coat; containing a comment on [the Institution, &c., of the Lord's Supper,] 1 Cor. xi. 18-30. Together with several [eight] Sermons [under noted]. London, 1640. 4to. | 107 |
| 1. Growth in Grace: 2 Pet. iii. 18 | 168 |
| 2. How far Examples are to be followed: Ruth i. 15 | 176 |
| 3. An ill match well broken off: 1 John ii. 15 | 185 |
| 4. Good from bad Friends: 2 Sam. xv. 31 | 192 |
| 5. A Glass for Gluttons: Rom. xiii. 13 | 198 |
| 6. How far Grace can be entailed: 2 Tim. i. 5 | 205 |
| 7. A Christening Sermon: 2 Kings v. 14 | 211 |
| 8. Faction confuted: 1 Cor. i. 12 | 221 |
| 1642. A fast Sermon preached on Innocents-Day [Wednesday 28th Dec., 1642]. London, 1642. 4to. Matt. v. 9 | 231 |
| 1643. A Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church of S. Peter in Westminster, Monday, 27th March, 1643, being the day of his Majesty's Inauguration. London, 1643. 4to. 2 Sam. xix. 30 | 262 |
| — A Sermon of Reformation, preached at the Church of the Savoy last Fast Day July 27 [26], 1643. London, 1643. 4to. Heb. ix. 10 | 289 |
| Following this Sermon is a reprint of Saltmarsh's "Examinations, or a Discovery of some Dangerous Positions" in the foregoing Sermon. London, 1643. 4to. To this Tract Fuller replied in:— | 315-404 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| 1643. Truth Maintained; or Positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: since traduced for dangerous: now asserted for sound and safe. Oxford, 1643. 4to. | 317-404 |
| 1644. Jacob's Vow: A Sermon preached before Charles I. and Prince Charles at St. Mary's in Oxford, Friday, May 10th, 1644, being the day of public fast. Oxford, 1644. 4to. Gen. xxviii. 20-22 | 405 |
| 1646. Feare of losing the old Light; or, a Sermon preached in Exeter. London, 1646. 4to. Rev. ii. 5 | 433 |
| 1647 (preached 1633). A Sermon of Assurance, first preached at Cambridge in 1633. London, 1647. 4to. 2 Pet. i. 10 | 459 |
| 1648. A Sermon of Contentment. London, 1648. 12mo. 1 Tim. vi. 6 | 491 |
| 1649. The Just Man's Funeral, lately delivered in a sermon at Chelsey before several persons of honour and worship. London, 1649. 4to. Eccles. vii. 15 | 507 |
| PASSAGES FROM SPENCER'S "STOREHOUSE." London, 1658. | 535 |
| 1647. God flow to anger and of great Patience | 543 |
| 1647. God's Infinite Power in the Resurrection of the Body | 543 |
| 1647. Riches have Wings | 544 |
| 1647. Not to continue angry | 544 |
| Undated. Blasphemous Language condemned | 545 |
| 1647. The Justice of God, what it is, and how defined | 546 |
| 1647. How it is that the proceedings of God in His justice are not so clearly discerned | 546 |
| 1648. Resurrection of the Body proved by a Natural Demonstration | 547 |
| 1648. The Great Difficulty of Forgiving One Another | 548 |
| 1649. Ministers to cry down the Sins of the Time | 548 |
| — Infirmities to be in the best of God's Children, and wherefore | 549 |
| — Knowledge and Learning to be Owned wheresoever they be Found | 549 |
| 1650. Consideration of God's Omnipresence to the Sinners Curb | 550 |
| — God, a Mercifull God | 551 |
| — The Several Expressions of God in His Mercies, and why so? | 552 |
| — The Generality of God's Knowledge | 552 |
| — The Great Danger of Sleighting the least Sinne | 553 |
| 1652. Graces of the Spirit to be held fast in the midst of temporal losses | 554 |
| — How to make a right use of the Doctrine of Predestination | 554 |

To the Rev. *JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A.*,
Senior Fellow of St. John's College
and Professor of Latin in the
University of Cambridge.



TO whom can I so appropriately dedicate this first collected edition of the Sermons of Thomas Fuller as to you, who so worthily represent the learning, the earnestness, and that union of enthusiasm and sobriety which is the note claimed, and not without good cause, for the University of Cambridge—the alma mater of the author of the *Worthies of England*, of the *Church History of Britain*, of *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, and of so many other contributions to the solid and enduring literature of English history and English theology.

The reputation of a wit and humourist has, with some, obscured Fuller's claims as a man of solid learning, of genuine historical temper, and of fine ethical instincts. There is nothing so permanent as the religious spirit of man, but there is nothing so fleeting and variable as the form of its expression. Each age makes its own theology, for each fresh generation is assailed by fresh temptations and has need of fresh aids and new inspiration. This explains the rapidity with which pulpit discourses, as a rule, become obsolete.

Fuller belonged to an age which caught a reflection from the glories of the Elizabethan period, and before church oratory had frozen into the decorous commonplaces that were current in the "Augustan" period of Anne and the early Georges. Yet there are many of Fuller's contemporaries, possibly of equal or even greater contemporary popularity, whose sermons would not bear reprinting. His, however, preserve their vitality. This is partly no doubt due to the peculiar charm of his remarkably original style; the odd fancies and the daring but always reverent conceits; the entirely unexpected light in which old truths are placed and old texts freshly illustrated. But something is also due to his sobriety of judgment, and his constant desire to attain the golden mean. This is in all ages an offence to the zealots of the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left, and the man who aims to walk in this middle path must expect to be misjudged; to be denounced by one section as an obstructive and by another as a more or less disguised revolutionary. Fuller did not escape this danger, and yet living in times when Civil War divided all England into two hostile camps, he had the esteem of good men of all parties, and managed to retain and to use with frankness and vigour a liberty of prophesying which was neither a needless source of irritation nor a smoothing down of the truth, as he held it, to mere commonplace. His sermons deal with some temporary matters, but are for the most part concerned with the permanent elements in human nature and human life. Whoever will dig into them will find in them the solid gold of wisdom, of consolation, and of reproof.

It is strange that Fuller should have waited so long for a biographer; it is strange that two centuries should have passed away before his sermons were collected from the necessary ephemeral form of their first publication. Either of these tasks might have been congenial work for one of the many sons of Cambridge, who give themselves to the pursuits of learning and literature. Both were undertaken by a busy Manchester man, the late Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A. When he was attending the evening classes of the Owens College, a casual remark let fall by the teacher, the

Rev. William Gaskell—the accomplished husband of that woman of finest genius, Mrs. Gaskell, authoress of *Wives and Daughters*)—fell upon fruitful soil. The teacher pointed out the great interest and originality of Fuller's style, and the want in our biographical literature of an adequate memorial of his varied life, which was cast in a period so picturesque in aspect and so profoundly important for its struggle between great conflicting principles. Mr. Bailey took the task in hand, and his bright and scholarly lecture on "The Wit and Wisdom of Thomas Fuller" became the nucleus of the solid and masterly *Life of Thomas Fuller*, which appeared in 1874, and at once took its place as a standard biography. The warm welcome which this book received at the hands of all competent critics encouraged Mr. Bailey to embark upon the project of collecting and editing the Sermons of Fuller. He had made considerable progress, when apparently the first symptoms of the illness which eventually proved fatal, caused him to lay it aside. For several years it remained in an incomplete state, and after his death there was nearly all the first volume printed and a portion of the second, but neither was finished. The task of completing the book has not been an easy one, as may easily be imagined. The fine series of Fulleriana collected by Mr. Bailey were purchased by Messrs. Taylor, Garnett and Co., and by them presented to the Manchester Free Library. This included his MS. materials, and these, of course, have been freely used. I do not doubt that there are other signs by which they may be distinguished, but the introductions to the sermons which fell to me to edit after Mr. Bailey's death, are marked with the letter A. To Mr. Bailey are due vol. i. p. 1 to p. 528 ; and vol. ii. p. 17 to p. 96. But vol. i. p. 529 to p. 556 had been set in type and only needed the final revision, and vol. ii. p. 1 to p. 16 was in the same condition. The introductory notice of Fuller is a reprint of Mr. Bailey's lecture, originally delivered more than a quarter of a century ago. At the beginning of the second volume will be found a brief memorial notice of John Eglington Bailey. His premature death was a sad loss to English scholarship for there were few who were so deeply familiar with the intricate move-

ments of theological thought and feeling in this country during the seventeenth century.

That the work as now presented has not the form and completeness which it might have received from the hands of the original editor, is a fact of which I am fully conscious, but the worth of Fuller's own writings, and the large amount of the editing that was done by my dead friend would give value to the undertaking, whatever might be the shortcomings of the continuator. The tract on the Jews at the end of vol. ii., (a portion of which is taken from the *Holy Warre*,) has all the appearance of pulpit use. Strangely enough it had eluded Mr. Bailey's researches and was quite unknown to him.

In you, my dear Professor Mayor, I am sure of a candid, a competent, and a kindly critic ; for you know that my task has been a labour of love and duty, prosecuted amidst the urgent pressure of a busy life, and amidst dark shadows of domestic sorrows. These volumes are to me a memorial of the beloved friend who was not permitted to end the work he had so well begun. They have been with me in busy Manchester, by the sands of our Lancashire estuaries, by the shores of North Wales, and by our southern coast, where first the Norman conqueror landed—with me, alas ! whilst watching dear ones fading out of life into eternity.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.



THE LIFE AND WIT
OF
THOMAS FULLER, D.D.

BY THE LATE
JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY.



[This lecture was delivered before the Manchester Phonographic Union in 1863, and is reprinted from Pitman's Popular Lecturer, January, 1864.]

IN bringing before you some remarks on the life and wit of that "reverend divine and learned historian," as his anonymous biographer terms the subject of my address, I labour under the disadvantage of having to speak of a man whose writings, once famous, are now but very little read and sparingly referred to; whose life, spent in the service of his country, is unhonoured; and whose name is vaguely and trivially spoken of, as that of one who has no special claim on our attention. I want to show you, this evening, that THOMAS FULLER was a man who *has* some claim on our gratitude; that he was no mean author, and belonged to no mean age; that at one time he occupied a very conspicuous position in English literature, and (if not a conspicuous) an important post at a critical time in English history; and that though in respect to his writings, the opinion of the world has changed, and but little attention is bestowed upon them, yet there may there be found a vast amount of shrewd common sense and old English wit, expressed in pithy and forcible language; and from his life there may be gathered lessons pregnant of good.

Like the quaint age in which he lived, Fuller's mind was most 'eccentric, and this has made him "the very strangest writer in our language. Perhaps no man ever excelled him in fulness and readiness of wit;" and this—added to the plain and practical sense which pervades his writings, and which is so characteristic of this nation—makes it "passing strange" that his works should be permitted to die out, and be so scarce and difficult to obtain as some of them are. But ingratitude is ever to be met with, both in contemporaries and posterity. Fuller's works were well abused, as well during his life as since; but he has occasionally met with a generous reception from some of his critics, whose references to him have helped, in some degree, to preserve his works. Coleridge said of him, after reading his *Church History*—"Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous;" and "Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced great man, of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men." And the genial essayist, Charles Lamb, has commended Fuller's writings, and added a few specimens of his composition; which notice is sufficient to incite any lover of our English literature to take this quaint and witty author into closer companionship.

The authentic sources from which the particulars of his life are to be gathered, are very few, and those few are very dull and dreary compositions for so lively a subject. Aided, however, by these, and the references to himself contained in his works, I have (to use one of his own modest expressions) "endeavoured" his life, my remarks being taken from more voluminous notes which I have collected for a biographical memoir.

His name may be said to be both a fortunate and an unfortunate one—fortunate, as giving us the idea of substance and solidity, very appropriate to an author whose works, compared with others, are "not only *fuller* in useful matter and varied interest, but (as a punster of his own day would have said) *fuller* in spirit, *fuller* in wit, in fact, *Fuller* throughout—"Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, *full*:"" unfortunate, as when he good-humouredly but unwittingly is said to have asked one Mr. Sparrowhawk, "What is the difference between an owl and a sparrowhawk?" received for reply, "An owl is *fuller* in the head, *fuller* in the face, and *Fuller* all over!"

His lot was cast in eventful and perilous times, when England was, on a small scale, in the same state in which America is now on a great one,—devastated and cursed by the most dreadful form of war. He was born in the year 1608, and was the elder of two sons of the Rev. Thomas Fuller, rector of St. Peter's, Aldwincle,—a place also famous in giving birth to the poet Dryden. This village is situated on the river Nene, in Northamptonshire; and, says Fuller, "if that worthy county esteem me no disgrace to it, I esteem it an honour to me." At his day it was a most populous and fruitful county—"Sixteen several towns, with their churches, have at one time been discovered by my eyes, which are none of the best; and God grant," he piously and quaintly adds, "that those who are sharper-sighted may never see fewer!" On opposite sides of Aldwincle were situated the dwelling of Mr. Brown, the founder of the sect known as the Brownists, and the demesne of Francis Tresham, one of the activities in the Gunpowder Plot. Ever on the look-out for what he calls "observables" and "remarkables," Fuller learnt from this circumstance the wisdom of being moderate; he would ever try to hit the golden mean, avoiding the fanaticism of the Anabaptist on the one hand, and the fiery zeal of the Jesuit on the other. Fuller conformed his life to this decision.

He speaks of his father as a "painful [*i.e.* painful or painstaking] preacher;" and it appears he was also a learned man. He was one who obeyed the apostolic injunction, "Live peaceably with all men," for he was careful to avoid every occasion of strife. It was under his superintendence that the education of his son was conducted—so successfully that at the age of thirteen, becoming a scholar before he was a man, young Thomas was ready for college, and to Cambridge he was accordingly sent. He was admitted into Queen's College, of which his maternal uncle, Bishop Davenant, was president. This worthy doctor took a great interest in the welfare of the boy, and it is probable that his nephew refers largely to him when he "charactered" the "Good Bishop," in his *Holy State*. Dr. Davenant was an excellent instructor of youth.

Thomas's intellect seems early to have manifested itself. If we may believe an anecdote which Aubrey has left of him, he was a very precocious and strange lad. "He was a boy of pregnant wit, and when the bishop (Davenant) and his father were discoursing, he would be by and hearken, and now and then

put in, and sometimes beyond expectation or his years. He was of a middle stature, strong set, curled hair, a very working head, insomuch that walking and meditating before dinner, he would eat up a penny loaf, not knowing that he did it."

In 1629, he removed to Sidney Sussex College, and as the fruit of his studies during the past years, he received the degrees of B.A. and M.A. His success must, however, partly be attributed to the teachers who trained his mind, being very fortunate in that respect. Dr. Ward was the president of this college; and in the place accorded to him among the *Worthies of Durham*, Fuller says of this divine—"He turned with the times, as a rock riseth with the tide"—a fine and expressive simile.

Fuller was appointed, in 1630, to the curacy of St. Benet, Cambridge; and it was while here that his abilities as a preacher first shone forth, his lectures being well attended. Here he delivered his *Lectures on the Book of Ruth*, which, however, were not printed till many years afterwards.

In his twenty-third year, he was presented by his uncle with a prebendal stall in the county of Dorset: in the same year, also, appeared his first publication. His first attempt, like that of all young authors, was poetical; and in this poem appear many of the peculiarities which afterwards made him so famous. Its characteristic title was *David's Hainous Sinne; Heartie Repentance; Heavie Punishment*; and was dedicated — (dedications were both necessary and fashionable then) — to the three sons of Lord Montague, a hospitable old English baron of worshipful estate, whose family were personal and highly-valued friends of the author. This work was never re-published, and is therefore very scarce. Mr. Fuller wrote very little poetry after this. Poetry, like music, he used to say, was excellent sauce, "but they have lived and died poor who made them their meat."

Rapidly advancing in church preferment, Fuller, in 1634, collated to the rectory of Broad-Winsor, a neat and picturesque little village, near Bridport, in Dorsetshire. Here he spent some happy moments among a flock that became endeared to him, and he to them. He was an earnest pastor, and bears some resemblance to the character of "The Faithful Minister," whom he has sketched in his *Holy State*. Like "Holy George Herbert," his whole soul appears to have been in his work; and his "dear and loving charge" highly esteemed him.

In 1635, Fuller revisited Cambridge, and attained the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; but on returning home, he got rid of another kind of bachelorship in his marriage. His happiness was, however, short-lived, for after giving birth to a son, his wife died; and though this severe affliction was rendered less acute in the active discharge of his ministry, it must have preyed upon his mind, and may, ultimately, have led him to seek change of scene and forgetfulness in the stormy times which characterized London life before the breaking out of the Civil War.

At Broad-Winsor, in his leisure moments, he had diligently been occupying himself in planning for publication some of those books on which his fame chiefly rests, though the distractions of the times delayed their publication for several years. "In the amenity and retirement of this rural life," says his biographer, "some perfection was given to those pieces which, soon after, blest this age. From this pleasant prospect he drew that excellent piece of *The Holy Land, Pisgah-sight*, and other tracts relating thereto; so that what was said bitterly of some tyrants, that they made whole countries vast solitudes and deserts, may be inverted to the eulogy of this doctor, that he, in these recesses, made deserts—the solitudes of Israel—the frequented path and track of all ingenious and studious persons."

One of the results of his researches appeared in 1639, being a History of the Crusades, entitled *History of the Holy War*. This strange and witty history at once attracted attention, and brought fame to the author. The droll way in which the history is written, and the lively figures which his rich imagination suggested, render this work extremely amusing. Every page of it sparkles with wit, and yet it is a work of considerable research, and shows that the writer had the necessary requirements of an historian.

While residing at Broad-Winsor, Fuller published many sermons, with odd titles, as might be expected. His discourses are characterized by their practical piety, earnestness, outspokenness, benevolence, and moderation. They are not witty productions, though even here his wit occasionally breaks out, as if it could not be confined. All his works are aptly termed "quaint," in the modern acceptation of the word; but in Fuller it also had its original meaning—"scrupulously elegant or exact"—a style of composition which, with him, was not artificial (as was the case with many

authors of this quaint age), but natural. "Such was his natural bias to conceits, that I doubt not," says Lamb, "upon such occasions, it would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them."

In 1640, we find Fuller in London, in the midst of the strife which ushered in the Civil War. He was appointed a member of the celebrated Convocation at which the Observances were discussed, and the passing of which was followed by such opposition on the part of the Puritans and Parliamentarians. Fuller is, perhaps, the only historian who has left a minute and impartial account of this assembly. He took no active part in it, and his opinion was, that the measures adopted were far too stringent.

As soon as the position of affairs grew more serious and determined, Fuller began to use his influence to avoid the appeal to arms. Though by conviction he was a royalist, he was not a partisan, but had respect to the rights of the people. He used his influence, as befitting his profession, in favour of peace, endeavouring to calm the angry feelings which were fomented. The pulpit was then a powerful agency, and Fuller had great influence. On arriving in London, whither his fame as a preacher and author had preceded him, his discourses were attended by crowds, and he became at once "a popular preacher." He does not appear, however, to have been so weak-minded as to have been led away by popular applause: a sermon preached about this time, shows that he was alive to its dangers. Speaking of pastors whose churches are crowded by the thickest audiences, he says—"Let them not pride themselves with the bubble of popular applause, often as carelessly gotten, as undeservedly lost. Have we not seen those who have preferred the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt before heavenly manna?—lungs before brains, and the sounding of a voice before soundness of matter?" He usually preached at the Inns of Court, but his pulpit acquirements procured for him the lectureship at the Savoy, and the duties of this post he faithfully discharged for two years. "He had, in his narrow chapel, two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church, and the sextonry, so crowded as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse." No wonder that amidst the chaos into which the then prevalent conflicting opinions had plunged the nation, the voice of such a preacher was welcomed—welcomed as one who might prove the messenger of peace, to avert the war

which all good men dreaded. Fuller's sermons form a striking contrast to those of his time, which were bigoted, intolerant, and narrow-minded, their tendency being to hasten the war. "Our English pulpits for these eighteen years," says Fuller, in one of his *Thoughts*, "have had in them too much cardinal anger, vented by snapping and snarling spirits on both sides. But if you bite and devour one another, saith the apostle (Gal. v. 15), take heed that ye be not devoured one of another."

At last the war broke out, and the king fled to Oxford with many of the nobility. On a fast-day being ordered by the parliament, Fuller preached at his chapel of the Savoy, taking as his text, "Blessed are the peacemakers." In his discourse, he exposed the unchristian character of war. The sword, he argued, was no discerner between truth and falsehood; "it may have two edges, but hath never an eye." He advised peaceable measures, the petitioning of the king and parliament to make mutual concessions, the putting aside of the party names which had sprung up, and a general repentance.

About this time (1642), Fuller published his *Holy State and Profane State*, which he had long had in hand. It was once very popular, but is now seldom read. The plan of the book has been adopted by many celebrated writers; it professes to describe the characters of various persons, such as "The Good Husband," "The Good Schoolmaster," "The Good Prince," &c. The work commences with a delineation of "The Good Wife," giving in the opening sentence one of his characteristic, droll, and ridiculous reasons for so doing:—"St. Paul to the Colossians, chap. iii. verse 18, first adviseth women to submit to their husbands, and then counselleth men to love their wives. And, sure, it was fitting that women should first have their lesson given them, because it is hardest to be learned, and therefore they need have the more time to con it. For the same reason, we begin with the character of the good wife." These delineations of character, which Fuller, an acute student of human nature, dealt with very subtilly, are each followed by examples, taken from history or the Bible. Among the characters in the *Holy State* are some essays on memory, on building, and other unlooked-for subjects; but this diversion is quite in character with the author's manner. The second part of the book—*The Profane State*—is a short one, and contains sketches

of the harlot, liar, and kindred subjects. The book abounds in keen observations, and shows him to have been as well read in men as books. So multiform are the forms that his sparkling wit here takes, that he is, perhaps, the only author in whose pages may be found *all* the definitions of the "unaccountable and inexplicable ways" of wit, which Barrow has enumerated in his explanation of the word. But it is a poor commendation of an author to be simply witty; and were Fuller's writings only witty, they would be almost worthless. His wit not only answers to its present meaning, but its original and better one—that of wisdom, or understanding. Fuller was not only a jester, but a shrewd writer of common-sense; not only a punster, but a searching investigator and historian.

On the anniversary of the king's inauguration, March 27th, 1642, Fuller (still holding the lectureship at the Savoy) preached a sermon in Westminster Abbey, taking the unpalatable text—"Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my Lord the king is come again in peace to his own house." I need not remind you that those were the days in which the divine right of kings, church and state, &c., were seriously believed in. The character of the "Good King," in his *Holy State*, Fuller commences to describe with the bald statement, "The king is a mortal god;" in which light he seems to have regarded King Charles, for he concluded the same chapter with the most fulsome praise of that monarch. It need not, therefore, be surprising, that the sermon referred to, with its courtly sentiments, and the allusions to public affairs, should have given great umbrage to the parliamentary party, involving him in much odium, and making his position among them rather anomalous. At the taking of Bristol, all hopes of peace, which he had laboured to promote, were dispelled; but on the 27th of July, another fast-day, Fuller made one more useless exhortation in favour of peace. This sermon, on publication, was attacked by a Yorkshire clergyman, whom Fuller, when on the march, found time to reply to, challenging him to an answer. This, however, the clergyman did not give, alleging that he had heard of Fuller's death at Exeter. "I have no cause," said he, in his *Worthies*, "to be angry with fame for so good a lie. May I make this true use of that false report—to die daily. See how Providence hath willed it: the dead man is still (1661) living; the then living man dead. And seeing that I survive to

go over his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mould thereof, using that civility on him which I received from him."

When the Solemn League and Covenant was drawn up and subscribed to by the House of Commons and assembly of divines, Fuller was pressed to swear to it also; but he refused to do so, except with certain reservations. Whereupon he was compelled to leave London, and joined the standard of the king, at Oxford. Here he was well received, but on preaching at the court, he made the faithful mistake of preaching *to* royalty, instead of *before* it, as is usual; and his honest, plain-spoken nature pleased the royalists no better than the "roundheads." Here is a proof of his sterling honesty to principle: Mr. Worldly Wisdom would have acted somewhat differently. As at London, so at Oxford, he was called by hard names, and not liking the sentiments or company he here met with, he shortly afterwards left, having sought and obtained a chaplaincy in part of the king's army commanded by Sir Ralph Hopton—this step being, perhaps, precipitated by taunts of suspicion as to his fidelity to the king's cause.

His property met with the same fate that attended very many in that period—it was sequestered by the parliament. Though by this act he was reduced to poverty, he bore the loss with Christian resignation, cheerfully acquiescing in the decrees of Providence, who had, he considered, justly afflicted the nation for its sins. He thus alludes to his losses in his *Mixt Contemplations*:—"I have observed that towns which have been casually burnt, have been built more beautiful than before; mud walls afterwards made of stone; and roofs, formerly but thatched, afterwards advanced to be tiled. The apostle tells me that I must not think strange concerning the fiery trial which is to happen to me. May I likewise prove improved by it. Let my renewed soul, which grows out of the ashes of the old man, be a more firm fabric and stronger structure: so shall my affliction be my advantage."

Among other things, he felt very keenly the loss of his valuable library and MSS., which, Vandal-like, had been destroyed. This want, however, was partly made good, through the noble generosity of one of his patrons, Lord Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who gave him his father's library.

England was then scourged and wasted by the Civil War, and there are many melancholy evidences, in his writings, of its baneful

effect on the nation and on individuals. One or two extracts from his *Thoughts* are here given, which will show, at the same time, his own sentiments in those hard times, and the style of the composition of his *Thoughts*, published during its progress.

“We read (Luke xiii. 11) of a woman who had a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. This woman may pass for the lively emblem of the English nation : from the year of our Lord 1642 (when our wars first began) unto this present one, eighteen years in my arithmetic ; all which time our land has been bowed together, beyond possibility of standing upright. . . . A pitiful posture, wherein the face is made to touch the feet, and the back is set above the head ! God, in due time, set us right, and keep us right, that the head may be in its proper place ! Next the neck of the nobility, then the breast of the gentry, the loins of the merchants and citizens, the thighs of the yeomanry, the legs and feet of artificers and day labourers. As for the clergy (here by me purposely omitted), what place soever be assigned them—if low, God grant patience ; if high, give humility unto them.”

“ This nation is scourged by a wasting war : God could no longer be just if we were prosperous. Blessed be His name, that I have suffered my share in the calamities of my country. Had I poised myself so politically betwixt both parties, that I had suffered from neither—yet could I have taken no contentment in my safe escaping. For why should I, equally engaged with others in sinning, be exempted above them from the punishment ? It is, therefore, some comfort that I draw in the same yoke with my neighbours, and with them jointly bear the burden which our sins have jointly brought upon us.”

While engaged in active service in the army as chaplain, preaching regularly on the Lord's-day, Fuller manifested that diligence which is ever to be met with in his life. For when now wandering up and down England, following the fortunes of the Royal army, he was busily employing his time in collecting materials for his most famous and greatest work — *The Worthies of England* — a work which contains, principally, short biographies of celebrated Englishmen, but also embraces a great variety of other topics. It is said, that in searching for matter for this book, he would patiently listen for hours to the prattle of old women, that he might gather, from their

gossip, snatches of local history, recollections of great men, scraps of traditionary wisdom or folk-lore; and that he would reproduce the same by the aid of his wonderful memory. Like Scott's *Old Mortality*, this itinerant chaplain would, on coming into a new district, at once seek out and take notes of anything of antiquarian interest; visiting old churchyards and tombstones, and poring over musty records of the past, for anything which would be useful towards the accomplishment of his task. By this and other means, he collected a vast amount of varied information, and particulars of great men, which might otherwise have been lost. The men whose names he has endeavoured to perpetuate, are ranged under the respective counties of their birth; and he mentions also the productions, manufactures, local history, proverbs, sheriffs, and modern battles, leaving each county with an appropriate farewell. It is a work which every Englishman should be proud to own. His object in compiling it is thus candidly stated by himself:—"Know then, I propound five ends to myself in this book: first, to gain some glory to God; secondly, to preserve the memory of the dead; thirdly, to present examples to the living; fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight; and lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess), to procure some honest profit to myself."

In the discharge of his duties as chaplain, he was at Basing-house during one of its sieges; where, with all the vigour of a Crusader, or Norman bishop, he incited and animated the garrison to so vigorous a defence, that the attacked became the attackers—the leader of the Parliamentary forces being compelled to retire.

When the Royal forces were driven into Cornwall, Fuller, having obtained leave of absence from Lord Hopton, took up his residence in Exeter—"one of the sweetest and neatest towns in England," says Fuller; but these adjectives do not apply now. On the queen resorting hither for refuge, Fuller was appointed tutor and chaplain, by King Charles, to her infant, Princess Henrietta, lately born here, to testify his great worth; and the king shortly afterwards gave him a patent for his presentation to the town of Dorchester, worth £400 per annum. While in this city, Fuller's society was much sought after, and he remained here till its surrender in 1646; during which time, besides continuing his literary labours, he preached regularly to the citizens. Here he put forth his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*—a patriotic and seasonable little book, well adapted for the

condition in which his country was placed. Fuller was present at the siege of Exeter, of which he relates a strange episode, which must be told in his own words:—"When the city of Exeter was besieged by the Parliamentary forces, so that only the south side thereof, towards the sea, was open unto it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that quarter, for multitude like quails in the wilderness, though (blessed be God!) unlike them both in cause and effect—as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger—as appeared by their digestion into wholesome nourishment: hereof I was an eye and mouth witness. I will save my credit, in not conjecturing any number, knowing that herein, though I should stop beneath the truth, I should mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; so that, being sold for twopence a dozen and under, the poor—who could have no cheaper, as the rich no better, meat—used to make pottage of them, boiling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof. However, the cause of causes was Divine Providence."

Fuller is next met with in London, being gladly welcomed back again at the Savoy. But the troubles he had passed through, added to the distracted state of his country, had affected his mind; and, "weak in health and dejected in spirits," he repaired to the residence of his constant patron, Lord Montague, at Boughton, near Northampton. Under his hospitable roof, he wrote *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*, and he was all the better for it. This book is distinguished by its deep thought, tinged all the way through by melancholy, showing the reality of his affliction. It is dedicated to the Countess of Rutland; and the "Christian Reader" is told in the preface that, as it was not suitable to wear wedding clothes at a funeral, he had, in that sad subject, declined all light and luxurious expressions. This, consequently, does not read like one of Fuller's works. The last dialogue—"Whether it be lawful to pray for, or to pray against, or to praise God for, a wounded conscience"—concludes with the following beautiful and much-admired sentiment:—"Music is sweetest near or over rivers, where the echo thereof is best rebounded by the water. Praise for pensiveness, thanks for tears, and blessing God over the floods of affliction, makes the most melodious music in the ears of heaven."

He again went to London, and preached wherever he was allowed; occupying, among other pulpits, that of St. Clement's,

Lombard Street, and St. Bride's, Fleet Street. He also published another volume of meditations, entitled *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*. These little manuals were very popular, and their contents show them to be the production of an ardent patriot. They consist of short paragraphs, containing personal, scriptural, and historical incidents, &c., followed by a suitable moral or reflection—much after the manner of Quarles' *Enchiridion*, or Æsop's *Fables*. Though many of the similes used by him are extremely fanciful, they are often beautiful, and contain solid and suggestive teachings. He justifies the ways of God towards his country, and urges his readers to trust in Omnipotence, who alone could restore the country to order. To reflecting minds, these little books of practical divinity, published during the war, must have come like oil on troubled waters. Truly, "meditations are like the minstrel the prophet called for (2 Kings iii. 15) to pacify his mind discomposed with passion;" while "controversial writings (sounding somewhat of drums and trumpets) do but make the wound the wider."

The next year, the "powers that be" prohibited Fuller from preaching "till further orders;" "wherefore," says Fuller, "I am fain to employ my fingers in writing, to make the best signs I can!" We nevertheless find him preaching soon afterwards at Chelsea Church, under the protection of Sir John Danvers. And on the execution of Charles I., he manifested his loyalty to that unfortunate monarch, by a very hazardous but honest act—the preaching and publication of a sermon, entitled *The Just Man's Funeral*.

The attempt made to silence his voice did not cause his church preferment to cease, for the Earl of Carlisle obtained for him the perpetual curacy of Waltham Abbey; and this was one of the means by which many eminent churchmen in those days were kept in England. Before, however, he could obtain his curacy, he had to undergo the customary ordeal before the Court of Triers, who dispossessed such as they deemed unfit for preaching—generally those who had been political offenders. There is a droll anecdote told about him, in reference to this examination. It appears he was extremely apprehensive of the result (as well he might be), and in this emergency he sought assistance of John Howe, the celebrated divine, and one of Cromwell's chaplains. Fuller said to him, "You may observe, sir, that I am somewhat a corpulent man, and I am

to go through a very strait passage. I beg you would be so good as to give me a shove, and help me through." Howe, whose catholicity of spirit allowed him to overlook his party in the man, gave him the necessary advice, and he got off more frightened than hurt.

Among other things, the Triers had asked him to give them some proof of his well-known powers of memory; upon which, Fuller promised that if they would restore a certain poor sequestered minister, he would never forget that kindness as long as he lived! Fuller was charged with pretending to the art of memory, but he said it was a fancy or trick—no art. The secret of his extraordinary power lay in order and method. He says—"Marshal thy notions into a handsome method. One will carry twice more weight trussed and packed up in bundles, than when it lies untoward flapping about the shoulders. Things orderly fardled up and hanging under both heads are most portable." His writings have been charged with displaying a want of method; but this is not the case, for discursive though some of them be, they are well arranged. There is method in his madness. His numerous digressions are always so pleasant that it is easy to put up with them, and indeed the reader would not at first think they are digressions. He may be likened to a man travelling along a road, stopping to admire or examine objects on each side of him, often leaving the path, but returning to it again; and thus he goes merrily along, and ultimately arrives at the end of his journey.

Waltham, where Fuller was now quietly residing, is a place of some literary celebrity: it was here that Fox's famous Book of Martyrs, and Bishop Hall's works, were written. Fuller here spent some peaceful years, being "wedded to the embraces of a private life, the fittest wife and meetest helper that can be provided for a student in troublesome times." He completed some of his books here. His *Pisgah-sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testaments acted thereon*, appeared in 1650. In others' hands this might have been a geography as dull as a school-book, but Fuller's rich, lively, and exuberant imagination has scattered throughout it a lavish display of every kind of wit and facetiousness, joined to much learning and instruction, rendering even details amusing. He was a diligent student of the Bible, and was well acquainted with, and fond of commenting on, the most obscure passages in it.

He next appeared as a contributor to a series of religious biographies, which came out in 1651; and in the following years, besides publishing many sermons, he wrote a work on Baptism, a Register of the proceedings in Parliament of the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Charles I., and other works. In 1654 he married the daughter of Viscount Baltinglass.

One of the results of his literary toil, extending over many years, was published in 1655, in *The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ till the year 1648; endeavoured by Thomas Fuller*. It contains twelve books (including the *History of the University of Cambridge*), and is cut up into subdivisions and sections in a most original manner. There are upwards of fifty dedications—quaint but often beautiful compositions, but far too fulsome and complimentary for these times. It was compiled from scarce sources, and is a work of some historical value, not only on this account, but also because of its honourable impartiality and freedom from party spirit, then too common with all classes of writers. Here, as in kindred works, the gravity of the subject does not deaden his cheerful humour: all the way along the reader comes across his fantastic conceits and puns, and quips, and cranks, and quirks, and odd digressions, and quaint allusions. This mode of writing on such a subject is of course objectionable, but in Fuller's History the reader never meets with anything improper or undevout. In his *Holy State* he has spoken very solemnly on this matter:—"Jest not with the two-edged sword of God's word. Will nothing please thee to wash thy hands in but the font? or to drink healths in but the church chalice? And know the whole art is learnt at the first admission, and profane jests will come without calling."

On the first appearance of this work it was severely censured; Dr. Peter Heylin, an ill-tempered high-church divine, and a writer of some celebrity, being its chief opponent. He went to the trouble of writing a large book against it, which Fuller replied to as fully in his manly, witty, and learned *Appeal of Injured Innocence*. It is a comment on the Church History. Many of the animadversions on his work—some of them certainly uncalled for—grieved Fuller, who had been so long and "painful" in compiling it, and he very earnestly pleaded for the exercise of their charity, especially in condemning the witticisms and levities therein. "Some men,"

he said, "were of very cheerful dispositions, and God forbid that all such should be condemned for lightness. Oh ! let not any envious eye disinherit men of that which is 'their portion in this life comfortably to enjoy the blessings thereof.'" And in another place he says—"Harmless mirth is the best cordial against the consumption of the spirit : wherefore it is not unlawful, if it trespasseth not in quantity, quality, or season." Which limits, however, Fuller did not always confine himself to. In the discussion which took place, Fuller's candour and conciliatory spirit reconciled his opponent to him.

Fuller now prepared for publication his yet greater work—*The Worthies of England*—of which I have already spoken. He did not live to print the whole of it, but it was completed by his son, in the year after his death. Nicholson, a spiteful old bishop, charged it with being huddled up in a hurry, and of consisting of nothing but old women's tales ; but posterity has passed a different verdict to this upon it.

In 1658 his patron, Lord Berkeley, made him his chaplain, and presented him to the rectory of Cranford, in Middlesex ; and after this time, with the course of events, his prospects became brighter. Shortly before the Restoration, he was called upon to resume his old places as Lecturer at the Savoy, and Prebend of Salisbury ; and on the king's return he was made one of his chaplains, and by royal mandate created D.D. He again preached at the court, and the wit-loving king is said to have resolved upon his translation to a bishopric ; but it was to no *earthly* dignity that Fuller was destined.

His living at Broad-Winsor became rightfully his own again ; but he was so pleased with the preaching of the then incumbent, that he voluntarily promised not to be the cause of his removal. He wrote a joyful poetical panegyric on his Majesty's return ; and in 1660 put forth his *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*, dedicated to Lady Monck, and bearing the appropriate motto—"Let your moderation be known unto all men : the Lord is at hand."

He appears to have contracted a malignant fever—known as the "new disease"—after a journey from Salisbury to London. On his arrival, he had promised to preach a marriage sermon for a friend at his chapel of the Savoy ; but while at dinner on the 12th of August, he was seized with illness, which, however, he would

not allow to interfere with the approaching service. "He had got up often in the pulpit sick," he said, "and always came down well again; and he hoped he should do as well now, through God's strengthening grace. During the delivery of the sermon, it was manifest to his congregation that he was seriously ill, and he had to confess as much to them; adding—"But I am resolved, by the grace of God, to preach this sermon, though it be my last!" He managed to get through it, and it *was* his last: he may be said, therefore, to have died at his post. He was conveyed home, and his mind became affected, but on the following day his senses were restored, and he employed his remaining hours on earth with a Christian preparation for death. "Nothing but heaven and the perfections thereof, the consummation of grace in glory, must fill up the room of his capacious soul, now ready to take its flight from this world. On the morning of Thursday, the 16th of August, his sufferings were at an end, and he entered into rest."

At his own desire, Fuller was buried in his parish church at Cranford, Lord Berkeley bearing the expense. As illustrating the respect in which he was held, about two hundred clergymen attended his funeral. A monument was erected to his memory in the chancel of the church, and it contains a conceit which Fuller himself might have written. The Latin inscription reads:—"Here lies Thomas Fuller—who, while he planned to consecrate to immortality the lives of illustrious Englishmen, by a posthumous work, himself attained immortality." This is in reference to his *Worthies* which also remains as a monument to his industry and genius.

In appearance, Fuller is described as being tall, portly, and handsome, possessing curly hair and a ruddy face, with a pleasant yet serious countenance, betokening an amiable mind. On his upper lip, which could not be curled into a sneer, he wore a slight moustache, after the old English fashion. His manners were simple and unstudied, and he was uniformly courteous. His cheerful conversation was always attractive, and "much sought after; for besides the pleasantness of it, he was for information a perfect walking library." His vivacity of spirits, and sprightliness of conversation, gained for him, in every period of his life, a large circle of friends. As might be expected, he was temperate in his habits. To his home attachments he was faithful, and was careful with the education of his children. His heart was ever open to

kindly influences; and his wit and facetiousness, which have delighted so many, partakes of the same nature, being devoid of sting, bite, or claws: it is never spiteful, but ever genial and good-natured. He was as faithful to the principles of his religion, as he was loyal to his king and country, and he never hesitated to give utterance to his convictions.

Of his faults, some of which have been hinted at, I cannot now speak. The remembrance of his own gentleness and charity in dealing with the faults of others, warns us to deal gently and charitably to him. The silence which surrounds his tomb, at which we have just in fancy been gazing, should hush the voice that would harshly censure him.

“There is a spell, by nature thrown
Around the noiseless dead,
Which ought to soften censure's tone,
And guard the lowly bed
Of those who, whatsoe'er they were,
Wait Heaven's unerring audit there!”

A
Comment
ON
RUTH:

BY
T. F. B. D.



LONDON,
Printed for *G. and H. Eversden*,
and are to be sold at the Sign of the
Greyhound in *Pauls Church-yard*.

1654.

[“She stood breast-high amid the corn,
Clasp’d by the golden light of morn,
Like the sweetheart of the sun,
Who many a glowing kiss had won.

On her cheek an autumn flush,
Deeply ripen’d ; such a blush
In the midst of brown was born,
Like red poppies grown with corn.

Round her eyes her tresses fell,
Which were blackest none could tell,
But long lashes veil’d a light
That had else been all too bright.

And her hat, with shady brim,
Made her tressy forehead dim ;—
Thus she stood amid the stooks
Praising God with sweetest looks :

Sure, I said, heav’n did not mean,
Where I reap thou shouldst but glean ;
Lay thy sheaf adown and come,
Share my harvest and my home.”

Hood’s *Poetical Works*. (Rossetti’s ed.), page 307].

[Introduction.]



THOMAS FULLER'S attractive *Comment on Ruth* may have formed the lectures referred to by his anonymous Biographer as "the *Primitie* of his Ministeriall Fruits, which, like Apples of Gold in pictures of Silver (sublime Divinity in the most ravishing Elegancies), attracted the audience of the University" (*Life*, 1661, page 5). The exposition of the Book, which unfortunately only extends up to the end of the second chapter, was probably given in the ancient church of St. Bene't (Cambridge), to which Fuller had been appointed Minister in or about 1630, being then of the age of twenty-two years. The reference to "young Ministers" at page 77 is therefore a personal one. The lectures were certainly preached before the end of the year 1632; for mention is made of GUSTAVUS VASA, the heroic king of Sweden (page 25), who died in November of the year named; and there are references to other contemporary events. The literary style of the addresses is in accord with the supposed period of their delivery; and justifies their assignment to this place as the earliest known specimens of FULLER'S pulpit oratory. His occasional play on words and incongruous allusions, and the frequent instances of alliteration and antithesis, show that the popular curate had been somewhat affected by the school of preaching which DONNE, ANDREWS, and others, had made popular; but these mannerisms have very little detracted from the eminently practical character of his discourses. Upwards of twenty years later his maturer judgment detected "many faults" in these Sermons on *Ruth* (page v.); and yet, it is noteworthy, he refrained from revising them. They were first issued in 1654, their publication being due to the fact that some piratical printer (in league it may be with some who had heard the lectures), taking advantage of FULLER'S literary popularity, had proposed to put them forth, from imperfect notes as was believed (page v.). EARLE, in his *Characters*, describes the "Collections of Studie" of "a young raw preacher" as consisting of "the notes of Sermons, which taken vp at St. *Maries* [Oxford], hee vtters in the Country. And if he write brachigraphy his stocke is so much the better. His writing is more then his reading; for hee reads onely what hee gets without booke" (*Micro-cosmographie*, ed. Arber, page 22). There is perhaps one trace of the *Ruth* Sermons having passed through the hands of a short-hand writer, viz., in the word *respectfully* (page 86, line 14), which in the original is *respectively*.

Notwithstanding FULLER'S modest depreciation of the worth of the *Comment*, it will be found to have many claims on the attention. The simplicity of the Hebrew Pastoral pervades it. The preacher's "observations" are set forth with a quaintness and vigour that are worthy of the author of *The*

Holy State. He speaks under the influence of a mind that is truly devout, and of a Christianity that is eminently practical. The "plain but effectual manner" of preaching by *Uses* and *Doctrines*, very popular with the sermon-writers of the period, was taken from MUSCULUS, a German divine; while JOHN UDAL, the Puritan divine, introduced formal *Reasons*, called by FULLER "the strength and sinews of a Sermon" (*Church-History*, Book ix. § viii. ¶ 3). Elsewhere the same authority terms the latter "the pillars of the fabric of a sermon;" *similitudes* being "the windows which give the best lights" (*Holy State*, § The Faithful Minister, ¶ 9).

FULLER seems to have fastened with the instinct of a poet upon this exquisitely beautiful story of the Gentile RUTH, who,

"When sick for home,
Stood in tears amid the alien corn."

(Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale*.)

A former industrious editor of FULLER's works, and of this *Comment* among others, was reminded, as many readers of the *Comment* will be reminded, of the picture of the Moabitish maiden given by another poet, THOMAS HOOD, "a man of kindred genius, who, cast in a more mirth-loving age than FULLER's, fed the public with lighter food than he did, but whose powers were really as great in serious as in comic prose and verse" (William Nichols's Edition, page 178).

The Book of Ruth had likewise attractions for FULLER as an antiquary, inasmuch as it opened up to him the peculiar fields of inquiry amidst which he loved to ramble. "It is one of those quiet corners of history," says Dean STANLEY, "which are the green spots of all time, and which appear to become greener and greener as they recede into the distance" (*Less. Hist. Jewish Church*, vol. i. page 263).

Not the least noteworthy feature of the following *Comment* are the traces to be found in it of the opinions and the anticipations of the period;—not of the days of the Commonwealth, during which the book was printed; but of the days of FULLER's early manhood during which it was written. Reflections, which come to us with all the charm of freshness, are made on the Jesuits of America (page 30); on the advent of King JAMES I. to England (page 99); on the Pilgrims of New England (page 14); on the condition of the Palatinate (page 26); on the return of Prince CHARLES from Spain (page 99); on the plague of London, 1625 (page 99); on the Swedish war (page 25); &c.

FULLER's *Ruth* was popular in his own day. It is now, perhaps, one of the best known of his treatises in divinity, having been twice reprinted within the last ten years: viz. in 1865, in 4to. (Nicol's Series of Puritan Commentaries), edited by Rev. THOMAS SMITH, M.A.; and in 1868, in crown 8vo., in TEGG's series of Fuller reprints, edited by WILLIAM NICHOLS. The present reprint is taken from a copy of the original work, 8vo., in possession of the Editor. Two other Sermons (*Comfort in Calamity*, and *The Grand Assize*) were appended (in some copies prefixed) to *Ruth*; and they will be found in Volume ii. of this collection in their proper chronological places.

TO
 The Right Worshipfull,
 the Lady ANNE ARCHER,
 in the Countie of
 WARWICK.

THE Apostle to the Philippians, chap. 4. v. 15, giveth them this high commendation, None communicated with me concerning giving and receiving, but ye onely. Should I apply the same in relation of my selfe to your Ladyship, I should be injurious to the Bountie of many my Worthy Benefactors. How-ever, (not exclusively of others, but) eminently I must acknowledge you a Grand Encourager of my Studies. In publique testimonie whereof, I present these my Endeavours to your Ladiships Patronage.

Indeed they were Preached in an eminent Place, when I first entred into the Ministerie, above twentie yeares since, and therefore you will pardon the many Faults that may be found therein. Nor were they intended for publique view, till understanding the Resolution of some of my Auditors to Print them (to their Profit, but my Prejudice) by their imperfect Notes, I adventured on this seasonable prevention.

The Lord make his Graces flow plentifully from the Head of your Family, your Religious Husband, to the lowest Skirts thereof, the last and least of your Relations,

Your Ladyships

in all Christian Offices,

THOMAS FULLER.

FULLER's brief commentary had a fitting patroness in LADY ARCHER, who gave the author much assistance in his more ambitious works. She was one of the FERRARS of Tamworth Castle, Warwickshire,—a branch of the noble family of that name; being a daughter of Sir JOHN FERRARS, Knt., of Tamworth Castle, who died in 1633. To this Knight's grandson, "JOHN FERRARS, of Tamworth Castle, Esquire" (1629—1680), is dedicated Section iv. of Book iv. of *The Church-History*, where Fuller said that he knew that his patron was by extraction inclined to a generous disposition, "as I have found by one of your nearest *Relations*" (page 195). The reference here is to an aunt, Lady ANNE ARCHER (Dugdale's *Antiqq. Warwicksh.*, ed. 1656, pages 820, 580; Le Neve's *Knights*, page 246). To her FULLER likewise dedicated, in the same folio, 1655, the closing section of Book ix., which contains the reign of ELIZABETH, "the Honour of your sex and our nation;" explaining that though thus placed last, her ladyship was "the first and freest in encouraging my weak endeavours" (page 221). This literary intimacy belongs to the latter part of the author's life. The lady was the wife of Sir SIMON ARCHER of Tanworth (1581—1662), the zealous Warwickshire antiquary, whose topographical collections were of great value to DUGDALE in his admirable work on that county (ed. 1656, Dedication to the Gentry, Inscription on the map, and page 581). FULLER dedicated to Sir SIMON the account of the copies of the Roll of Battle Abbey, *Church-History*, Book ii., *ad calcem loco ad fin.*, where he makes acknowledgment of the generosity of his antiquarian friend (page 151). On the plate of "The Knights joined with y^e Monkes of Ely" Sir SIMON and his lady are also mentioned in these terms: "SIMONI ARCHER, Equiti Aurato, Antiquitatis cultori, et in dignatographia exercitatissimo, nec non lectissimæ Dnæ ANNÆ. T.F." Here, as in the two former references to this folio, the Knight's arms are engraved, impaling those of FERRARS (varry *or* and *gu.*). By his lady, ANNE, he had three sons, HUMPHREY, THOMAS, and JOHN; (one of whom is named in Fuller's *Worthies*, § Warwickshire, page 133; see also § Cheshire, page 184; and in *Report iv. Hist. MSS. Commission*, page 267; see also page 106;) and three daughters, ELIZABETH, PENELOPE, and ANNE.]



A Comment on Ruth.



CHAP. I.

Verſe 1: *Now it came to paſſe in the dayes when the Judges Ruled, that there was a Famine in the Land.*

BEFORE we enter into theſe words, ſomething muſt be premiſed concerning the Name, Matter, End, Author of this Book.

It hath the name from *Ruth*, the moſt remarkable perſon in it, to whom God vouchſafed his Grace, not onely to write her name in the Book of Life in Heaven, but alſo to prefix her name before a Book of Life in Earth.

The Matter may be divided into theſe two Parts: The firſt Chapter ſheweth, *That many are the troubles of the righteous*; and the three laſt do ſhew, *That God delivereth them out of all.*

One of the *Ends* is, to ſhew the Pedigree of our *Saviour*, otherwiſe *Genealogers* had been at a loſs for four or five Deſcents in the deducing thereof: Another *End* is, under the converſion of *Ruth* the *Moabiteſſe*, to typifie the calling of the *Gentiles*, that as he took of the blood of a *Gentile* into his body, ſo he ſhould ſhed the blood out of his body for the *Gentiles*, that there might be one Shepherd, and one Sheep-fold.

The *Authors* name (probably *Samuel*) is conceal'd, neither is it needfull it ſhould be known: for even as a man that hath a piece of *Gold* that he knows to be weight, and ſees it

stamped with the *Kings Image*, careth not to know the name of that man who minted or coined it: So we, seeing this Book to have the superscription of *Cæsar*, the stamp of the *Holy Spirit*, need not to be curious to know who was the *Pen-man* thereof.

And now to the words.

Now it came to passe in the dayes when the Judges Ruled, that there was a famine in the Land.] Observe in the words; What? *A Famine*: Where? In the *Land*: When? *In the time that the Judges judged*; the time being set down for the better certainty of the *History*.

Question: Is this the Land whereof it is said, *Gen. 49. 20*, *After his bread shall be fat, and afford dainties for a King?* which is call'd, *Deut. 8. 7*, *A good Land of Wheat and Barley, Vineyards and Fig-trees, Oyle Olive, and Hony*, which is commended, *Ezek. 20. 6*, *to be a Land flowing with Milke and Hony, the glory of all Lands?* How commeth it to passe that thy Rivers of Oyl are now dammed up? thy streams of Wine drained drie? that there is no bread found in Bethlem, the house of bread?

Answer: *Israel* hath sinned: *a fruitfull Land maketh be barren, for the sinne of the people that dwell therein*. The peoples *hard hearts* were rebellious to *God*, and the *hard earth* proved unprofitable to them: Their flinty eyes would afford no tears to bemoan their sins, and the churlish Heavens would afford no moysture to water their earth: Man proved unfaithfull to *God* his *Maker*, the Earth proved unfruitfull to *Man* her *Manurer*.

Observation: *Famine* is a heavy punishment, wherewith *God* afflicteth his people for their sinnes. That it is an heavie punishment appeareth, because *David*, *2 Sam. 24. 14*, chose the *Pestilence* before it; for even as *Zebab* and *Zalmunna*, *Judg. 8. 21*, chose rather to fall by the hand of *Gideon* then by the hand of *Yether* his Son, because the Childs want of strength would cause their abundance of pain: so better it is to be speedily dispatcht by a violent disease, then to have ones life in a *Famine* prolong'd by a lingring torture: That it is inflicted for their sinnes, is shewed, *Lev. 26. 19*; *Deut. 28*.

23; 1 King. 8. 37. And these finnes most especially procure *Famine*: 1ly. *Idolatry*, 1 King. 17. 1; 2 King. 4. 38. 2ly. *Abuse of plenty*: the prodigall Child, *Luke* 15, from the keeping of *Harlots*, was brought to the keeping of *Hoggs*. It is just with God to make men want that to supply their necessity, which they have misspended in their nicetie. 3ly. *Shedding of Innocent blood*, 2 Sam. 21. 1. 4ly. *Oppression of the poor*, Amos 4. 6. And no wonder if men, to grind the faces of poor people, make mony to which God gave no naturall fruit, to bring forth a monstrous increase, if God cause the earth which naturally should be fruitfull, to become barren and afford no profit.

Use 1: It may serve to confute such, that when God doth scourge them with *Famine*, (as blind *Balaam* fell a beating of his dumb beast, when he himself was in fault,) they vent their spite in cursing and railing on the poor Creatures; whereas indeed were the matter wel weighed, they might say of all Creatures as *Judab* did of *Thamar* his daughter-in-law, *they are more righteous then we*: for locusts, mildew, blasting, immoderate drought, and moysture, are the means by which, mans sinne is the cause, for which *Famine* is inflicted. And yet in prosperity, we are commonly like Hogs feeding on the mast, not minding his hand that shaketh it down; in adversity, like Doggs biting the stone, not marking the hand that threw it.

Use 2: If any desire to prevent or remove a *Famine*, let us prevent and remove the causes thereof. First, let us practise that precept, 1 *Iob*. 5. 21, *Babes keep your selves from Idols*.

2ly. Let us be heartily thankfull to God for our plenty, who by the seasonable weeping of the Heavens hath caused the plentiful laughter of the Earth, and hath sent the former *Raine* to perform the part of a *Midwife*, to Deliver the infant *Corne* out of the wombe of the parched *Earth*; and the latter *Raine* to doe the duty of a *Nurse*, to swell and battle the *Grain*. Let us not seeth the *Kid* in the Mothers *Milke*: let not our wanton *Pallats* spoile wholesome *Meat*, before it commeth to the just *Maturity*; neither let us cast away any good food, but, after our *Saviours* example, *Let us cause the Fragments to be basketted up that nothing may be lost*.

3ly. Let us pray with *David*, *Psal.* 51. 14, *Deliver us from blood guiltinesse O Lord*: and let us seeke that the hoary hairs may not go down to the Grave in peace of such as have shed Innocent blood, (least the personal offence of a private Man remaining unpunished become the National sinne of a Kingdome,) but upon the King, and upon his Seed, and upon his House, and upon his Throne shall be Peace for ever from the Lord.

Lastly, Let us be pittifull, and liberall to relieve the distresses of the poor; for why should our dead Tables groan under the weight of needlesse feasts upon them, whil'st *Gods* living *Temples* groan under the want of necessary food within them? The *Athenian* women had a custome to make a Picture of *Famine* every yeare, and to drive it out of their City with these words: *Out Famine, in Food; Out Penury, in Plenty*: but let us say in word, and second it in deed; *Out Sin, in Sanctity; Out Prophanesse, in Piety*: and then we shall see that as long as our King Reigneth there shall be no *Famine* in our Land.

But however God shall dispose of us for outward blessings, I pray God keepe us from that *Soule Famine* mentioned *Amos* 8. 12, that we living under the *Northern Heavens* should wander to the *East*, and *run to and fro to seek the Word of the Lord, and should not find it*; but may the *light* of the *Gospell* remain with us on Earth, as long as the faithfull witnessse endureth in Heaven!

And a certain man of Bethlehem-Judah went to sojourn in the Country of Moab.

These words containe a Journey or Removall, wherein observe, Who went? *a certain Man*: Whence? from *Bethlehem-Judah*: Whither? *to sojourn in Moab*. We shall have a fitter occasion to speak of the party removing hereafter. I begin with the place from whence he went, *Bethlehem-Judah*.

This was the place, nigh to which *Rachel* as she was travelling fell into Travail, and ended her journey to *Heaven* in the midst of her journey on *Earth*: there was another of

the same name in *Zabulon*, *Iosh.* 19, 15; and therefore *Iudab* is added for difference and distinction.

Observation: The *Holy Spirit* descends to our capacity, and in Scripture doth multiply words to make the matter the plainer: let this teach the Sons of *Levi*, when they deliver one doubtfull and ambiguous Doctrine which may admit of severall constructions, (so that there is danger least that people may mistake their meaning,) to demur a while on such a point, and not to be niggardly of their words, till they have blotted all doubt and difficulty out of it. Herein they shall follow God for their pattern, who, least *Betlebem* in my Text should be confounded with *Betlebem* in *Zabulon*, addeth for distinction *Betlebem-Iudab*.

Went to Sojourn in Moab.] The *Prodigall Child* complained, *Luke* 15. 11, *How many hired Servants of my Father have bread enough, and I die for hunger!* So here we see that the uncircumcised *Moabites*, Gods slaves and vassals, had store of plenty, whilest *Israel*, Gods Children (but his *prodigal Children*, which by their finnes had displeased their heavenly Father) were pinched with penurie.

Observation: Hence we gather, God oftentimes denyes outward blessings to his Children, when as he vouchsafeth them to the wicked: the wicked mans eyes start out with fatnesse; *Davids* bones scarce cleave to his flesh: *Abab* hath an Ivory House; the Godly wander in *Dens* and *Caves* of the Earth: the *Rich Glutton* fareth deliciously every day; whilest the Godly, *Psal.* 107. 5, *were hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them:* He was clothed in purple and fine linnen, whilest the Godly wander up and down in sheep skins; and well may they wear their skins without them, that carry their innocency within them. And the reason thereof is, *Because judgement begins at the house of the Lord, whilst the wicked have their portion in this world.*

Use: Let us not judge according to outward appearance, but judge righteous judgement, least otherwise we condemn the Generation of Gods Children, if we account outward blessings the signs of Gods favour, or calamities the arguments of his displeasure: neither let the afflicted Christian faint under

Gods heavy hand ; but let him know to his comfort, God therefore is angry in this world that he may not be angry in the world to come, and mercifully inflicteth temporall punishment that he may not justly confound with eternall torment.

But here ariseth a question, Whether *Elimelech* did well to go from Bethlehem-Judah into the Land of Moab? For the better satisfaction whereof, we will suppose a plain and honest Neighbour thus dissuading him from his departure.

✓ *Dissuasion*: Give me leave, Neighbour *Elimelech*, to say unto thee, as the Angel did to *Hagar*, Whence comest thou? and whether goest thou? Wilt thou leave that place where Gods worship is truly professed, and goe into an Idolatrous Country? *Woe is thee that must dwell in Moab, and be an inhabitant amongst the worshippers of Melchom!* Indeed ✓ our Father *Abraham* came out of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, an idolatrous Country, to come into the Land of *Canaan*; but why shouldst thou go out of the Land of *Canaan* into an idolatrous Country, where thou shalt have neither *Priest*, nor *Prophet*, nor *Passeover*? Yea, what most is to be feared, your frequent conversing with the *People* of the *Country* will at length bring you into a *love* and *liking* of their *Superstitions*, and so draw Gods anger against you; wherefore reverse your intent of removing, least while thou seek'st to store thy *Body* thou starvest thy *Soul*; rather venter the breaking of the Casket then the loosing of the *Jewel*, and go not from *Bethlehem-Judah* unto the Land of *Moab*.

✓ *Answer*: To this *Elimelech* might answer: Your dissuasion doth somewhat move me, but not remove my resolution; I do not forsake my Country, but am forced from it; God hath with-holden the *Wine* and the *Winepresse*, and if I stay, I am likely to starve; I conceive it therefore to be my bounden duty to provide the best means for my *Family*; and following the examples of *Isaac's* going into *Gerar*, and *Jacobs* going down into *Egypt* in the time of *Famine*, I intend to remove to *Moab*. And though I shall be divided from the visible Congregation of *Israel*, yet shall I with my *Family* still remain the lively Members of Gods true Church. For first I intend to carry with me the five books of *Moses* (they

will be no great burthen, being comprised in so small a Volum), and, according to my poor ability, out of them will I instruct my *Family*, whilst my deare wife *Naomi*, and dutifull children, *Mablon* and *Cbilion*, will be diligent to heare and practise what I propound unto them. I confesse we shall have no outward sacrifices, (because I am not of the Tribe of *Levi*;) yet may we offer unto God prayers and praises, which God no doubt will as graciously accept, as of a *Bullock* that hath Hornes and Hoofes: thus hope I to have a little Church in mine own House; and I know, *where two or three are met together in the name of God, there he will be in the midst of them*. Whereas you object, I should be in danger of being defiled with their *Idolatry*, I will be by Gods grace so much the more warie, watchfull and vigilant over my wayes: we see the flesh of fishes remaineth fresh, though they alwaies swim in the brackish waters; and I hope that the same God who preserved righteous *Lot* in the wicked City of *Sodome*, who protected faithful *Josepb* in the vicious Court of *Pharaob*, will also keep me unspotted in the midst of *Moab*, whether I intend speedily to go, not to *live*, but to lodge; not to *dwell*, but to *sojourne*; not to make it *my habitation for ever*, but *my barbour for a season*, till God shall visit his people with plenty, when I purpose to return with the speediest conveniency.

Thus we see *Elimelech* putting the dangers of his removall in one scale, the benefits thereof in another; the beam of his judgement is justly weighed down to go from *Betlehem-Iudab* into the Land of *Moab*.

Observation: It is lawfull for Men to leave their *Native Soyle*, and to travell into a forraign Country; as, 1. For *Merchants*, provided alwaies that while they seek to make gainfull Adventures for their Estates, they make not *ship-wrack of a good Conscience*; 2ly. For *Embassadors*, that are sent to see the Practises and Negotiations in forraigne Courts; 3ly. For *private persons*, that travell with an intent to accomplish themselves with a better sufficiency to serve their King and Country.

But unlawfull it is for such to travell, which *Dinab* like go only to see the Customes of severall Countries, and make

themselves the Lackies to their own humorous curiosity : hence commeth it to passe, when they returne, it is justly questionable, whether their Clothes be disguised with more foolish fashions, or bodies disabled with more loathsome Diseases, or souls defiled with more notorious vices ; having learned Jealousie from the *Italian*, Pride from the *Spaniard*, Lasciviousnesse from the *French*, Drunkennesse from the *Dutch* ; and yet what need they go so farre to learn so bad a lesson, when (God knows) we have too many Schooles where it is taught here at home.

Now if any do demand of me my opinion concerning our Brethren, which of late left this Kingdome to advance a Plantation in *New England* ; surely I think, as *St. Paul* said concerning *Virgins*, *He had received no commandment from the Lord* : so I cannot find any just warrant to encourage men to undertake this removall ; but think rather the counsell best that King *Ioash* prescribed to *Amaziah*, *Tarry at home* : yet as for those that are already gone, farre be it from us to conceive them to be such, to whom we may not say, *God speed*, as it is in 2 *Job*. 10 ; but let us pittie them, and pray for them ; for sure they have no need of our mocks, which I am affraid have too much of their own miseries : I conclude therefore of the two *Englands*, what our Saviour saith of the two wines, *Luke* 5. 39, *No man having tasted of the old, presently desireth the new ; for he saith the old is better*.

Verfes 1 and 2 : *He, and his wife, and his two sons. And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife, Naomi, and the name of his two sons ; Mahlon and Chilion, Ephrathites of Bethlehem-Judah. And they came into the Country of Moab, and continued there.*

These words contain ; first, The principall party that undertook the journey. 2ly. His company, described by their relations, *his Wife, and Children*, and by their names, *Naomi, Mahlon, and Chilion*. 3ly. The successe of his journey ; *When he came into the Land of Moab, he continued there.*

Now whereas *Elimelech* took his Wife and Children along with him : from his practise we gather this Observation.

Observation 1: It is the part of a kind Husband, and of a carefull Father, not onely to provide for himselfe, but also for his whole *Family*; *Gen. 2. 24, A man shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh*; *Ephe. 5. 25, 29, Husbands, love your wives, for no man as yet hated his own flesh*; *1 Tim. 5. 8, If any one provideth not for his own Family, he denyeth the faith, and is worse than an Infidell*: this made *Abraham* to take with him at his removal his meek *Sarah*; *Isaac*, his wife *Rebecca*; *Jacob*, his fair *Rachel*, and fruitfull *Leab*; and *Joseph*, *Mat. 2. 14*, took with him *Mary*, his espoused wife, and our *Saviour*, his supposed Sonne. And when *Pharaoh*, *Exod. 10. 9*, offered *Moses* with all the men of *Israel* to go out of *Egypt*, but on condition they should leave their Wives and Children behind them, *Moses* refused the proffer: he would either have them all go out, or else he would not go out at all.

Use: It confuteth such cruell Husbands and carelesse parents, who if so be *Jobs* Messengers, they onely can escape alone, they care not though they leave their wives and children to shift for themselves; like the *Ostridge*, *Job 39. 14, who leaveth her Eggs in the sand*, and so forsakes them. Surely the two *Kine* which drew the *Arke of God out of the Land of the Philistines to Bethshemesh*, *1 Sam. 6. 12*, shall rise up at the day of *Judgement* and condemn such cruell Parents: for it is said of them, *That as they went along the high way, they did pittifully low by that querulous ditty*, as nature afforded them utterance, with witnessing and expressing their affection to their Calves shut up at home: O that there should be such humanity (as I may terme it) in Beasts, and such beastlinesse in many men! Remember this, you that sit drinking and bezzling wine abroad, whilst your Family are glad of water at home; and think thus with your selves, *To what end is this needlesse wast? might it not have been sold for many a penny, and have been bestowed on my poor Wife and Children?*

Observation 2: Secondly, Whereas we find *Naomi* and her Sons going with *Elimelech*, we gather; It is the duty of a dear Wife and of dutifull Children to go along with their Husband and Parents, when on just cause they remove into a forraign Country. It was an unmanly and cowardly speech

of Barak to Deborah, Judg. 4. 8, *If thou wilt go with me, then will I go; but if thou wilt not go with me, then will I not go*: but it would be a gracious resolution of a grave Matron and her Children, *Husband, if you be pleased to depart, I will be ready to accompany you; Father, if you be minded to remove, I will attend upon you: but if you be disposed to stay, I will not stir from the place where you abide*: otherwise if the wife refuseth to go along with her Husband, what *Abraham*, Gen. 24. 8, said to the *Servant* in another case, is true in this respect; but if the Woman will not be willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from thine Oath; if the wife be so peevish and perverse, that she will not go along with her Husband who propoundeth lawfull means unto her to relieve her wants; then is he acquitted from the Oath he made her in Marriage, when he plighted his troth unto her, in sicknesse and in health, to maintain her.

Question: But methinks I hear the Widows and Orphants crying unto me, as the Souldiers to *Iohn Baptist*, *But what shall we do?* Luke 3. 14. It is true, saith the *Widow*, that kind Husbands are to provide for their Wives; but alas we have no *Elimelech's* to carry us into a forraign Country in the time of *Famine*. Indeed, saith the *Orphant*, it is the Fathers duty to provide for his Children; but my Parents are dead long ago; I have not, as *Samuel* had, a Mother *Hannah* every year to bring me a *new coate*; what shall we do in this our distresse?

Answer: Use the best means you can, and for the rest, rely on Gods providence, who is said, *Psal. 10. 14, To help the fatherlesse and poor to their Right*; *Psal. 68. 5, To be a father to the fatherlesse, and to defend the cause of the Widow, even God in his holy habitation*: who will deale with thee as he did with *David*, *When my Mother and Father forsooke me, the Lord cared for me*.

So much for *Elimelech's* company described by their relations: we should come now to speak of their names, where we might take occasion to speak of the Antiquity and use of Names, but that hereafter we shall have better conveniency to treat thereof, in those words, *Call me not Naomi, but call me Marah*: We come therefore to the successe of *Elimelech's* journey.

And they came into the Country of Moab, and they continued there.] The meaning is, That the *Moabites* afforded them harbour without any molestation.

From whence the *Observation* is this; *We ought to be Hospitall and courteous to receive strangers.* First, Because God in severall places of Scripture enjoyneth it, *Exod. 23. 9; Levit. 19. 33.* 2ly. Because God apprehendeth all courtesie done to a stranger as bestowed on himselfe; *He that receiveth you, receiveth me, &c. ; I was a stranger and ye harboured me, Mat. 25. 35.* And then if we entertain strangers, it may be said of us not onely as it is of *Lot* and *Abraham*, *Heb. 13. 2, That we entertained Angels*, but that we entertained God himselfe unawares. 3ly. Because if spiritually considered, we our selves are strangers with the *Patriarks*, *Heb. 11. 9. We have here no abiding City, but seeke one from above, whose builder and maker is God, Heb. 13. 14 [and 10. 11]. I beseech you as Strangers and Pilgrims, 1 Pet. 2. 11.* Lastly, Because of the uncertainty of our own estates, for thou knowest not what evill shall be upon the earth: it may be we that now relieve strangers, hereafter our selves being strangers may be relieved by others.

Use: Let us not therefore abuse strangers and make a prey of them, making an advantage of their unskilfulnesse in the language, and being unacquainted with the fashions of the Land; like *Laban* that deceived his Nephew *Jacob* in placing *Leab* for *Rachel*, and to cloak his cheating, pleaded it was the custome of the Country: wherefore rather let us be courteous unto them, least the Barbarians condemne us, who so courteously intreated *S. Paul*, with his shipwrackt companions; and the *Moabites* in my Text, who suffered *Elimelech*, when he came into the Land, to continue there.

Verfes 3 to 5: *And Elimelech Naomies Husband dyed, and she was left, and her two Sonnes, &c.*

In these words we have two Marriages ushered and followed by Funeralls: I will begin there, where one day all must make an end, *at Death;*

And Elimelech Naomies Husband dyed.] I have seldom seen

a Tree thrive that hath been transplanted when it was old; the same may be seen in *Elimelech*; his aged body brooks not the forraign Aire; though he could avoid the Arrows of Famine in *Israel*, yet he could not shun the Darts of *Death* in *Moab*: he that lived in a place of *Penury*, must die in a Land of *Plenty*. Let none condemne *Elimelech's* removal as unlawful, because of his suddain death, for those actions are not ungodly which are unsuccessfull, nor those pious which are prosperous, seeing the lawfulness of an action is not to be gathered from the joyfulness of the event, but from the justnesse of the cause, for which it is undertaken.

Observation 1: Hence we observe, that God can easily frustrate our fairest hopes and defeat our most probable projects, in making those places most dangerous which we account most safe and secure, causing death to meet us there, where we think furthest to flie from it.

Observation 2: We see that no outward plenty can privilege us from death; the sand of our life runneth as fast, though the Hour-glass be set in the sunshine of prosperity, as in the gloomy shade of affliction.

And she was left and her two Sons.] Here we see how mercifully God dealt with *Naomi*, in that he quenched not all the sparks of her comfort at once; but though he took away the stock, he left her the stems; though he deprived her as it were of the use of her own leggs by taking away her *Husband*, yet he left her a staffe in each of her hands, her two Sons to support her. Indeed afterwards he took them away, but first he provided her a gracious Daughter-in-law: whence we learn, God powreth not all his afflictions at once, but ever leaveth a little comfort, otherwise we should not onely be pressed down, but crush't to powder under the weight of his heavy hand.

And they tooke them wives of the women of Moab, &c.] Here we see the fashion of the world. Mankind had long ago decaied, if those breaches which are daily made by Death, were not daily made up by Marriage. But here ariseth a question, Whether these matches were lawfull? For answer

whereof, we will suppose *Naomi* dissuading her Sonnes on this manner.

Dissuasion: What, my Sonnes? and what, persons of my wombe? and what, the Sonnes of my desire? give not your strength to strange women, and your wayes to that that destroyed men. It is not for you, O *Mablon* and *Cbilion*, it is not for you to marry *Moabites*; nor for the Sonnes of an *Israelite* to marry the Daughters of the uncircumcised. Remember, my Sonnes, what God saith by the mouth of *Moses*, *Deut. 7. 3, Thou shalt not make Marriages with them; thy Daughter shalt thou not give to his Sonne, nor take his daughter to thy Sonne; for they will turn away thy Son from following me, to serve strange Gods; so will the anger of the Lord be kindled against thee to destroy thee suddenly.* Take heed therefore least long looking on these women you at length be made blind, least they suck out your souls with kisses, and Snake-like, sting you with embraces: curb your affections untill you come into *Canaan* where you shall find varietie of wives, who as they come not short of these for the beauties of their bodies, so they farre go beyond them for the sanctitie of their souls. ✓

Answer: To this dissuasion, thus might her Childeren answer: We thank you, deare Mother, for your carefulnesse over our good; but we must intreat you not to interpret it undutifulnesse, if upon good reason we dissent from your judgement herein. In the place by you cited, *Marriages* are forbidden with such strange women as are of a stubborn, obstinate, and refractory nature, such as are likely to seduce their Husbands; whereas you see the mild, towardly, and tractable disposition of these women we meane to make our wives; we hope to plant these wild branches in Gods Vineyard, to bring these straggling sheep to his fold, to make them Profelytes to our Religion: Besides, this Marriage will be advantagious for us, thereby we shall endeare our selves into the *Moabites* affections; they will use us the more courteously, when we have married one of their own kindred.

But methinks my tongue refuseth to be any longer the advocate of an unlawfull deed, and my mouth denyeth to be the Orator of an unjust action: when I have said what I can for the defence of their Marriage, I shall but make a plaster

too narrow for the fore; the breach is so broad I cannot stop it, though I may dam it up with untempered mortar. Nothing can be brought for the defence of these matches; something may be said for the excuse of them, but that fetcht not from pietie, but from policy; not certain, but conjecturall; yet here we may see the power and providence of God, who made so good use of these Mens defaults, as hereby to bring *Ruth*, first to be a retainer to the family of *Faith*, and afterwards a joyfull Mother in *Israel*. This is that good *Chymick* that can distill good out of evill, light out of darknesse, order out of confusion, and make the crooked actions of men tend to his own glory in a straight line, and his Childrens good.

I speak not this to defend any mans folly in doing of evil, but to admire Gods wisdome, who can bring good out of evil: and surely he that will turn evill to good, will turn good to the best.

And they dwelled there about ten years.] Here we have the term of *Naomi's* living in *Moab*, and the Families lasting in *Israel*, *ten years*: we read of a Famine for three years, 2 *Sam.* 21; of three years and a half, 1 *King.* 17; of seven years, *Gen.* 42, as also 2 *King.* 8; but this *ten years Famine* longer then any; seven yeares which *Jacob* served for *Rachel* seemed to him but a short time; but surely those ten yeares seemed to the afflicted *Israelites*, and to the banished *Naomi*, as so many millions of years.

Observation: God doth not presently remove his rod from the back of his Children, but sometimes scourgeth them with long-lasting afflictions: the reason is, because we go on and persist so long in our sinnes; and yet herein even mercy exalteth her selfe against judgement: for if God should suffer the fire of his fury to burn, so long as the fuell of our sinnes do last, *Lord, who were able to abide?* were the dayes of our suffering appportioned to the dayes of our living, no flesh would be saved, but for the *Elect* sake those dayes are shortened.

Use: Beare with patience light afflictions; when God afflicteth his Children with long-lasting punishments, mutter not for a burning Feaver of a fortnight. What is this to the

woman that had a running issue for twelve years? Murmur not for a twelve moneths quartain Ague: 'tis nothing to the woman that was bowed for eighteen years; nor seven years Consumption, to the man that lay thirty eight years lame at the Pool of *Bethesda*.

And Mahlon and Chilion died also both of them.] It was but even now that old *Elimelech* was gone to bed; see, his Sonnes would not sit long up after the Father; onely here is the difference, *He* like ripe fruit fell down of his own accord; they like green Apples were cudgel'd off the Tree. ✓

Observation: Even young men in the prime of their age, are subject to death; the Sons of *Jacob* when they came to the Table of *Ioseph* sat down, the eldest according to his age, and the youngest according to his youth; but Death observes not this method; she takes not men in seniority, but sometimes sends them first to the buriall that came last from the birth, and those that came last from the wombe, first to their winding sheet. There were as many Lambs and Kids sacrificed in the old Testament, as Goats and old Sheep; but surely more there be that die in infancy and in youth, then of those that attain to old age.

Use: *Remember thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth*: you whose joynts are knit with sturdy sinews, whose veines are full of blood, whose arteries are flush't with spirits, whose bones are fraught with Marrow; *Obediab-like, serve God from your youth*; put not the day of death far from you; think not your strength to be armour of proof against the darts of Death, when you see the Corslet of *Mablon* and *Chilion* shot through in the left; so *Mablon* and *Chilion* died both of them.

And the woman was left of her two Sons and of her Husband.] Before we had the particular losses of *Naomi*, now we have them all reckoned up in the totall sum; a Threefold Cable, ✓ faith *Solomon*, is not easily broken; and yet we see in *Naomies* threefold cable of comfort, twisted of her husband and her two sonnes, broken by Death: of the two Sex, the woman is the weaker; of women, old women are most feeble; of old women, widows most wofull; of widows, those that are poor,

their plight most pittiful; of poor widows, those that want Children, their case most dolefull; of widows that want Children, those that once had them and after lost them, their estate most desolate; of widows that have had Children, those that are strangers in a forraign Country, their condition most comfortlesse: yet all these met together in *Naomi* as in the center of sorrow, to make the measure of her misery pressed down, shaken together, running over. I conclude therefore, many Men have had affliction, none like *Job*; many women have had tribulation, none like *Naomi*.

Verse 6: Then she arose with her Daughters in law, that she might returne from the Country of Moab: for she had heard in the Country of Moab how that the Lord had visited his people, in giving them bread.

These words contain two general parts. 1. Gods visiting his people with Plenty. 2. *Naomies* visiting of her people with her person.

I begin with the first in the Order of the words, *Then she arose with her Daughters in law, &c.*

Observation: We must tarry no longer in an Idolatrous Land when God offereth us an occasion to returne into our own Country: for so long as we tarry in an Idolatrous Land on a just cause, so long we are in our vocation and in Gods protection: but when God openeth us a Gap to returne, and we will not through it, we are neither in our calling nor Gods keeping, but must stand on our own adventures; and who knows not how slenderly we shall be kept, when we are left to our own custody? Let not therefore *Iosepb* with his Wife and Son, tarry any longer in the Land of *Egypt*, when he is dead that fought the life of the Child.

Examples we have of those which in the dayes of *Queen Mary* fled beyond the Seas; though they were not in a Paganish, onely in a forraign Country: *Mr. Scorey, Cocks, Whitehead, Grindall, Horne, Sandys, Elmore, Gest, Jewel*; if fear lent them feet to run when they went away, joy gave them wings to fly when they came home againe: let none therefore pretend in needlesse excuses to linger in the Land of

Egypt, when they may return into the hony-flowing Land of *Canaan*.

For she had heard in the Country of Moab.] I suppose when any Messenger arrived in *Moab*, out of the Land of *Canaan*, *Naomie* did presently repaire unto him, and load him with questions concerning the estate of her Country: How do the *Jews* my Country-men? How faireth it with the *Betlebemites* my Neighbours? with *Boaz* my Kinsman? What is the rate of Corne? What the price of Oyle? What the value of Wine? If there be no performance for the present, what promise is there for the future? Though things be bad now, what hope is there but they will be better hereafter? Alas! he answers little; and from his silence and sorrowfull looks, *Naomi* gathers a denial; but as *Elijah* sending his servant towards the Sea, 1 *King*. 18. 43, to see what signs there were of Raine, for six severall times together he returned this answer, *There is nothing*; but at the seventh time he brought him the tydings of a Cloud rising out of the Sea: so though for nine years *Naomi* had no news but of want and scarcity; yet the tenth yeare there came a man (probably he was a good man that brought these good tydings) who brought her word that the valleys began to laugh and sing with plentie; and so though the hope that was deferred was the fainting of the heart, yet when it came, it was the *Tree of life*. Perchance because the covetous *Jews* had made nine parts great for their own profit, and the tenth small to cozen God of his portion: God, quite contrary, gave them nine years of scarcity and want, and at length made the tenth of store and plenty.

Observation: The fame of remarkable Accidents will fly into forraign Countries; for if it be bad news, the wicked will be sure to tell it in the Gates of *Gath*, and publish it in the streets of *Askelon*; if it be good, the godly will proclaim it in the Courts of *Zion*, and disperse it within the walls of *Jerusalem*: whether good or bad (if it be of moment and importance) it will not be covered nor concealed.

Question: Is it lawfull for us to lissen, bearken, and enquire after matters of forraigne Countries?

Answer: Though I would not have men to be like the

Athenians, to hear or tell some new thing; yet it is both lawful and laudable for them to enquire after forraigne affairs, whereby they expresse the desire that they have of the welfare of their distant Brethren, the Members of the same mysticall body: Example, *Nebe.* 1. 2. And yet would I have men (though they lend their ears) not to bestow their beliefe on every groundlesse report which is blazed abroad.

1. Because Fame is often untrue, relating 2 *Sam.* 13. 32, *That all the Kings Sonnes are kil'd, when onely Amnon is slain.*

2. Because many there be which with the Souldiers, *Mat.* 28. 15, do nothing but invent and disperse lyes to gull overcredulous people: And as many a benighted Traveller hath wandred out of his way, whilst he followed for his lanthorn the Meteor of foolish fire; so many a man hath been deceived by embracing of lying relations, instead of true news. Yet in case that *Cushai* and *Abimaaz* confirm the same thing, that variety of Messengers from divers places of sundry sides and severall factions all agree in materiall and substantiall points; we ought not to be like unbelieving *Thomas*, to trust no more then our eyes have seen, but may rely on the truth of such relations, and ought accordingly to be affected with sorrow if the news be bad, or joy, if the tydings tend to the Churches good and Gods glory.

That God has visited his People.] This was the priviledge of the people of the Jews, that they were stiled Gods people, but now *Ammi* is made *Lo-Ammi*, and *Ruchama*, *Lo-ruchama*; and we the Gentiles are placed in their roome; let us therefore remember the words of St. *Paul*, Rom. 11. 20, 21, *Be not high minded, but fear; for if God spared not the naturall branches of the Olive, fear that he will not spare thee also.*

O that he would be pleased to cast his eye of pittie upon the poor Jews, which for fifteen hundred yeares and upwards have wandred without Law, without Lord, without Land, and as once they were, so once againe to make them his people!

In giving them bread.] By *Bread* is meant all sustenance necessary for the maintaining of our lives, whereof bread is the chiefeft. As the Temple of *Dagon* principally leaned on

two Pillars, and fell to the ground when *Sampson* took them away, so the buildings of our bodies chiefly relye on bread and water for outward sustenance, which being taken away, cannot but presently decay: let others therefore with those dishes which curiosity hath invented rather to encrease then satisfy hunger, which are more delightfome to the eye then pleasing to the pallat; yet more pleasing to the pallat, then wholsome to the stomack; let us pray, *Give us this day our daily bread.*

Bread is a dish in every Course; without this can be no Feast; with this can be no Famine.

Observation: Gods punishments though they last sometimes long, yet alwayes they end at last: and yet sometimes for the manifestation of his power, and tryall of his Childrens patience, he suffers them to be brought into great extremities: *Abrahams* hand shall be heaved up to slay *Isaac*, before the Angell shall catch hold of it: *Lazarus* shall be three dayes dead, before Christ will raise him; the Ship readie to sinke, before our Saviour will awake; *Peter* must be drencht in the water, before our Saviour will keepe him from drowning; *S. Paul* must be in the Lyons mouth, before he shall be delivered out of it; the Famine must last ten yeare, before God will give them Bread.

An example hereof wee have in our Neighbouring Churches of *Germanie*, which long have beene afflicted under the Tyrannie of their Oppressors; and now at length, a Sunne is risen out of the North; and after a long Night, the Morning beginneth the Day: And thou, *Swetbland*, shalt not be counted the meanest amongst the Kingdomes of *Europe*; for out of thee did a Prince arise, who hath delivered the distressed Protestants; who at his first landing, seemed to his Enemies an Object fitter of their scorn then opposition. They thought our youthfull *David* too unequall a Match to cope with their Generall, who had been a Man of Warre from his Youth. But as Veritie consisteth not in the pluralitie of Voyces, so Victorie standeth not in the multitude of Souldiers; but God so ordered it, that he that had the best Cause, had the best successe. I dare boldly say, that all the Protestant Princes and States of *Germanie* will be readie truly to say of him what *Tertullus* spake flatteringly of *Felix*, *Act.* 24. 2, 3,

Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietnesse, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this Nation by thy providence, we alwayes accept it, and in all places, most noble Prince, with all thankfulness. But let us turne our prayes of him into prayers for him, That he who hath conquered his Foes may subdue himselfe, not to be puffed up with his good successe. So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord ; but let all them that love thee be as the Sunne when he goeth forth in his might : And as ever I have earnestly desired, so now doe I stedfastly hope to see the Day, when our Naomi (our worthy Naomi, more fruitfull in Miseries then in Children, and in Vertues then in both) shall arise, to return out of the Land of Holland, with her Prince and Progenie, when she shall heare that in the Land of Holland God hath visited the Palatinate, and given them rest.

Verfes 7, 8 : And she went out of the place where she was, and her two daughters in law with her ; and they went on the way, to returne into the Land of Judah. And Naomi said to her daughters in law, Goe, returne each of you to her mother.

These words containe the continuation of *Naomies* returne ; wherein we may observe,

First, the companie that went with her, *her two daughters in law*.

Secondly, the discourse she had with this companie, consisting of a Precept in the Text, *Goe, returne each of you to her mother* : and of a prayer, in the words following.

Now, whereas her daughters in law did not take their farewell of *Naomi* at the threshold of their house, but went part of the way with her, we gather,

Observation : That all offices of kindneses and courtesies ought to be betwixt the mother in law and the daughter in law, I meane her sonnes Wife. And yet looke into the world, and ye shall commonly finde enmitie betwixt them, as saith *Terence in Heflera* [*Hecyra*, Act ii. Sc. 1, lines 4, 5] *Neque declinatam mulierem reperias ab aliarum ingenio ; ita aded uno omnes animo socrus oderunt nurus* : And their fallings out chiefly proceed from these two causes :

First, they contend which should have the greatest right and interest in the Man, who is Sonne to the one, Husband to the other. *Judab* and *Israel* contested (2 Sam. 19. 43) which should have most part in King *David*; the former claiming it, because he was bone of their bone; the latter pleaded they had eleven parts in him, to *Judabs* single share. Thus mother in lawes and daughter in lawes use to fall out; the mother, because her sonne is flesh of her flesh, and bone of her bone, pleades it is right that he should side and second with her; the daughter in law, because he is her Husband, and therefore one flesh, challengeth that he should rather take her part: so betwixt them they fill the Family with all discord.

Secondly, they fall out about the managing of the matters in the Household, after whose mind they should be ordered: but as S. *James* said in another case, *Beloved, these things ought not to be so*; both these brawles may be easily ended. The first may be taken up by the wisdom and discretion of the sonne in law, who ought so indifferently to poyse his affections betwixt them both, with such dutifulnesse and respect to the one, such love and kindnesse to the other, that neither may have just cause to complaine. And the second controversie may thus be decided: If the mother hath the state still in her hands, good reason it is she should rule the Affaires, and that the daughter in law should wait till her mother in lawes naturall death hath paved the succession to the governing of the Family: but if the old woman hath resigned her estate, and confined her selfe to an yearely pension, then ought she not to intermeddle with those matters from which she had willingly sequestred her selfe. Were this observed, there would not so many daughters in law rejoyce when the day of mourning for their mother in law is come; some whereof say as the wicked said of *David*, *O, when will she die, and her name perish?*

Now to come to the discourse she had with them: *Goe, returne, &c.* Where ariseth a question, Whether *Naomi* did well in perswading her daughters to goe back unto *Moab*? For the satisfaction whereof, I will set downe, first, what may be said against; secondly, what may be brought for her defence.

Accusation : Why, *Naomi*, why didst thou quench the zeale of thy daughters which proffered themselves so willingly to goe with thee? Oh, rayne them not backward with disswasions, but rather spurre them forward with exhortations; and strive to bring them out of an Idolatrous Land to a place where Gods Worship is purely profest: Say unto them, Hearken, O daughters, and consider, encline your ears, forget also your Country, and your own Mothers house; so shall the Lord your God have pleasure in you. True it is, ye have a Mother in *Moab*, but what of that? Care not for your Mother, but care for your Maker: care not for her that Conceived you, but care for him that Created you: tarry not with them, no, not so much as to expresse your last love in performing their Funeralls; rather let the dead bury their dead: those that are dead spiritually, let them bury such as die naturally, and come go ye along with me to the Land of *Canaan*. Thus, *Naomi*, oughtest thou to have said, and then hadst performed the part, done the duty of a Mother. If whilst thou hadst travelled with them on the way, thou hadst travelled with them till God had been formed in them; then shouldst thou shine as a double Sunne in heaven for saving of two souls, whereas now thou art in a manner accessary to their ghostly murther in sending them back to an idolatrous Country.

Defence : To this accusation *Naomi* might justly answer: It is my hearts desire and prayer to God, that I may be an instrument of my Daughters in laws conversion; but the wisdome of the Serpent as well as the innocency of the Dove is to be used in all our actions, least we draw needlesse danger upon our selves. True it is, my Daughters in law proffer to go with me; but here is the question, whether this is done out of courtesie and complement, or out of singlenesse and sinceritye. Now should they through my perswasions go into the Land of *Canaan*, and there live in want and penury, they will be ready to raile on me another day: We may thank *Naomi* for all this; we had plentiful provisions in our own Country, but she must have us hither; she by her restlesse importunitie must wring a constrained consent from us to come into *Canaan*; all these miseries are befallen upon us through

her default. Yea, I am affraid, that, finding want, they again will return into their own Country to my shame, the scandall of our Religion, and the deeper punishment of their own souls. Wherefore without their minds would I do nothing, that their going might not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. To which end I will put them to the touchstone, to see whether their forwardnesse be faithfull or faigned, sound or seeming, cordiall or counterfeit; I will weigh them both in the ballance, hoping that neither shall be found too light.

Upon these grounds learned men have acquitted *Naomi* from any fault in managing this matter, she doing it onely with an intent to trie them.

Whence we may observe, That *Pagans* that proffer themselves to become Converts, are not without proof presently to be received into the Church.

And here we may take occasion to digresse a little, to shew how Christians ought to behave themselves in the converting of Infidels.

First, They must strive in their mutuall conversing with them to season them with a good opinion of their honesty and upright dealing, otherwise their Doctrine will never be embraced, whose manners are justly mislik't.

Secondly, Having possessed them with this good esteem, they ought, as occasion is offered, to instruct them in the Rudiments of Christian Religion; and to begin with such as are plain and evident by the light of nature, and so in due time to proceed to matters of greater difficulty.

Lastly, They are to pray to God to give his increase to their planting and watering: for, as *Atbanasius* saith, *It is a divine work to perswade mens souls to believe.*

But as for the using of tortures and of torments thereby to force them, we have no such custome, nor as yet the Churches of God: for though none come to Christ but such as his Father draws by the violence of his effectuall grace; yet ought not men to drive or drag any to the profession of the Faith: yet notwithstanding, if after long patience and forbearing with them and long instructing them in the points of Religion; if still these *Pagans* continue refractary and obsti-

nate, then surely the civill Magistrate who hath the lawfull dominion over them may severely, though not cruelly, with *Josiah*, compell them to come to Church, and to perform the outward formalities of Gods worship.

Go then, ye bloody Jesuites! boast of those many millions of *Americanes* whom you have converted, who were not converted by the sword of the mouth, gained by hearing the Gospell, but compelled by the mouth of the sword, forced by feeling your cruelty: witnesse those seventy thousand which without any catechising in the points of Religion, were at once driven to the Font like so many Horses to a watering Trough. Indeed I find my Saviour, *Iohn* 2. 15, driving the *Merchants* out of the *Temple* with a whip of cords, but never before did I read of any which against their wills drave or instructed¹ *Pagans* to the Font to be baptized.

Each to her Mothers house.] Here we see Widows if poor are to be maintained by their Parents if they be able. These widows, 1 *Tim.* 5. 16, were not to be burthensome to the Church, but to be relieved by their own Countrie. Let Parents therefore take heed how they bestow their Daughters in Marriage: for if they match them to Unthrifths and Prodigals, will it not be bitternesse in the end? The burthen will fall heavie on their backs, when their poor Daughters with their Children must be sent again to their Fathers to maintain them.

House.] Widows are to contain themselves within the *house*, not like the *Harlot*, *Prov.* 7. 12, *alwaies in the streets*; but like meek *Sarah* in the *Tent*: whereby they shal sooner gain the love and esteem of others; for let base and beggerly fellows buy that rascal ware which is hung out at the doors and windows of Shops and Stalls, whilest men of qualitie and fashion will go into the Shop to cheapen the worth of those merchandise as are therein kept secret and conceal'd. And so surely all discreet and grave men will have the highest esteem, and bear the best affection to such Women which do not gad

¹ [Or *instructed* should be perhaps *uninstructed*.]

abroad to be seen, but with *Ruth* and *Orpah*, being Widows, keep themselves in their Mothers house.

Verſes 8, 9: *The Lord ſhew favour unto you, as ye have done with the dead, and with me. The Lord grant you that you may finde reſt, either of you in the houſe of her Husband.*

Naomi being readie to take her leave of her daughters, faine ſhe would leave them ſomething for which they might be the better after her departure. But Gold and Silver ſhe had none, yet ſuch as ſhe had ſhe freely gave unto them (heartie prayers). Whence we learne, It is the beſt expreſſion of a gratefull minde, to pray to God for the welfare of thoſe at whoſe hands we have received greater courteſies then we can requite.

As ye have done.] Hence we learne, God in the rewarding of the good deeds of his ſervants, dealeth with them accordingly as they have done with others. Yet farre be it from us to ſuppoſe, that in our ſtained and imperfect works there is any meritorious vertue, which deſerveth that God ſhould proportion a Reward unto them: but this freely proceedeth from Gods favour; who to encourage us in well-doing will not ſuffer a *Cup of cold water* to paſſe without its reward. Doe we deſire then to have dutifull Children, and faithfull Servants hereafter? let us be dutifull to our Parents, faithfull to our Maſters. On the other ſide, hath God afflicted us with *Zibabs* to our Servants, and with *Absalons* to our Sonnes? let us reflect our eyes on that which is paſt, and call our ſelves to account whether we formerly have not been unfaithfull to our Maſters, undutifull to our Parents: no doubt, we may then take up the Confession of *Adoni-bezek*, *As I have dealt with others, ſo the Lord hath done to me.*

With the dead.] *Question:* Here ariſeth a Question; How can one ſhew favour to the dead, who being paſt ſenſe are not capable of kindneſſe or crueltie?

Answer: The *Papiſts* (who leave the ſoules of moſt men departing from hence, like *Absalon's* body, hanging betwixt

Heaven and Hell) expound it, that these Women did fast and pray for the soules of their deceased Husbands, that they might be delivered from torments, and in due time brought to happinesse in Heaven. For the confutation of which erroneous exposition, I need say no more then that the Scripture makes no mention of any such middle place, wherein the soules of the godly should be detained before they goe into Heaven; and in matters of Faith, every Christian may safely say, Except I see in the Bible the print thereof, or can feel it deduced out of it by undenyable consequence, I will not believe it.

It is strange to see what impertinent places are produced by *Bellarmino*, to prove praying for the dead; as *James* 5. 16, *Confesse your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed; the effectually fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* Then he endeavoureth to prove that the dead pray for the living, from the parable of *Dives*, *Luke* 16. 27, *I pray thee therefore, Father &c.*, where *Dives* was charitably sollicitous for the good of his surviving *Brethren*: But let the first place in *S. James* be perused by impartiall Judgements, and it obligeth mutually the dead Saints to confesse to us, as well as we to them; which being impossible, directeth us to confine the words onely to reciprocal confessing and praying to and for the living. ✓

Some will say, *Bellarmino* having sufficiently proved *Purgatorie* before, (which necessarily inferreth prayers for the dead,) he might be the briefer in that subject. It is confessed, many arguments are alledged by him to that intent, though to small purpose; as *Psalme* 66. 12, *We went through fire and through water, but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place.* We answer; first, the living there speake *de præterito*, we went; not *de futuro*, we shall goe. Secondly, it was literally meant of the *Children of Israel*; *they went through the fire*, when envassalled to worke in the *Egyptian Brick-kills*; and *through water*, when miraculously they passed through the *Red Sea*. Again, they went through *fire*, when, preserved from the stinging of the *ferie*, they beheld the *brazen Serpent*. Thirdly, if from *fire* in this Text any can kindle a *Purgatorie*, others will quench it from the word *water*, seeing no *Papists* ever fancied a *watered Purgatorie*.

They urge the place, *Matth. 5. 26, Thou shalt by no meanes come out from thence till thou hast payd the uttermost farthing*; importing, say they, a possibilitie on satisfaction to be freed thence, that is, from *bell fire*.

Answer: Until there, is not taken *terminatively*, but *extensively*; equivalent to *never*, or *not at all*; paralleled to that place, *Psalme 57. 1, In the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, untill these calamities be over-past*. What, would *David* depart from God after his deliverance? Would he use him as Travellers a Bush? come under it in a storme, and leave it in fair weather? No surely, *David* would trust in God untill that time, and at that time, and in that time, and after that time, and at all times. Parallel also to that place of *Matthew 1. 25, And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-borne Sonne*: it being the constant Tradition of Antiquitie, according to the proportion of Faith, and embraced by the *Papists* themselves, that Christs Mother lived and died a spotlesse Virgin.

Much stresse he layeth on that passage of the Apostle, *1 Corinth. 3. 15, He himselfe shall be saved, yet so as by fire*. This place, saith *Bellarmino*, is *locus utilissimus & difficillimus*, most profitable and most hard.

We answer, first, in general; seeing by the *Jesuit's* confession it is so hard a place, it is utterly improbable that *Purgatorie* (being of so high concernment to every soule, as *Papists* would perswade us) can be therein intended: For all matters necessarie for men to know and beleieve, wherein the safetie of every single soule is interessed (such as *Purgatorie* is pretended to be), is by the confession of all Divines expressed in plaine and pregnant Texts of Scripture; for want whereof *Bellarmino* is faine to shrowd and shelter himselfe under the most obscure places, alledging a Text most dark and difficult by his owne confession.

Secondly, that *fire* there meant by Saint *Paul*, is affliction in this life. As for such Fathers who expounded it *de igne conflagrationis*, of that *fire* which should burn up all things at the end of the world, it makes nothing for the patronizing of *Purgatorie* in the *Popish* notion thereof.

Come we now to finde an *Office*, and make an enquire, how many things a *dying godly man* leaves behind him in this world: His *Soule* is sent before him; and, *Revel. 14. 13, From henceforth blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.* He leaveth behind him,

First, his *Body*; to which we must be kinde, by *Buriall* and *Lamentation*.

Secondly, his *Estate*; to which we must be kinde, by carefull and faithfull *Administration*.

Thirdly, his *Children, Friends, or Kindred*; to whom we must be kinde, by *Love* and *Affection*.

Fourthly, his *Faults* and *Failings*; to which we must be kinde, by *Silence* and *Suppression*.

Fifthly, his *Memorie* and *Vertues*; to which we must be kinde, by *Congratulation*, *Commemoration*, and *Imitation*.

Of these in order: For although these words, *Ye have beene kinde to the dead*, are capable of this sound sense, *You have been kinde to your Husbands, who now are dead, whilest they were living*, yet because more seemeth imported therein, we will prosecute the aforefaid Particulars.

I say, first, his *Body*; to which there is due *Buriall* and *Lamentation*: *Buriall*, and that according to the qualitie and condition wherein he lived. We reade of King *Hezekiab*, 2 *Chron. 32. 33, They buried him in the chiefest* (in the Hebrew, *in the bigbest*) *Sepulchers of the sonnes of David*. It must be allowed, that the Sepulcher of *David* his Father, was higher then his; and next *David, Hezekiabs*. O that height might be but measured by true holinesse! There was an Officer amongst the *Greekes*, whose place it was to measure *Monuments* according to the *Standard* of the mens merits therein interred: Such Officers, if used in *England*, would pare off great parcels from some *Tombes*, more proportioned to the parties *Wealth* then *Vertues*. But nothing could be abated of *Hezekiab* his *Monument*, all the *Dimensions* whereof were due to his *Devotion*.

And *Lamentation*: Surely, of all the *godly* that ever departed this Life, Gods servants had the least cause to bewayl the death of *S. Steven*: For first, whereas there is a three-fold

degree of certaintie of salvation; first, that of *Hope*, which as the least and lowest, scarce deserveth to be styled Certaintie; secondly, that of *Evidence*, whereby the person clearly in his soule apprehendeth Gods favour; thirdly, that of *Vision*, peculiar to this *Steven* alone, antedating his happinesse with his bodily eyes, being in Heaven before he was in Heaven: so that as many gates in his wounded body stood open to let out his soule, he beheld alive the Heavens opened to receive it. And yet we reade, *Acts 8. 2, And devout men carryed Steven to his Buriall, and made great lamentation over him.* Observe; it was not said, *they made great lamentation for him*, but *over him*; they knew him in a happy condition: It was themselves they bemoaned in his death, the sight of his Corps sharpening their sorrow, that the *Infant-Church* had lost one of her best swadling-clothes.

Secondly, his *Estate*; to which we must be kinde by carefull and faithfull *Adminisstration*. *Heb. 9. 17, For a Testament is of force after men are dead.* *Gal. 3. 15, Though it be but a mans Covenant, or Testament, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto.* No man? He must either be lesse then man in knowledge, a *meere Beast*; or more then man in malice, a *meere Devill*. By *Testament* I understand not onely the very words thereof, but also what appeareth to be the *Testator* his Will to the Conscience of the Executor. How many in this kinde are cruell to the dead! So that some of the Legacies bequeathed by them have had a *Thumb* or a *Toe*, yea, some an *Arme* or a *Legge* cut off from them. Many Legacies which came *sound* forth from the *Testator*, before they could get through the *Executors* have beene more *lame* and *maimed* then the Criples in the Hospitall to whom they have beene bequeathed.

Thirdly, his *Children*, or (because *Mablon* and *Cbilion* had none of them) his *Kindred* or *Friends*; to whom the living must be kinde, with *Love* and *Affection*. Remember the Character of the good Wife, *Proverbs 31. 12, She will doe her Husband good, and not evill, all the dayes of her life.* We have many *Wives* onely negatively good, pleasing and praying themselves in this, that they doe their *Husbands* no hurt.

This will not doe the deed; they must be positively profitable. Nor is it said, *all the dayes of his life*, but *all the dayes of her life*. What if he dieth, her obligation to him is not *cassated* or *nulled*, (as many *Wives* generally conceive,) but still continueth *all the dayes of her life*. True it is, she is set free so farre, as she may marry againe in a competent time, without the least shadow of sinne; yet so, as still obliged to doe good all her life time to the *Friends*, to the *Children* (if any) of her dead *Husband*; and he, if surviving her, reciprocally engaged to doe the like.

Fourthly, the best men leave *Faults* and *Failings* behind them; to these the living must be kinde by *Silence* and *Suppression*.

First, of those of whom thou canst say no good, say nothing.

Secondly, of those of whom thou canst say some good, say no bad.

David is a most excellent instance hereof, 2 *Sam.* 1. 24. Who could more, or more justly have inveighed against *Saul* then *David*? O ye *Daughters of Israel*, rejoyce for the death of so great a Tyrant, who killed *Abimelech* the High Priest, and fourescore more of Gods Priests, whose soules were as cleare from Treason as the white Linnen Ephod they wore were from spots: Twice I had him at my mercy, once in the Cave, once when asleepe; yet he (notwithstanding all his faire promises to the contrarie) was the more cruell to me for my kindnesse to him. No such matter; *David* conceales what was bad, remembreth what was good in *Saul*, at leastwise what would make his memorie acceptable with the weaker Sex; namely, his making of Gallantrie fashionable amongst them: Ye *Daughters of Israel*, weepe over *Saul*, who clothed you in Scarlet, with other delights, who put on ornaments of Gold upon your apparell.

Fifthly, *Memorie* of his *Vertues*: To which three things are due, to make thee kinde thereunto.

First, *Congratulation*. I will touch this string but tenderly; not so much because fearing mine owne fingers (as if the Lesson should be false I play thereon), but expecting other mens eares as ill-disposed with prejudice. It is no *Poperie*, nor *Superstition*, to prayse God for the happie condition of

his servants departed: the ancient *Patriarchs*, the inspired *Prophets*, the holy *Apostles*, the patient *Martyrs*, the Religious *Confessors*. When the tribe of *Ruben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasses*, erected the Altar ED at the passage over *Jordan*, it startled all the rest of the Tribes, as if under it they had hatched some superstitious designe; whereas, indeed, the Altar was not intended for *Sacrifice*, but was meerely an Altar of *Memorial*, to evidence to posteritie that these two Tribes and a halfe (though divided from the rest by the River of *Jordan*) were conjoyned with them in the worship of the same God. In like manner when some Ministers thank God for the departure of his servants, some people are so weake, and some so wilfull, to condemne such for passages of *Poperie*, as if superstitious prayers were made for their departure: whereas, indeed, such *Congratulation*, on the contrarie, speakes our confidence on their present blisse and happinesse, and continueth the *Church Militant* with the *Church Triumphant*, as the compleating one intire *Catholike Church* of *Jesus Christ*.

Secondly, *Commemoration* is due to the *Memories* of the deceased. Hence the ancient custome of *Funerall Orations* continued in our moderne practice, both to the honour of the dead, and profit of the living.

Thirdly, *Imitation* of their *Vertues*. It hath been a great Question amongst such who desire to expresse themselves thankfull to their dead *Ancestors*, of what *Metall* or *Matter* to make their *Monuments*, so as they may be most lasting and permanent. Wise men have generally decryed *Silver* and *Brasse*; not so much, because too costly (such may be the worth and wealth of the *Executors* and partie deceased), but too tempting to *Sacriledge* to demolish them. *Brasse* is generally subject to the same mischief, and *Marble Touch* and *Alabaster*, are generally used for that purpose; but the *Monument* lesse subject to Casualtie, is, to *imitate* the *Vertues* of our dead *Friends*: in other *Tombes* the dead are preserved; in these they may be said to remaine alive.

When we see a Child very like to the Father and Mother thereof, we use to say, *Thy Father will never be dead as long as thou livest*. Thus it is the best remembrance of our dead *Progenitors*, to follow their *Vertues*. S. Paul cannot looke

upon *Timothy* but presently calls to minde his Mother *Eunice*, and his Grandmother *Lois*, though the latter no doubt long since departed.

The Lord grant that you may finde rest, each of you in the house of her Husband.] Here we may observe, first, that it is the part of pious Parents to pray to God for the good successe of their Children, especially in the matter of their Marriage: example in *Abraham*, *Gen.* 24. 7. Secondly, hence we may gather, that the Life of married persons, meeting together in the feare of God, is *Rest*.

Objection: How then commeth it to passe that many men and women may take up the words of *Rebecca*, *Seeing it is so, why am I thus?* *Gen.* 25. 22. If the married Life be *Rest*, how commeth it to prove my Purgatorie, my Hell, my cause of restlesse Torment? Men and women were joyned in Marriage, *Gen.* 2, to the end to be a mutuall *helpe* one to the other; but many prove such helpers as the King of *Assur* did to *Abaz*, *2 Chron.* 28. 20, of whom it is said, he distressed him, but helped him not.

Answer: Who can hinder it, if men of their Girdles and Garters make Halters to hang themselves? If those things, which should be for their strength and ornament, be through their owne default turned to their utter undoing, the estate of Marriage is not herein to be blamed, but the folly of such who out of some sinister ends undertake it. Happily [Haply] some chuse their Wives like as our Grandmother *Eve* did the Apple, because they are pleasant to the eyes to be lookt upon: others out of a love of their Wealth, saying of their Wives what the *Sichemites* did of the sonnes of *Jacob*, *Shall not all their Heards and Cattell be ours?* Whereas if Grace and Pietie were principally respected in their Choice (other outward accommodations in their due distance not neglected), they would finde the truth of our observation, that a married Life is *Rest*. For though some pettie Brawles may happen amongst the most sanctified Couple, which may move their anger, yet shall it not remove their love, if one with Christian discretion beareth with the infirmities of the other. *Joab* made this compact with his Brother *Abishai*, *2 Sam.* 10.

11, *If the Aramite be stronger then I, thou shalt helpe me; but if the Ammonites be too strong for thee, I will come and succour thee.* Thus ought Man and Wife to make a Bargaine with their best Councell to, and prayers for each other, to assist themselves mutually against their sundry weakneses and infirmities, which otherwise would turne their *Rest* of their Life into unquietnesse.

Verses 9 to 13: *And when she kissed them, they lift up their voices, and wept. And they said unto her, Surely, we will returne with thee unto thy people. But Naomi said, Turne againe, my daughters: for what cause will you goe with me? Are there any more sonnes in my Wombe, that they may be your Husbands? Turne againe, my daughters, goe your way, for I am too old to have an Husband: If I should say, I have hope; and if I had an Husband this night; yea, if I had borne sonnes: Would you tarry for them while they were of age? Would you be deferred for them from taking of Husbands? Nay, my daughters, for it grieveth me much for your sakes that the hand of the Lord is gone out against me.*

And when she kissed them.] Kisses was the ordinarie salutation of the Jewes at the meeting of acquaintance, men with men; women with women; men with women, provided that then they were of neere kindred, to avoid all suspition of unchastitie.

And they lift up their voices, and wept.] The observation here may be the same which the Jewes collected, *Iohn* 11. 36, which, when they saw our Saviour weepe for *Lazarus*, they said, *Behold how he loved him.* So these teares in this place were the expresseion of their affection. Sorrow like the River of *Iordan*, 1 *Chron.* 12. 15, *in the first moneth did overflow the bankes,* and streamed water downe their cheekes.

But Naomi said, Turn againe, my daughters, &c.] In these words, she dissuadeth her daughters in law from returning with her; the strength of her Reason, contained in three Verses, may thus be set downe, as if she had said:

Happily [Haply], daughters, you have heard that it is the custome in the Land of *Canaan* for Childlesse Widowes to marry their deceased Husbands Brothers; but if your returne be grounded hereon, know that you build your hopes on a false foundation, it being impossible for me, by the course of Nature, to have *any more sonnes*. Who will looke that Water should flow from a drie Fountain, Grapes grow on a withered Vine, Fruit flourish on a dead Figge-tree? Though *Sarab* at ninety was made a Mother, though *Aaron's* Rod did bud and blossome when it was drie; I my selfe should be a Miracle, if I should expect such a Miracle: and therefore know that *there are no more sonnes in my Wombe*.

Doctrinē: Now whereas *Naomi* dealeth thus plainly with her daughters, not feeding them with false hopes, it teacheth us this: We ought not to gull our friends with the promises of those things that neither will nor can come to passe. Otherwise we shall both wrong our friends, who the higher they are mounted upon the Hill of seeming hopes, at length the deeper they will be cast into the Dale of reall despaire; and also we shall wrong our selves; when Time, the Mother of Truth, shall unmaske us, we shall prove our selves to be no better then Lyars and Cheaters.

Use: Let us Labour to be *Nathanaels*, true *Israelites*, in whom there is no guile; and as *John Baptist*, when as the *Pbarises* asked him, whether he was the Christ, or no, he confessed, and denyed not, and said plainly, *I am not the Christ* (*John* 1. 20): So if we neither meane to doe, nor know that such things cannot be done which our friends request of us; let us confesse, denie not, and say plainly that their suites cannot, shall not be granted; and by such downe-right dealing we shall at last get more favour from them, then they who flatter them with their tongue. Let not the Physician, when he reades in the Urinall those dismal symptomes which are the Ushers of Death, still promise Life and Health unto his Patient; but plainly tell him, that there is *Mors in olla*; that so he may flye unto the Physician of the Soule for a better Life when this shall fade. Let not the Lawyer, when he knowes the Case is desperate, feed his Clyent with false hopes to recover it, that so from him he may be fed with Money;

but rather let him advise him to *agree with his adversarie while he is in the way*; that though he cannot get the Conquest, yet he may have the easier Composition.

For I am too old to have a Husband.] Here ariseth a Question.

Question: Is there any Age so old, wherein a man or woman may not marry?

Answer: *Naomies* meaning was not simply and absolutely that she was too old to marry, but she was too old to have a Husband, and by a Husband to have Children, and that those Children should grow up and make fit Husbands for *Orpah* and *Ruth*. Yet, by the way, I would advise such who are stricken in yeares, especially if impotencie be added unto Age, and that it may stand with their conveniencie, to refraine from all thoughts of a second Marriage, and to expect that happie day, when Death shall solemnize the Nuptiall betwixt their Soule and their Saviour. For when *Barzillai* hath counted eighty yeares, he hath even had enough of the pleasure and vanitie of the world; let him retire himselfe to a private life, and not envie his sonne *Cimcham* to succeed to those delights of which his Age hath made his Father uncapable. Yet if any ancient persons, for their mutuall comfort and societie (which is not the least end for which Marriage was ordained), are disposed to match themselves herein, they are blamelesse; especially, if they have a care to observe a correspondencie of Age with those to whom they linke themselves. Otherwise, as our Saviour noteth, when the old Cloth was joyned to the new, it made no good medley, but the Rent was made the worse: So when the Spring of Youth is wedded to the Winter of Age, no true comfort can arise from such unequall Yokes, but much jealousy and suspition are caused from the same.

Would ye tarry for them?] That is, you would not tarry for them; or if you should tarry for them, you should wrong your selves, and doe unadvisedly; because in the mean time, refraining from the using of Gods Ordinance, you expose your selves to the Devill, to tempt you to incontinen-
cie.

Therefore S. Pauls counsell is good which he prescribes in 1 Tim. 5. 14, *I will therefore that the younger Women, &c.*

While they were of age.] Note from hence, that Children are not to be married in their Non-age, before they are arrived at yeares of discretion: *Tbamar*, Gen. 38. 11, is to wait till *Selab* be grown up. Those Parents are therefore to be blamed, who out of by-respects match their Children in their infancie. Whence it commeth to passe, that as their age doth increase, their minde doth alter: so what formerly they did like, afterwards they do loath, such Marriages proving commonly most infuccefull.

Nay, my Daughters: for it grieveth me much for your sakes.] As if she had said, It grieveth me much that you are already plunged into povertie; but it would add more to my sorrow, if you should increase your calamities by returning home wiht me; for mine own part, my misery troubleth me not so much because the Sun of my life is readie to set, and it mattereth not though the Ship be scanted of Victuals when it is hard by the Harbour; all my care is for you who are young women and stand upon your own preferment; it grieveth me much for your sakes.

Doctrine: See here, such is the ingenuous nature of Gods Children, that they sorrow more for others that are inwrapped with them in a common calamitie then for themselves. Example in *Elias*, 1 King. 17. 20. But then it goeth nearest to their heart when others are not onely afflicted with them, but also for them, when they themselves are the principall Malefactors for whose defaults others are punish't, as in *David*, 2 Sam. 24. 17.

Uses: It may confute the devillish nature of such who, being in Trouble, care not though they pawne their dearest friends in their stead, so be it they themselves may escape. And it may also serve to comfort those that are in distresse, when God onely layeth his punishments on them alone, and doth not involve others together with them. Art thou afflicted with povertie? Comfort thy selfe, that though thou beest poore yet thou hast undone none by Suretiship for thee.

Art thou in sicknesse? Be glad that thy Disease is not infectious, and that thou hast not derived the contagion to others. Doth God punish thee for thy sinne with a personall punishment? Be glad that thou bearest the weight of thine owne offence, and that thou art not the *Jonab*, for whose private sinne a whole Ship of Passengers is endangered to be cast away; for then their case would grieve thee more then thine owne calamitie.

That the hand of the Lord.] Naomi here taketh especiall notice that her Losses proceedeth from no other by-causes, but from the hand of God. As *David* therefore asked the Widow of *Tekoab*, 2 Sam. 14. 19, *Is not the hand of Joab with thee in all this?* So when any affliction befalleth us, let us presently have recourse unto God, and say, *Is not the hand of the Lord the principall cause bereof?* And not with the Priests of the *Philistims* say, *It was a chance that happened us.*

Is gone out against me.] Observation: Hence we may observe, every Saint of God, in a common calamitie, is to thinke, that God aimed at his punishment, and intended his reformation in particular. *The hand of the Lord* was gone out also against *Orpah* and *Ruth*, in taking away their Husbands; yet *Naomi* appropriateth the stroke to her selfe, *Is gone out against me.*

How contrarie is this to the practice of the world! Men in a publike and generall affliction, each shifteth it off from themselves, and no one man will be brought to confesse that his finnes are punished, or his amendment intended in particular, if the Scourge be universall. As the *Philistims*, 1 Sam. 5. posted the Ark of God from *Ashdod* to *Ekron*, from one place to another, and none would receive it: So, in a common Calamitie, none will acknowledge, that he himselfe is especially interested in it, but plead, *What is that to us? Let others looke unto it.* O, saith the people, *God hath justly sent this Plague for the corruption of the Magistrates; It is justly inflicted,* saith the Magistrate, *for the disobedience of the people: Herein,* saith the poore man, *God hath met with the oppression and extortion of the Rich; Herein,* saith the rich man, *God*

batb payed home the muttering & the repining of the Poore : Now, faith the prodigall, God punisheth the covetousnesse of Old men ; Now, faith the old man, he scourgeth the prodigalitie of such as be Young. Farre otherwise Naomi, who, though the Arrowes of God did glance and rebound to the wounding of Orpah and Ruth, yet she thought she her selfe was the Mark at whom God did levell his Shafts ; The band of the Lord is gone out against me.

Verse 14: *And Orpah kissed her mother in law, but Ruth clave unto her.*

These words containe two generall parts :

First, A blazing Meteor falling downe out of the Ayre ; *And Orpah, &c.*

Secondly, A fixed Starre fairely shining in the Heaven ; *But Ruth, &c.*

And Orpah kissed her mother.] Is this she which even now was so promising in her words, and so passionate in her weeping? See how soon a forward Professor may turne to a fearefull Apostate : Though she standeth or falleth to her own Master, yet, as the Psalmist faith, *I am horribly afraid for those that forsake thy Law ;* so have we just cause to suspect the fearfull finall estate of *Orpah.*

Kissed her mother.] That is, gave her this last salutation of her departure. Here we see that those who want grace and true sanctitie may notwithstanding have manners and good civilitie. Now had *Orpah* changed the corporall Kisse she gave to her mother, into a spirituall Kisse to her Saviour, *Psal. 2. 12, Kisse the Sonne, lest he be angry,* her case had been as happie as now it may seeme to be hopelesse. But leaving her, we come to our selves, and gather this Doctrine.

Doctrine : Those who at the first were forward in Religion, may afterward altogether fall away, *1 Tim. 1. 20 ; Heb. 6. 4-6 ; Matth. 13. 20-1.* It may therefore serve to abate the proud carriage of such, who, as if it were not enough to be sure, will also be presumptuous of their salvation, and thereby

take leave and libertie to themselves to live more licentiously.

Objection: But as once one of the Children of the Prophets cryed out to *Elisba*, *O man of God, there is Death in the Pot*; so may the weak Christian complaine against this Doctrine: O it is a deadly and dangerous one, containing much matter of despaire, too bitter for the pallat of a poore Christian to taste, or his stomack to digest; it quencheth all the sparkes of my comfort, and hacketh asunder all the sinewes of my hope; I feare lest *Orpab*-like I also should fall away: what shall I doe, that I may be saved?

Answer: Let not the *smoking Flax* be dismay'd, which in time may be a *blazing flame*; nor the *bruised Reed* be discouraged, which may prove a *Brazen Pillar* in the Temple of God: That therefore thou mayest finally persevere, observe these foure Rules.

1 *Rule*: First, utterly renounce all sufficiencie in thy selfe. Who but a mad man will now adayes warrant the Paper-Shields of his owne strength, that knowes that *Adams* compleat Armour of Original Integritie was shot thorow in *Paradise*.

2 *Rule*: Secondly, place all thy confidence on the undeserved mercie of God: Perseverance commeth neither from the East, nor from the West, nor as yet from the South; but God suffereth one to fall, and holdeth up another. The Temple of *Solomon* had two Pillars; one called *Jachin*, founding in Hebrew, *The Lord will stablish*; the other *Booz*, signified, *In him is strength*: So every Christian (*the Temple of the Holy-Ghost*) is principally holden up by these two Pillars, Gods Power, and Will, to support him. Wherefore in every distresse let us crie out to God, as the Disciples did to our Saviour in the midst of a Tempest, *Helpe Master, or else we perish*.

3 *Rule*: Thirdly, use all those means which God hath chalked out for the encrease of grace in thee; as Prayer, Meditation, reverent receiving the Sacraments, accompanying with Gods Children, Reading, Hearing the Word, &c.

4 *Rule*: Fourthly, alwayes preserve in thy selfe an awfull feare, lest thou shouldst fall away from God: Feare to fall, and Assurance to stand, are two Sisters; and though *Cain* said,

he was not his *Brothers keeper*, sure I am, that this Feare doth watch and guard her Sister Assurance: *Tantus est gradus certitudinis, quantus sollicitudinis*: They that have much of this Feare, have much certaintie; they that have little, little certaintie; they that have none, have none at all. It is said in Building, that those Chimneyes which shake most, and give way to the wind, will stand the longest: The Morall in Divinitie is true; those Christians that shiver for feare by finnes to fall away, may be observed most couragious to persist in Pietie.

Comfort: To those that diligently practise these Rules, I will adde this Comfort: Encourage thy selfe, that God will keepe thee from Apostasie unto the end, because alreadie hitherto he hath preserved thee: For Gods former favours are pawnes and pledges of his future love. *Davids* killing of a Lyon and a Beare, were the Earnests of his Victorie over *Goliab*. Thus *S. Paul* reasoneth, 2 *Cor.* 1. 10, *Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.* When *Rachel* bare her first sonne, *Gen.* 30. 24, she called him *Joseph*, and said, *The Lord shall adde to me another sonne.* So, when God hath alreadie blessed us and supported us for the time past, let us say with *Rachel*, *Joseph, the Lord will adde*: he will not stay, or stint, or stop here; but as he hath kept me from my mothers wombe, and ever since I was borne, so I trust he will not forsake me when I am aged, and full of gray haire.

But to returne to her which returned again to *Moab*: We reade in 2 *Sam.* 20. 12, that the people which passed by the Corps of murdered *Amasa*, being moved with such a hideous and uncouth a spectacle, they stood still: But when we reade this Booke of *Ruth*, and come to *Orpabs* Apostasie, there let us a while pause and demurre, to reade in her fall a Lecture of our owne infirmitie. For if we stand, it is not because we have more might in our selves, but because God hath more mercie on us. Let us therefore *worke out our salvation with feare and trembling*: ever *trembling*, lest we should be cast to Hell; ever *triumphing*, that we shall come to Heaven: ever *fearfull*, lest we should fall; ever *certaine*, that we shall stand:

ever carefull, lest we should be damned ; ever chearfull, that we shall be saved. Concerning *Ruths* perseverance, we intend to treat hereafter.

Verse 15 : *And Naomi said, Behold, thy sister in law is gone back unto her people, and unto her gods ; returne thou after thy sister in law.*

In these words, *Naomi* seekes to perswade *Ruth* to returne ; alledging the example of *Orpah*, whom she saith was gone back to her people and to her gods.

Observation : Where first we finde, that all the Heathen, and the *Moabites* amongst the rest, did not acknowledge one true God, but were the worshippers of many gods ; for they made every Attribute of God to be a distinct Deitie. Thus in stead of that Attribute, the Wisdome of God, they fained *Apollo* the god of Wisdome ; in stead of the Power of God, they made *Mars* the god of Power ; in stead of that admirable Beautie of God, they had *Venus* the goddesse of Beautie. But no one Attribute was so much abused as Gods Providence : For the Heathen supposing that the whole World, and all the Creatures therein, was too great a Diocesse to be dayly visited by one and the same Deitie ; they therefore assigned fundry gods to severall creatures. Thus Gods Providence in ruling the raging of the Seas was counted *Neptune* ; in stilling the roaring Winds, *Æolus* ; in commanding the Powers of Hell, *Pluto* : yea, Sheepe had their *Pan*, and Gardens their *Pomona* : the Heathens then being as fruitfull in faining of gods, as the *Papists* since in making of Saints.

Doctrine : Now, because *Naomi* used the example of *Orpah* as a Motive to worke upon *Ruth* to returne, we gather from thence ; Examples of others set before our eyes, are very potent and prevalent arguments to make us follow and imitate them : Whether they be good examples ; so the forwardnesse of the *Corinthians* to relieve the *Jews*, provoked many : or whether they be bad ; so the dissembling of *Peter* at *Antioch* drew *Barnabas* and others into the same fault. But those examples, of all others, are most forcible with us, which are

set by such who are neere to us by kindred, or gracious with us in friendship, or great over us in power.

Use 1: Let men in eminent places, as Magistrates, Ministers, Fathers, Masters, and the like, (seeing that others love to dance after their Pipe, to sing after their Tune, to tread after their Tract,) endeavour to propound [to] themselves patternes of Pietie and Religion to those that be under them.

Use 2: When we see any good example propounded unto us, let us strive with all possible speed to imitate it. What a deale of stirre is there in the World for Civill Precedencie, and Prioritie! Every one desires to march in the Fore-front, and thinkes it a shame to come lagging in the Rere-ward: Oh, that there were such an holy Ambition and heavenly Emulation in our hearts, that as *Peter* and *Iohn* ran a Race, which should come first to the Grave of our Saviour; so men would contend, who should first attaine to true Mortification! And when we see a good example set before us, let us imitate it, though it be in one who in outward respects is farre our inferiour. Shall not the Master be ashamed to see that his Man, whose place on Earth is to come behinde him, in Pietie towards Heaven to goe before him? Shall not the Husband blush to see his Wife, which is the weaker Vessel in Nature, to be the stronger Vessel in Grace? Shall not the elder Brother dye his cheekes with the Colour of Vertue, to see his younger Brother, who was last borne, first re-borne by Faith and the Holy-Ghost? Yet let him not therefore envie his Brother, as *Cain* did *Abel*; let him not be angry with his Brother, because he is better then himselfe; but let him be angry with himselfe, because he is worse then his Brother; let him turne all his malice into imitation; all his fretting at him, into following of him: Say unto him as *Gebazi* did of *Naaman*, *As the Lord liveth I will run after him*: And though thou canst not over-run him, nor as yet over-take him, yet give not over to run with him; follow him, though not as *Azabel* did *Abner*, hard at the heeles; yet as *Peter* did our Saviour, *afarre off*: that though the more slowly, yet as surely thou mayest come to Heaven: and though thou wert short of him whilest he lived, in the Race, yet thou shalt be even with him when thou art dead, at the Marke.

Use 3: When any bad Example is presented unto us, let us decline and detest it, though the men be never so many, or so dear unto us. Imitate *Micbaiah*, 1 *Kings* 22. 13, 14, to whom when the messengers, sent to fetch him, said, *Behold now the words of the Prophets declare good to the King with one mouth: let thy word therefore, I pray thee, be like to one of them*; *Micbaiah* answered, *As the Lord liveth, whatsoever the Lord saith unto me, that will I speake*. If they be never so deare unto us, we must not follow their bad practice. So must the sonne please him that begat him, that he doe not displease him that created him; so must the Wife follow him that married her, that she doth not offend him that made her. Wherefore as *Samson*, though bound with new Cords, snapt them asunder as Towe when it feeleth the fire; so rather then we should be led by the lewd examples of those which be neere and deare unto us, let us breake in pieces all Tyes, Engagements, Relations whatsoever.

Question: Yea but one may say, What if I finde in the Scripture an action recorded, whose doer is knowne to have beene a godly and gracious man; may I not, without any further doubt or scruple, follow the same?

Answer: For the better satisfying hereof, I will ranke the actions of godly men, registred in the Scriptures, into nine severall rankes, and will shew how farre forth we may safely proceed in the imitation of them.

1. We finde some actions set downe which are extraordinary, the doers whereof had peculiar strength and dispensation from God to doe them. Thus *Samson* slew himselfe and the *Philistims* in the Temple of *Dagon*; *Elias* caused fire to descend on the two Captaines and their fifties; *Elisha* cursed the Children of *Bethel*. Now these are recorded rather for our instruction then imitation: For when the sonnes of *Tbunder* would have been the sonnes of *Lightning*, and have had fire from Heaven to burne the *Samaritans* which refused to receive our Saviour, after the example of *Elias*, Christ checked their ill-tempered Zeale and told them, *You know not of what spirit you are of*.

2. Some examples are set down which are founded in the

Ceremonial Law, as the eating of the *Paschall Lamb*, the *Circumcising of their Children* the eight daie : Now the date of these did expire at the death of Christ ; the substance being come, the shadows are fled, and therefore they may in no wise still be observed.

3. Such examples as are founded in the Judicial Law, which was onely calculated for the elevation of the Jewish Commonwealth, as to put Men to death for Adulterie. Now these examples tie us no farther to imitate them then they agree with the Moral Law, or with those Statutes by which every particular Countrie is Governed.

4. Some there be founded in no Law at all, but onely in an ancient custome by God tolerated and connived at, as Polygamie in the *Patriarks*, Divorces in the *Iewes* upon every flight occasion ; from these also we must in these daies abstaine, as which were never liked or allowed by God, though permitted in some Persons and Ages, for some speciall reasons.

5. Doubtful examples which may so be termed, because it is difficult to decide whether the Actors of them therein did offend or no ; so that should a Jurie of learned Writers be empannelled to passe their verdict upon them, they would be puzzled whether to condemn or acquit them, and at length be forced to find it an *Ignoramus* ; as whether *David* did well to dissemble himselfe frantick, thereby to escape the crueltie of *Achish* King of *Gath*. Now our most advised way herein is altogether to abstain from the imitation of them, because there is a deal of difficultie and danger, and our judgements may easilie be deceived.

6. Mixt examples, which containe in them a double action, the one good, the other bad, both so closely couched together, that it is a very hard thing to sever them : thus in the unjust Steward, there was his wisdom to provide for himselfe, and his wickednesse to purloyne from his Master : the first God did commend, we may imitate ; the latter he could not but loath, we may not but shun. In the *Israelitish Midwives*, Exod. 1. 19, there was *fides mentis* & *fallacia mentientis* : the faith of their love, and the falsenesse of their lying : the first God rewarded, and we may follow ; the latter he could not but dislike, and we must detest. Behold here is wisdom, and

let the Man that hath understanding discreetly divide betwixt the Drosse and the Gold, the Chaffe and the Wheat in these mixt examples, that so they may practice the one, eschew and avoid the other.

7. Those which be absolutely bad, that no charitable Comment can be fastened upon them, as the drunkenness of *Noah*, the incest of *Lot*, the lying of *Abraham*, the swearing of *Ioseph*, the adulterie of *David*, the denial of *Peter*: Now God forbid we should imitate these; farre be it from us with King *Abaz* to take a pattern from the Idolatrous Altar of *Damascus*: the Holy Spirit hath not set these sinnes down with an intent they should be followed; but first to shew the frailtie of his dearest Saints when he leaves them to themselves; as also to comfort us when we fall into grievous sinnes, when we see that as haynous offences of Gods servants stand upon record in the Scripture.

8. Actions which are only good as they are qualified with such a circumstance, as *Dauids* eating of the *Shew-bread* provided for the Priests, in a case of absolute necessitie. These we may follow, but then we must have a speciall eye and care that the same qualifying circumstance be in us, for otherwise the deed will be impious and damnable.

9. Examples absolutely good, as the faithfulness of *Abraham*, the peaceableness of *Isaac*, the painfulness of *Iacob*, the chastitie of *Ioseph*, the patience of *Moses*, the valour of *Ioshuab*, the sinceritie of *David*; these it is lawful and laudable with our best endeavours to imitate: follow not the Adulterie of *David*, but follow the chastitie of *Ioseph*; follow not the dissembling of *Peter*, but follow the sincerity of *Nathaniel*; follow not the testiness of *Ionab*, but follow the meekness of *Moses*; follow not the apostasie of *Orpab*, but follow the perseverance of *Ruth*, which comes in the next Text to be Treated of.

Verses 16, 17: *And Ruth answered, Intreat me not to leave thee, nor to depart from thee; for whither thou goest, I will goe; and where thou dwellest, I will dwell: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God. Where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord doe so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.*

Here we have the resolution of *Ruth* portrayed in lively Colours: so that if we consider her Sex, a Woman; her Nation, a *Moabite*; one may boldly pronounce of her what our Saviour did of the Centurion, *Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.*

Intreat me not to leave thee.] Some reade it, *Be not thou against me*, as it is in the Margent of the New Translation. Where we see that those are to be accounted our Adversaries, and against us, who dissuade us from our Voyage to *Canaan*, from going to Gods true Religion. They may be our Fathers, they cannot be our Friends; though they promise us all outward profits and pleasures, yet in very deed they are not with us, but against us, and so must be accounted of.

Where thou lodgest, I will lodge.] A good Companion, faith the *Latine* Proverb, is *pro viatico*; I may adde also, *pro diversorio*: *Ruth*, so be it she may enjoy *Naomies* gracious companie, will be content with any Lodging, though happily [haply] it may be no better then *Jacob* had, *Gen. 28. 11.* And yet we see how some have been discouraged even from the company of our Saviour, for feare of hard lodging; witnesse the Scribe, to whom when our Saviour said, *The Foxes have their holes, and the Fowles of the ayre have nests, but the Sonne of man hath not where to lay his head*: This cold comfort presently quencht his forward zeale, and he never appeared afterward; whereas he ought to have said to our Saviour as *Ruth* to *Naomi*, *Where thou lodgest will I lodge.*

Thy people shall be my people.] *Haman* being offended with *Mordecai*, as if it had been but leane and weak revenge to spit his spight upon one person, hated all the *Iewes* for *Mordecai's* sake: the mad Beare stung with one Bee, would needs throw downe the whole Hive. But cleane contrarie, *Naomi* had so graciously demeaned her selfe, that *Ruth* for her sake is fallen in love with all the *Iewes*. Farewell *Melchom*, farewell *Chemosh*, farewell *Moab*; welcome *Israel*, welcome *Canaan*, welcome *Betlehem*: all of a sudden she will turne Convert, she will turne *Profelyte*.

Observation: The godly carriage of one particular person may beget a love of that Countrey and People whereof he is, even in a stranger and forreiner. Doe we then desire to gaine credit to our Countrey, prayse to our People, honour to our Nation, repute to our Religion? Let us deport and behave our selves graciously if we live amongst strangers. On the other side, the base and debauched manners of some one man is able to make his Countrey stink in the nostrils of those forreiners amongst whom he lives: *Ex uno discite omnes*; in one faithlesse *Sinon* one may reade the Trecherie of all the *Grecians*.

Tby God shall be my God.] *Jehosaphat* when he joyned with *Abab*, 1 *Kings* 22. 4, said unto him, *My people is as thy people, and my horses are as thy horses*; that is, he would comply with him in a Politike League: but *Ruth* goes further to an unitie in Religion, *Tby God shall be my God*. Yea, but one may say, How came *Ruth* to know who was the God of *Naomi*? I answer: As God said of *Abraham*, *I know that Abraham will instruct his children*; so may one confidently say of *Naomi*: I know that *Naomi* had catechised and instructed her daughter in law, and often taught her that the God of the *Israelites* was the onely true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and that all others were but Idols, the workes of mens hands: Yet as the *Samaritans* beleevved our Saviour first upon the relation of the woman that came from the Well, but afterwards said unto her, *Iohn* 4. 42, *Now we beleeve, not because of thy saying; for we have heard him our selves and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world*: So happily *Ruth* was induced first to the liking of the God of *Israel*, upon the credit of *Naomies* words; but afterwards her love of him proceeded from a more certaine ground, the motions of Gods holy Spirit in her heart.

Where thou diest will I die.] Here *Ruth* supposeth two things: first, that she and her mother in law should both die; *It is appointed for all once to die*: secondly, that *Naomi*, as the eldest, should die first; for according to the ordinarie custome of Nature, it is most probable and likely that those that are most stricken in yeares should first depart this Life: Yet I

know not whether the Rule or the Exceptions be more generall, and therefore let both young and old prepare for death; the first may die soone, but the second cannot live long.

And there will I be buried.] Where she supposeth two things more: First, that those that survived her, would doe her the favour to burie her; which is a common courtesie, not to be denyed to any: It was an Epitaph written upon the Grave of a Beggar, *Nudus eram vivus, mortuus ecce tegor*. Secondly, she supposeth that they would burie her, according to her instructions, neere to her mother *Naomi*.

Observation: As it is good to enjoy the companie of the godly while they are living, so it is not amisse, if it will stand with conveniencie, to be buried with them after death. The old Prophets bones escapt a burning, by being buried with the other Prophets; and the man who was tumbled into the Grave of *Elisha*, was revived by the vertue of his bones. And we reade in the *Acts* and *Monuments*, that the body of *Peter Martyr's* Wife was buried in a Dunghill; but afterward being taken up in the Reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, it was honourably buried in *Oxford*, in the Grave of one *Frideswick*, a *Popish* shee-Saint; to this end, that if *Poperie*, which God forbid, should over-spread our Kingdome againe, and if the *Papists* should goe about to untombe *Peter Martyr's* Wives bones, they should be puzzled to distinguish betwixt this womans body and the Reliques of their Saint. So, good it is sometimes to be buried with those who some doe account pious; though perchance in very deed they be not so.

The Lord doe so to me, and more also.] To ascertain *Naomi* of the seriousness of her intentions herein, *Ruth* backs what formerly she had said with an Oath, lined with an execration.

Observation: Whence we may gather, it is lawfull for us to sweare upon a just cause: but then these three Rules must be warily observed.

First, that we know that the thing whereto we sweare be true, if the Oath be assertorie; and if it be promissorie, that

we be sure that it is in our intent, and in our power, God blessing us, to performe that which we promise.

Secondly, that the occasion whereupon we use it, be of moment and consequence, not trifling and trivial.

Thirdly, that we sweare by God alone, and not by any Creature. Sweare then neither by the Heaven, nor by the Earth, nor by *Jerusalem*, nor by the Temple, nor by the Gold of the Temple, nor by the Altar, nor by the Sacrifice on the Altar, but by God alone; for he onely is able to reward thee, if that thou affirmest be true; he onely is able to punish thee, if that thou avoucheest be false. Yet this doth no wayes favour the practice of many now adayes, who make Oathes their language. Our Saviour said to the *Jewes*, *Many good workes have I shewed you from the Father; for which of them goe you about to stone me?* So may the Lord say to many riotous Gallants now adayes; *Many good deeds have I done to thee: I created thee of nothing; I sent my Sonne to die for thee; by my providence I continually protect and preserve thee: for which of these deeds doest thou goe about by Oathes to blaspheme me?*

Now whereas *Ruth* does not say, *God damne me, God confound me, I would I might never stirre*; but shrowds the execration under generall termes, *God doe so to me, and more also*: we learne, it is not good to particularize in any kinde of punishment when we sweare, but onely to expresse the Curse in generall termes, leaving it to the discretion of God Almighty, to chuse that Arrow out of his Quiver which he shall thinke most fit to shoot at us.

If ought but death.] See here the large extent of a Saints love, it lasts till death; and no wonder, for it is not founded upon Honour, Beautie, or Wealth, or any other sinister respect in the partie beloved, which is subject to Age, or Mutabilitie, but onely on the Grace and Pietie in him; which foundation because it alwayes lasteth, that Love which is built upon it is also perpetuall.

Part thee and me.] Death is that which parteth one friend from another: Then the deare Father must part with his

dutifull Child, then the dutifull Child must forgoe his deare Father ; then the kinde Husband must leave his constant Wife, then the constant Wife must lose her kinde Husband ; then the carefull Master must be sundred from his industrious Servant, then the industrious Servant must be severed from his carefull Master. Yet this may be some comfort to those whose friends Death hath taken away, that as our Saviour said to the Disciples, *Yet a little while and you shall not see me, and yet a little while and you shall see me againe* : so yet a little while, and we shall not see our friends ; and yet a little while, and we shall see them againe in the Kingdome of Heaven ; for, *non mittuntur, sed præmittuntur*, we doe not forgoe them, but they goe before us.

To conclude : we see many women so strangely disguised with phantastick fashions, as if they desired to verifie the nickname of the Philosopher, and to prove themselves in very deed to be very Monsters ; yea, many of them so affect Man-like Clothes and shorne Haire, it is hard to discover the Sex of a Woman through the Attire of a Man. But we see in my Text worthy *Ruth* taking upon her, not the Clothes, but the Courage ; not the Haire, but the Heart ; not the Attire, but the Resolution of a Man, yea, and more then of a Man, witnesse her worthy speech, *Intreat me not to depart, &c.*

Verse 18 : *And when she saw that she was stedfastly minded to goe with her, she left off speaking unto her.*

Orpah and *Ruth* may be compared to two strong Forts, *Naomi* to one that besieged them, who made three fore Assaults upon them : The first, in the eighth Verse ; which Assault both of them resisted with equall constancie : The second, in the eleventh Verse ; to which *Orpah* basely yeeldeth, and accepteth termes of Composition : The last, in the fifteenth Verse ; which *Ruth* most valiantly defeated, and stood upon termes of Defiance to the mention of any returne. Now as souldiers when they have long besieged a Citie with the losse of Time, Money, and Men, being hopelesse to take it, they even found a Retreat, and retire home, without accomplishing their desire : so *Naomi* perceiving that all her argu-

ments which she used to conquer *Ruth*, like Water in the Smiths Forge cast on Coales, did more intend the heat of her constancie, gives over in my Text, *And when she saw, &c.*

Which words doe probably perswade what formerly we affirmed, namely, that *Naomi* dissuaded her daughter, onely to search and sound her sinceritie, not with any true desire she should goe back to *Moab*. For even as it is plaine, that the Replyer in his Disputation aimeth not at the suppressing, but at the advancing of a Truth, who surceaseth and cavills no longer when he sees the neck of his argument broken with a sufficient answer; so it appeareth that *Naomi*, what she had said formerly, spake it onely to trie her daughter, because having now had sufficient experience of her constancie, she so willingly desisted. God wrestled with *Jacob*, with a desire to be conquer'd; so *Naomi* no doubt opposed *Ruth*, hoping and wishing that she her selfe might be foiled.

And when she saw that she was stedfastly minded.] The *Hebrew* reades it, *that she strengthened her self*; that being their phrase to expresse an Oath.

Observation: Where we observe, Oaths taken upon just occasion are excellent Ties and Bands to strengthen men in the performance of those things to which they sweare. The greater pittie it is then that a thing in it selfe so soveraigne should be so dayly and dangerously abused. Witnesse *Herod*, who by reason of a rash Oath cast himselfe into a worse Prison then that wherein he had put the *Baptist*, making that (which being well used might have confirmed in Pietie) to be a meanes to inforce him to Murther.

Use: Let this teach us, when we finde our selves to lagge and faulter in Christianitie, to call to minde that solemne Vow, Promise, and Profession, which our God-fathers in our Name made for us at our Baptisme, *To forsake the Devill and all his workes, the vaine pompes and vanities of this wicked world, and to fight valiantly under Christs Standard.* Let us remember from whence we are fallen, and doe our first worke. We need not make a new Vow, but only renew the old, and so settle and establish our selves in the practice of Pietie, as *Ruth* in my Text by an Oath strengthened her selfe.

She left off speaking unto her.] She saw she had now enough expressed and declared her integritie, and therefore she would not put her to the trouble of any farther tryall.

Observation: Hence the Doctrine is this: After prooffe and tryall made of their fidelitie, we are to trust our Brethren, without any farther suspition. Not to trie before we trust, is want of wisdom; not to trust after we have tryed, is want of charitie. The Gold-smith must purifie the drosse and oare from the Gold, but he must be warie lest he make waste of good Metall, if over-curious in too often refining. We may search and sound the sinceritie of our Brethren, but after good experience made of their uprightnesse, we must take heed lest by continuall sifting and proving them, we offend a weak Christian. Christ tryed the woman of *Syrophænicia* first with silence, then with two sharpe answers; at last finding her to be sound he dismissed her with granting her request and commending of her faith. When he had said to *Peter* the third time, *Lovest thou me?* he rested satisfied with *Peters* answer and troubled him with no more questions.

Use: It may confute the jealous and suspicious mindes of such who still thinke that their Brethren are rotten at the heart, hypocritical, dissemblers, though they have made never so manifest prooffe of their uprightnesse. *Thomas* would not take his Masters Resurrection on the Credit of his fellow-Apostles relation; his faith would not follow except his owne sense was the Usher to lead it the way: so these men are altogether incredulous, and very Infidels in the point of their Brethrens sinceritie, though it be never so surely warranted unto them on the words of those whom they ought to beleeve. Hence oftentimes it comes to passe, that they scandalize and offend many weake Christians, whose Graces are true, though weake; Faith unfained, though feeble: Yea, it maketh weake Saints to be jealous of themselves, to see others so jealous of them. But we must be wonderfull carefull how we give offence to any of Gods *little ones*. When *Esau*, Gen. 33. 13, would have perswaded *Jacob* to drive on faster, *Jacob* excused himselfe, saying, *That the Children were tender, and the Ewes big with young; and if they should be over-driven one day, they would die.* Thus if any would perswade us to sift

and winnow, and trie the integritie of our Brethren, after long experience of them, we may answer, This is dangerous to be done, because *smoking Flax* and *bruised Reeds*, tender Professors, may utterly be discouraged and disheartened by our restlesse pressing and disquieting of them. Wherefore *Naomi*, having now seene the Realitie of *Ruths* Resolutions, left off from any further molesting of her.

Verfes 19 to 22: *So they went both untill they came to Bethlehem; and when they came to Bethlehem, all the Citie was moved at them, and they said, Is not this Naomi? And she said, Call me not Naomi, but call me Marah; for the Lord hath dealt bitterly with me. I went out full, and the Lord hath caused me to returne emptie; why call you me Naomi, sithence the Lord hath testified against me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me? So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabitess, her Daughter in law, with her, when she came out of the Countrey of Moab; and they came to Bethlehem in the beginning of Barley Harvest.*

The holy Spirit mentioneth not what discourse they exchanged by the way; yet no doubt they were neither silent nor busied in unprofitable talke.

And all the Citie was moved, &c.] See here, *Naomi* was formerly a woman of good qualitie and fashion, of good ranke and repute; otherwise her returne in povertie had not been so generally taken notice of. Shrubs may be grubb'd to the ground, and none misse them, but every one markes the felling of a Cedar. Groveling Cottages may be evened to the Earth, and none observe them; but every Traveller takes notice of the fall of a Steeple. Let this comfort those to whom God hath given small Possessions. Should he visit them with povertie, and take from them that little they have, yet their griefe and shame would be the lesse: they should not have so many fingers pointed at them, so many eyes staring on them, so many words spoken of them; they might lurke in obscuritie: it must be a *Naomi*, a person of eminency and estate, whose povertie must move a whole Citie.

And they said, Is not this Naomi?] Remarkable it is that so many people should jump in the same expression; but as *Abraham* laughed, and *Sarah* laughed, both used the same outward gesture, yet arising from different causes; his laughter from joy, her's from distrust: so all these people might meet in the same forme of words, yet farre dissent in their minds wherewith they spake them. Some might speak out of admiration: *Strange, wonderfull! Is this she who once was so wealthie? How quickly is a River of Riches drained drie! She that formerly was so faire, now one can scarce read the ruines of beauty in her face: Is not this Naomi?* Some out of exprobatation: *See, see, this is she that could not be content to tarry at home to take part of the Famine with the rest of her fellows, but needs, with her Husband and Sons, must be gadding to Moab: see what good she hath got by removing; by changing her Country, she hath changed her Condition: Is not this Naomi?* Some might speak it out of Commiseration: *Alas, alas, Is not this that gracious woman, that godly Saint, which formerly by her Charity relieved many in distresse? How soon is a full clod turned into parched earth! one that supplied others, into one that needeth to be supplied by others! Is not this Naomi?*

And she said, call me not Naomi, but call me Marah.] *Naomi* signifieth *Beautiful*; *Marah*, *Bitter*, *Exod.* 15. 23, where we see, that the Godly in povertie are unwilling to have Names and Titles, disagreeing and disproportioned to their present estates; which may confute the folly of many, which being in distres, and living little better then upon the alms of others, will still stand upon their points, bear themselves bravely on their birth, not lose an inch of their place, not abate an ace of their gentry. Far otherwise was *Naomi* affected, being poor, she would not be over-named, or Title-heavie: *Call me not Naomi, but call me Marah.*

Observation: Here also we may see, that it was a custome of great Antiquitie in the World, that Men and Women should have severall names whereby they were called, and that for these three Reasons.

1. That they might be differenced and distinguished from others.

2. That they might be stirred up to verifie the meanings and significations of their names: wherefore let every *Obadiab* strive to be a servant of God, each *Nathaniel* to be a gift of God, *Onesimus* to be profitable, every *Roger* quiet and peaceable, *Robert* famous for counsell, and *William* a help and defence to many; not like *Absalon*, who was not a Father of Peace, as his name doth import, but a sonne of Sedition; and *Diotrephes*, not nursed by God, as his name sounds, but puffed up by the Devill, as it is 3 *John* 9.

3. That they might be incited to imitate the vertues of those worthy persons, who formerly have been bearers and owners of their names. Let all *Abrabams* be faithfull, *Isaacs* quiet, *Jacobs* painfull, *Josephs* chaste; every *Lewis* pious, *Edward* confessor of the true faith, *William* conqueror over his own corruptions. Let them also carefully avoid those finnes for which the bearers of the Names stand branded to posteritie. Let every *Jonab* beware of frowardness, *Thomas* of distrustfulnesse, *Martba* of worldlinesse, *Mary* of wantonnesse. If there be two of our names, one exceedingly good, the other notoriously evill, let us decline the vices of the one, and practise the vertues of the other. Let every *Judas* not follow *Judas Iscariot*, who betrayed our Saviour, but *Judas* the brother of *James*, the writer of the generall Epistle; each *Demetrius*, not follow him in the Acts who made silver shrines for *Diana*, but *Demetrius*, 3 *Iohn* 12, who had a good report of all men. Every *Ignatius* not imitate *Ignatius Loiola* the lame Father of blind obedience, but *Ignatius* the worthy Martyr in the *Primitive Church*. And if it should chance through the indiscretion of Parents and God-fathers, that a bad name should be imposed on any; oh let not folly be with them, because *Nabal* is their name; but in such a case, let them strive to falsifie, disprove, and confute their names; otherwise if they be good, they must answer them.

In the dayes of *Q. Elizabeth*, there was a Royall Ship called the *Revenge*, which having maintained a long fight against a Fleet of *Spaniards*, (wherein eight hundred great Shot were discharged against her,) was at last faine to yeeld: but no sooner were her men gone out of her, and two hundred fresh

Spaniards come into her, but she suddenly funke them and her selfe; and so the *Revenge* was revenged. Shall livelesse pieces of Wood answer the Names which men impose upon them, and shall not reasonable soules doe the same? But of all Names, I pray God that never just occasion be given that we be Christened *Iccabod*, but that the glory may remaine in our *Israel* so long as the faithful Witnesse endureth in Heaven. And so much of those words, *Call me not Naomi, but &c.*

For the Lord hath dealt bitterly with me.] Afflictions rellish soure and bitter even to the pallats of the best Saints.

Observation: Now bitter things are observed in Physick to have a double operation: first, to strengthen and corroborate the Liver; and secondly, to cleanse and wipe away Choler, which cloggeth the stomack: both these effects afflictions by their bitternesse produce; they strengthen the inward Vitals of a Christian, his Faith and Patience, and cleanse Gods Saints from those superfluous excrements which the surfeit of Prosperitie hath caused in them. It may therefore serve to comfort such as groane under Gods afflicting hand, *Hebrews* 12. 11. The book which S. *Iohn* eat, *Rev.* 10. 10, was *sweet* in his mouth, but *bitter* in his belly: cleane contrarie, afflictions are bitter in the mouth, but sweet in the belly; God by sanctifying them, extracting Honey out of Gall, and Sugar out of Wormewood. And let it teach us also, not to wonder if the Children of God winch and shrug, and make soure faces, when afflicted: Wonder not at *David*, if he *cryeth out* in the *anguish of his heart*; at *Iob*, if he *complaineth* in the *bitternesse of his soule*; at *Ieremiab*, if he *lamenteth* in the *extremities of his griefe*: For even then they are swallowing of a Potion which is bitter unto flesh and blood.

I went out full, and the Lord hath caused me to returne emptie.] Here may we see the uncertaintie of all outward wealth.

Observation: How quickly may a *Crassus*, or *Cræsus*, be turned into a *Codrus*; the richest, into the poorest of men! Whom the Sunne-rising seeth in wealth, him the Sunne-setting may see in want. Set not up then your hornes so high,

neither speake presumptuous words, ye wealthie men; for God, if it pleaseth him, can in a moment dispossesse you of all your Riches. And let us all *not lay up Treasures here on Earth, where Rust and Mothes doe corrupt, and Theeves breake through and steale; but lay up your Treasure in Heaven, where Rust and Moth doe not corrupt, and Theeves doe not breake through and steale.*

Why call you me Naomi, sitbence the Lord, &c.] The mention of their former Wealth is grievous to the godly when they are in present Povertie.

Observation: When the Children of *Israel* are Captives in *Babylon*, it cuts them to the heart to be twitted with the Songs of *Sion*. And it may teach this point of wisdome to such as repaire to give comfort to men in affliction, not to mention that tedious and ingratefull subject, what happinesse that partie formerly enjoyed. Summe not up to *Job* in distresse the number of his Camels, tell not his Sheepe, reckon not his Oxen, reade not unto him an Inventorie of those Goods whereof he before was possessed; for this will but adde to his vexation: rather descend to apply solid and substantial comfort unto him.

Sitbence the Lord hath testified against me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me?] Every affliction is a witnesse that God is angry with us for our finnes.

Observation: Who then is able to hold out Suit with God in the Court of Heaven? For God himselfe is both Judge and Witnesse, and also the executor and inflicter of punishments. It is therefore impossible for sinfull man to plead with him; and it is our most advised course, as soone as may be, to come to termes of composition with him, and to make meanes unto him through the mediation of our Saviour. Now that all afflictions are immediately inflicted by God we have shewed formerly [pages 8 *seq.*, and 18].

And they came to Bethlehem in the beginning of Barly Harvest.] The *Jewes* had two distinct Harvests of Wheat and Barly, and Barly was the first, 2 *Sam.* 21. 9. So here

we see the providence of God in ordering and disposing the Journey of *Naomi*, to end it in the most convenient time. Had she come before Harvest, she would have been straitned for meanes to maintaine her selfe; if after Harvest, *Ruth* had lost all those occasions which paved the way to her future advancement. God therefore, who ordered her going, concludes her Journey in the beginning of Harvest.

And thus have we gone over this Chapter. Now as *Samuel* in the first Booke, *chap. 7. vers. 12*, erected an Altar, and called it *Eben-ezer*, for, said he, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us*: so here may I rayse an Altar of Gratitude unto God with the same inscription, *Eben-ezer, Hitherto the Lord of his goodnesse hath assisted us*.



CHAP. II.

Verles 1, 2: *And Naomi had a kinsman of ber Husbands, a mighty man of wealth, of the Family of Elimelech, and his name was Boaz. And Ruth the Moabitesse said unto Naomi, I pray thee let me go into the field, and gather ears of Corne after him in whose sight I find favour: and she said unto ber, Goe, my Daughter.*

His first Verse presents us with two remarkable things.

1. Poore *Naomi* was allied to powerful *Boaz*.
2. *Boaz* was both a powerful man and a Godly man.

Of the first. Poore people may be allied and of great kindred to those that are wealthy; and those that be wealthy, to such as are poor. *Ioseph*, though Governour of *Egypt*, had poor *Iacob* to his Father, and plain shepheards to his brethren. *Esther*, though Queene to *Abasbuerus*, hath poore *Mordecai* for her Uncle.

Use 1: Let this confute such as having gotten a little more thick clay then the rest of their Family, the getting of new wealth and honour makes them to lose their old eyes, so that they cannot see and discern their poor kindred afterwards. When *Ioseph* was Governour of *Egypt*, it is said that he knew his brethren, but his brethren knew not him; but now adayes it happeneth cleane contrary. If one of a Family be advanced to great honour, it is likely that his kindred will know him, but he oftentimes comes to forget them. Few there be of the noble nature of the Lord *Cromwel*, who sitting at Dinner

with the Lords of the Council, and chancing to see a poor man afar off which used to sweep the Cells and the Cloisters, called for the man, and told the Lords, This mans Father hath given me many a good meale, and he shall not lack so long as I live.¹

Use 2 : Let it teach those who are the top of their kindred, the best of their House, to be thankful to Gods gracious goodnesse who hath raised them to such a height. He hath not dealt thus with every one, neither are all of their kindred so well provided for outward maintenance. And also let them learn to be bountiful and beneficial to their kindred in distres. *Mordecai* said to *Esther*, *Esth.* 4. 14, *Who knoweth whether thou art come to the Kingdom for such a time?* namely, to deliver her Country-men the Jews from that imminent danger.

So who knoweth whether God hath raised thee up, who art the best of thy kindred, to this very intent, that thou mightest be the Treasure and the Storehouse to supplie the want of others which are allied unto thee? But if one should chance to be of so wealthy a stock, as that none of his alliance stood in need of his charity; let such a one cast his eye upon such as are of kindred unto him by his second birth, and so he shall find enough Widows, Orphans, and poor Christians, to receive his liberalitie.

Notwithstanding, let poor people be warie and discreet, that through their idlenesse they be not a burthen to wealthie men of their alliance. When a Husband-man claimed kindred in *Grosted Bishop* of *Lincoln*, and would fain on the instant turn a Gentleman, and to this end requested his Lordship to bestow an office upon him: the *Bishop* told him, that if his *Plough* were broken, he would mend it; if he wanted a *Plough*, he would make him a new one; telling him withall, that he should by no means leave that Calling and Vocation wherein God had set him. So ought all poor people industriously to take pains for themselves, and not to give themselves over to ease, relying and depending for their maintenance on their reference and relation to a rich kinsman.

Come we now to the second Observation, That the same

¹ Fox, page 1188.

man may be godly, and also mighty in wealth, like *Boaz*. Behold your Calling; not many wise, yet some wise, as *Salomon*, and *Sergius* Deputie of *Cyprus*; not many rich, yet some rich, as *Abrabam*, *Iob*; not many noble, yet some noble, as *Theophilus*. For it is not the having of wealth, but the having confidence in wealth; not the possessing it, but the relying on it, which makes rich men incapable of the Kingdome of *Heaven*: otherwise Wealth well used is a great blessing, enabling the owner to do God more glorie, the Church and Common-Wealth more good.

Use: Let all Wealthie men strive to add inward grace unto their outward greatness. Oh 'tis excellent when *Joash* and *Ieboiada* meet together; when *Prince* and *Priest*, *Power* and *Pietie* are united in the same person; that so Greatnesse may be seasoned and sanctified by Grace, and Grace credited and countenanced by Greatnesse; that so *Kings* may be *Nursing-Fathers*, and *Queenes* *Nursing-Mothers* to Gods Church. Contrarie to which, how many be there, that thinke themselves priviledged from being good, because they are great! Confining Pietie to Hospitals; for their owne parts they disdain so base a Companion. Hence as Hills, the higher, the barrener; so men commonly, the wealthier, the worse; the more Honour, the lesse Holinesse. And as Rivers, when content with a small Channel, runne sweet and cleare; when swelling to a Navigable Channel, by the confluence of severall Tributarie Rivulets, gather mudde and mire, and grow salt and brackish, and violently beare downe all before them; so many men, who in meane Estates have been Pious and Religious, being advanced in Honour and enlarged in Wealth, have growne both empious and prophane towards God, cruell and tyrannicall over their Brethren.

And Ruth the Moabitesse said unto Naomi, I pray thee let me goe into the field, and gather eares of Corne, &c.] Herein two excellent Graces appeare in *Ruth*.

First, Obedience; she would not goe to gleane without the leave of her Mother in law. Verily I say unto you, I have not found so much dutie, no, not in naturall Daughters to their owne Mothers. How many of them now-adayes, in

matters of more moment, will betroth and contract themselves, not onely without the knowledge and consent, but even against the expresse Commands of their Parents!

Secondly, see her Industrie, that she would condescend to glean. Though I thinke not, with the *Iewish Rabbins*, that *Ruth* was the Daughter to *Eglon*, King of *Moab*; yet no doubt she was descended of good Parentage; and now see, faine to glean. Whence we may gather, that those that formerly have had good birth, and breeding, may afterward be forced to make hard shifts to maintaine themselves. *Musculus* was forced to worke with a Weaver, and afterwards was faine to delve in the Ditch, about the Citie of *Straßburgh*; as *Pantalion* in his Life. Let this teach even those whose veines are washed with generous bloud, and arteries quickned with Noble spirits, in their prosperitie to furnish, qualifie, and accommodate themselves with such Gentile Arts, and liberall Mysteries, as will be neither blemish nor burthen to their birth; that so if hereafter God shall cast them into povertie, these Arts may stand them in some stead, towards their maintenance and reliefe.

And Naomi said, Goe, my Daughter.] See here how meekely and mildly she answers her. The discourse of Gods Children, in their ordinarie talke, ought to be kinde and courteous: So betwixt *Abraham* and *Isaac*, *Gen.* 22. 7; betwixt *Elkanah* and *Hannah*, *1 Sam.* 1. 23. Indeed it is lawfull and necessarie for *Jacob* to chide *Rachel* speaking unadvisedly, *Gen.* 30. 2; for *Job* to say to his Wife, *Tbou speakest like a foolish Wife*. But otherwise, when no just occasion of anger is given, their words ought to be meeke and kinde like *Naomies*, *Goe, my Daughter*.

Verfes 3 and 4: *And she went, and came and gleaned in the field after the Reapers; and it happened that she met with the portion of the field of Boaz, who was of the family of Elimelech. And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the Reapers, The Lord be with you; and they answered him, The Lord blesse thee.*

Formerly we have seene the dutifulnesse of *Ruth*, which would not leave her Mother untill she had leave from her Mother: Proceed we now to her industrie, and Gods providence over her. As the *Starre*, *Matb.* 2. 9, guided the *Wise-men* to *Iudea*, to *Betlehem*, to the *Inne*, to the *Stable*, to the *Manger*: so the rayes and beames of Gods Providence conducted *Ruth*, that of all Grounds within the compasse and confines, within the bounds and borders of *Betlehem*, she lighted on the field of *Boaz*.

And it happened.] *Objection*: How comes the holy Spirit to use this word; a prophane terme, which deserves to be banisht out of the mouthes of all Christians? Are not all things ordered by Gods immediate Providence, without which a *Sparrow lighteth not on the ground*? Is not that sentence most true, *God stretcheth from end to end strongly, and disposeth all things sweetly*? *Strongly, Lord, for thee; sweetly, Lord, for me*: so *S. Bernard*. Or was the Providence of God solely confined to his people of *Israel*, so that *Ruth* being a stranger of *Moab*, must be left to the adventure of hazard? How comes the holy Spirit to use this word, *Hap*?

Answer: Things are said to happen, not in respect of God, but in respect of us; because oftentimes they come to passe, not onely without our purpose and fore-cast, but even against our intentions and determinations. It is lawfull therefore in a sober sence to use these expressions, *It chanced*, or, *It fortun'd*, *Luke* 10. 31. Nor can any just exception be taken against those words in the Collect, *Through all Changes and Chances of this mortall life*: Provided alwayes, that in our formes of speech we dreame not of any Heathen Chance. It is observed, that *τυχῇ* is not used in all the Workes of *Homer*; but sure *S. Austine* in the first of his *Retractions*, complaineth, that he had too often used the word *Fortuna*; and therefore in the *Pagans* sence thereof we ought to abstaine from it.

Observation: Now whereas *Ruth* by chance lighteth on *Boaz* his field, we may observe: Admirable is the providence of God in the ordering of contingent events to his glory and his Childrens good. The Scripture swarmeth with

Presidents in this behalfe, which at this time I surcease to recite, and conclude with the *Psalmist*; O Lord, how wonderfull are thy workes! in wisdome hast thou made them all; the Earth is full of thy Riches. To which I may adde; Ob that men would therefore prayse the Name of the Lord, and shew forth the wonderfull workes that he doth for the children of men!

And behold, Boaz came unto his Reapers.] He had a man over them, yet himselfe came to over-see them.

Observation: Where note: it is the part of a thriving Husband not to trust the care of his affairs to his servants, but to over-see them himselfe. *The Masters eye maketh a fat Horse*: and one asking, what was the best compost to Manure Land, it was answered, *the dust of the Masters feet*; meaning his presence to behold his own busines. *Hushai* would not counsell *Absolon* to let *Achitophel* goe with his Armie, but advised him, *Thou shalt goe to battel in thine own person*. However he herein had a secret intent, yet thus farre the proportion holds: Things thrive best, not when they are committed to Surrogates, Deputies, Delegates, and Substitutes; but when men themselves over-see them. Let Masters therefore of Families carefully attend on their own businesse; and let the Daughters of *Sarah*, whom the meeknesse of their Sex hath priviledged from following without-doors affairs, imitate the wise woman, *Proverbs 31. 15, 27, She rises whiles as yet it is night, and giveth her meat to her Household, and their portions to her Maids: She looks well to all the wayes of her Household, and eateth not the bread of idlenesse*. And such servants which have carelesse Masters, let them look better to their Masters estate then their Masters do to their own: let them be neither idle nor unfaithfull in their place, knowing *that though their earthly Master be negligent to eye them, yet they have a Master in heaven who both beholds and will punish, or reward them according to their deserts*. And as for the Sons of the *Prophets*, let them feed the Flock over which they are placed, and not thinke to shuffle and shift off their care to their Curates and Readers in their own unnecessary absence; and yet how many are there that Preach as seldome

as *Apollo* laughs, once in the yeare: Indeed *Eliab* fasted forty dayes and forty nights in the strength of one meale; but surely these think that their people can hold out fasting a twelve-moneth. Well, let them practise *Boaz* example; as they have Curates, so had he one to care for his affairs; and yet behold in person he comes forth unto his Reapers.

And said unto them, The Lord be with you.] Observe, Curteous and loving salutations befit Christians: indeed our Saviour, *Luke* 10. 4, forbade his Disciples to salute any in the way; but his meaning was, that they should not lag or delay whereby to be hindred from the service wherein they were imployed; and S. *John* in his second Epistle (verse 10), saith, *That to some we must not say God speed, lest we be made partakers of their evill deeds*; but that is meant of notorious sinners, which have discovered their impious intents. It is commonly said that the *Small Pox* is not infectious untill it be broken out, so that before the time one may safely converse, eat, drinke, lie with them; but after the Pox is broken out it is very dangerous: So we may safely salute and exchange discourse with the most wicked sinners, whiles yet they smother and conceale their bad designs; but when once they declare and expresse them, then it is dangerous to have any further familiarity with them; for such *Marcions*, the first born of the Devill, and the eldest Sonne of Satan, are salutations good enough.

Use: Those are justly to be reprov'd, which lately have changed all hearty expressions of love into verball Complements, which Etymologie is not to be deduced a *completionem mentis*, but a *completè mentiri*. And yet I cannot say that these men lie in their throat, for I perswade my selfe, their words never came so neare their heart, but meerly they lie in their mouths, where all their promises

*Both birth and burial in a breath they have;
That mouth which is their womb, it is their grave.*

Yea, those words which S. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* thought to be the most affectionate expression of love, is now made the word of course, commonly bandied betwixt superficial

friends at the first encounter: *Your Servant*. Worse then these are the ambitious Saluters like *Absolon*, 2 Sam. 15. 4, who at the same time, by taking his Fathers Subjects by their hands, stole away their hearts; and the lower his bodie did couch, the higher his mind did aspire. Worst of all is the treacherous salutation of *Judas* and *Joab*, who at one instant pretend lip-love, and intend heart-hatred; who both kisse and kill; embrace another with their hands, and imbrew their hands in his blood whom they embrace.

And they answered him, The Lord blesse thee.] When one offers us a curtesie, especially being our superiour, it is fitting we should requite him. It is a noble conquest for to be overcome with wrongs; but it is a signe of a degenerous nature to be out-vied with courtesies; and therefore if one begin a kindnesse to us, let us (if it lie in our power pledge) him in the same nature.

Verfes 5 to 7: *And Boaz said unto the servant which was appointed over the Reapers, Whose is this Maid? And the servant which was appointed over the Reapers answered and said, This is the Moabitish Maid which came with Naomi from the Countrey of Moab; which came and said, Let me gather I pray among the sheaves after the Reapers; and so she came and stayed here from morning untill now; onely she tarried a little in the house.*

And Boaz said unto the servant which was appointed over the Reapers.] Here we learne, that it is a part of good Husbandry in a numerous Family, to have one servant as Steward, to over-see the rest. Thus *Abraham* had his *Eliezer* of *Damascus*; *Potiphar* his *Joseph*, *Joseph* his man which put the Cup into *Benjamin's* Sack; *Abab* his *Obadiab*; *Hezekiab* his *Eliakim*, the sonne of *Hilkiab*.

Observation: Let Masters therefore, in chusing these Stewards to be set above the rest, take such as are qualified like *Jethro's* description of inferiour Judges, *Exod.* 18. 21, *men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, bating covetousnesse*. And how-ever they privilege them to be above the rest of

their servants, yet let them make them to know their dutie and their distance to their Masters, lest that come to passe which *Solomon* fore-telleth, *Prov. 29. 21, He that bringeth up his servant delicately in his youth, will make him like his sonne at the last.* Let Stewards not be like that unjust one in the Gospel, who made his Masters Debtors write down fiftie measures of Wheat, and fourescore measures of Oyle, when both severally should have been an hundred; but let them carefully discharge their Conscience in that Office wherein they are placed: whilst inferiour servants that are under their command must neither grieve nor grudge to obey them, nor envie at their honour: But let this comfort those underlings, that if they be wronged by these Stewards, their Appeale lyes open from them to their Master, who if good will no doubt redresse their grievances.

Now if Stewards be necessarie in ordering of Families, surely men in authoritie are more necessarie in governing the Church and managing the Commonwealth. If a little Cock-Boat cannot be brought up a Tributarie Rivulet without one to guide it; how shall a Caravan, a Gallioun, or Argosie, sayling in the vast Ocean, be brought into a Harbor without a Pilot to conduct it? Let us therefore with all willingnesse and humilitie submit our selves to our Superiours, that so under them we may live a peaceable life in all godlinesse and honestie.

Whose is this Maid?] *Boaz* would know what those persons were that gleaned upon his Land; and good reason: for we ought not to prostitute our liberalitie to all, though unknowne; but first we must examine who and whence they be; otherwise that which is given to worthlesse persons is not given, but throwne away. I speake not this to blunt the Charitie of any who have often bestowed their benevolence upon Beggars unknowne and unseene before; but if easily and with conveniencie (as *Boaz* could) they may attaine to know the qualities and conditions of such persons, before they dispose their liberalitie unto them.

And the servant which was appointed.] He herein per-

formed the part of a carefull servant, namely, fully to informe his Master. Servants ought so to instruct themselves as thereby to be able to give an account to their Lords when they shall be called thereunto, and give them plenarie satisfaction and contentment in any thing belonging to their Office, wherein they shall be questioned. Now, whereas he doth not derogate or detract from *Ruth*, though a stranger, but sets her forth with her due commendation; we gather, Servants when asked ought to give the pure character of poore people to their Masters, and no way to wrong or traduce them.

Which came and said, Let me gather I pray.] See here *Ruths* honestie; she would not presume to gleane before she had leave. Cleane contrarie is the practice of poore people now-adayes, which oft times take away things not onely without the knowledge, but even against the will of the owners. The Boy of the Priest, 1 *Sam.* 2. 16, when the sacrifice was in offering, used to come with a *flesh booke of three teetb*, and used to cast it into the fat of the Sacrifice, making that his Fee which so he fetcht out; if any gain-say'd him, he answered, *Tbou shalt give it me now; or if thou wilt not, I will take it by force.* Thus poore people now-adayes, they cast their hooke, their violent hands (gleaning the leane will not content them) into the fat, the best and principall of rich mens Estates; and breaking all Lawes of God and the King, they by maine force draw it unto themselves. Not so *Ruth*; she would not gleane without leave.

And stayed here from morning untill now.] See here her constancie in Industrie: Many are very diligent at the first setting forth, for a fit and a gird, for a snatch and away; but nothing violent is long permanent: They soone are tyred, quickly wearie, and then turne from labour to lazinesse. But *Ruth* continued in her labour *from the morning till now*; till Night, till the end of the Harvest. O that we would imitate the constancie of *Ruth* in the *working out of our salvation with feare and trembling!* Not onely to be industrious in the *Morning*, when we first enter into Christianitie, but to hold out and to *persevere even to the end of our lives.*

Onely she tarried a little in the house.] No doubt some indispenfable businesse detained her there; and probable it is, that a principall one was, to say her *Mattins*, to doe her Devotions, commend her selfe with fervent prayer unto the Lord, to blesse her and her endeavours the day following. *A whet is no let*, saith the Proverb: Mowers lose not any time, which they spend in whetting or grinding of their Sythes: our prayer to God in the Morning, before we enter on any businesse, doth not hinder us in our dayes worke, but rather whets it, sharpens it, sets an edge on our dull soules, and makes our mindes to undertake our labours with the greater alacritie.

And here may I take just occasion to speake concerning *Gleaning*. Consider, first, the antiquitie thereof, as being commanded by God, *Levit.* 19. 9, and 23. 22. Secondly, consider the equitie thereof; it doth the Rich no whit of harme, it doth the Poore a great deale of good. One may say of it as *Lot of Zoar*: *Is it not a little one, and my soule shall live?* Is it not a pettie, a small, exile courtesie, and the hearts of poore people shall be comforted thereby? *Reliquiæ Danaum, atque immitis Achillis*; the Remnant which hath escaped the edge of the Sythes, and avoided the hands of the Reapers. Had our Reapers the Eyes of Eagles, and the Clawes of Harpeyes, they could not see and snatch each scattered Eare which may well be allowed for the Reliefe of the Poore. When our Saviour said to the woman of *Syrophænicia*, *It is not good to take the Childrens Bread and cast it to the Dogs*: She answered, *Yea, Lord, but the Dogs eat of the Childrens Crummes that fall from their Table*. So, if any Misers mutter, *It is not meet that my Bread should be cast unto poore people to gleane Corne upon my Lands*; yea, but let them know that poore people (which are no *Dogs*, but setting a little thick Clay aside, as good as themselves) may eat the *falling Crummes*, the scattered Eares, which they gather on the ground.

Use: It may confute the Covetousnesse of many which repine that the Poore should have any benefit by them; and are so farre from suffering the Poore to gleane, that even they themselves gleane from the Poore, and speake much like to churlish *Nabal*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 11, *Shall I take my Wheat, my*

Rye, and my Barley, which I have prepared for my Family, and give it to the Poore, which I know not whence they be? Yea, some have so hard hearts that they would leave their Graine to be destroyed by Beasts and Vermine, rather then that the Poore should receive any benefit thereby. Cruell people, which preferre their Hogs before Christs Sheep, Mice before Men, Crowes before Christians!

But withall, Poore people must learne this Lesson, to know the meaning of these two Pronounes, *Mine* and *Tbine*; what belongs to their rich Masters, and what pertaines to themselves. The Sheep which had little spots, those were *Jacobs* Fee; so the little spots, the loose straggling and scattered Eares, those are the Poores: but as for the great ones, the handfulls, the arme-fulls, the Sheaves, the Shocks, the Cocks, these are none of theirs, but the rich Owners; and therefore let the Poore take heed how they put forth their hands to their neighbours goods.

Motive: One forcible Motive to perswade the Rich to suffer the Poore to gleane, may be this: Even the greatest, in respect of God, is but a gleaner. God, he is the Master of the Harvest; all Gifts and Graces, they are his in an infinite measure; and every godly man, more or lesse, gleanes from him. *Abraham* gleaned a great gleane of Faith; *Moses*, of Meeknesse; *Joshuab*, of Valour; *Samson*, of Strength; *Solomon*, of Wealth and Wisdome; *S. Paul* of Knowledge, and the like. Now, if we would be glad at our hearts that the Lord would give us free leave and libertie for to gleane Graces out of his Harvest, let us not grudge and repine that poore people gleane a little gaine from our plentie. To conclude: when God hath multiplyed our *five Loaves*, that is, when of our little Seed he hath given us a great deale of increase, let poore people, like *Ruth* in the Text, be the *twelve Baskets* which may take up the fragments of gleanings which are left.

Verfes 8 to 10: *Then said Boaz unto Ruth, Hearest thou, my Daughter? Goe to no other field to gather, neither goe from hence, but abide bere by my Maidens. Let thy eyes be on the field which they doe reape, and goe after the Maidens.*

Have I not charged the servants, that they touch thee not? Moreover, when thou art thirstie, go unto the vessels, & drink of that which the servants have drawn. Then she fell on her face, and bowed her selfe to the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found favour in thy eyes, that thou shouldst know me, since I am a stranger?

Mothers and Nurses are very carefull tenderly to handle Infants, when they are but newly borne. So *Ruth*; Christ was newly formed in her, a young Convert, a fresh *Profelyte*: and therefore *Boaz* useth her with all kindnesse, both in workes and words; *Hearest thou, my Daughter?*

Observation: Aged persons may terme younger people their Sonnes and Daughters, 1 *Sam.* 3. 6. And if they were persons in Authoritie, though they were well-nigh equall in age, they used the same expression. Thus *Joseph* to his Brother *Benjamin*, *Gen.* 43. 29, *God be mercifull to thee, my Sonne.* Let young people therefore reverently observe their dutie and distance to their Seniors in Age, and Superiours in Authoritie: Yet I am afraid, men keepe not the method of *Jacobs* Children, the eldest sitting downe according to his Age, and the youngest according to his Youth; but fulfill the Complaint of the Prophet, *The young presume against the aged, and the base against the honourable.* Let aged persons strive to deserve their respect, by demeaning themselves gravely, and striving to adde gracious hearts to gray haire: otherwise, if they discover any lightnesse, loosenesse, wantonnesse in their carriage, young men will hereupon take occasion not onely to slight and neglect, but also to contemne and despise their paternall distance, and Father-like authoritie. Now as for young Ministers, they have not this advantage, to speake unto young people in the phrase of *Boaz*, *Hearest thou, my Daughter?* but must practise *S. Pauls* Precept, 1 *Tim.* 5. 1, 2, *Rebuke not an Elder, but exhort him as a Father, and the younger men as Brethren; the elder women as Mothers, the younger as Sisters, in all purenesse.*

But abide here by my Maidens.] *Observation*: Hence we gather, 'tis most decent for women to associate and accom-

panie themselves with those of their owne Sexe: *Miriam*, *Exod.* 15. 20, with a feminine Quire, *with Timbrels and Dances*, answered the men; and the Disciples wondred, *John* 4. 27, that Christ talked with a woman; shewing hereby, that it was not his ordinarie course to converse alone with one of another Sexe: For herein the Apostles Precept deserves to take place, namely, *to avoid from all appearance of evill.*

Have I not commanded the servants, that they should not touch thee?] *Boaz* had just cause to feare lest some of his servants might wrong her; to prevent which, he gave them strict charge to the contrarie.

Observation: Here we see that servile natures are most prone and proclive to wrong poore strangers. Indeed, generous spirits disdain to make those the subjects of their cruelty, which rather should be the objects of their pittie: but it complies with a servile disposition to tyrannize and domineere over such poore people as cannot resist them. Like pettie *Brookes* pent within a narrow Channell, on every dash of *Raine* they are readie to overflow, and wax angry at the apprehension of the smallest distast. The *Locusts*, *Revel.* 9. 10, had *tails* like *Scorpions*, and *stings* in their *tails*; which by some is expounded, that of those people which are meant by the *Scorpions*, the poorest were the proudest; the meanest, the most mischiveous; the basest, the bloodiest. And surely he that readeth the story of our English *Martyrs* shall find, that one *Alexander* a *Jaylor*, and one drunken *Warwick*, an *Executioner*, were most basely and barbarously cruell to Gods poor Saints.

Secondly, From these words observe; That it is the part of a good Master not onely to doe no harm himselfe, but also to take order that his Servants doe none, *Gen.* 12. 20, and 26. 11. When *Elisba* would take nothing of *Naaman*, *2 Kings* 5. 20, *Gebazi* said; *As the Lord liveth, I will run after him and take something of him.* Thus may base Servants (if not prevented with a command to the contrary) wrong their most right and upright Masters, by taking Gifts and Bribes privately. The water (though it ariseth out of a most pure Fountain) which runneth through Mineralls of Lead, Copper,

Brimstone, or the like, hath with it a strange taste and relish in the mouth. So Justice, which should runne downe like a streame, though it ariseth out of a pure Fountaine, out of the breast of a sincere and incorrupted Judge; yet if formerly it hath passed through the *Mines of Gold and Silver*, I meane, through bad *Servants*, who have taken Bribes to preposse the Judge their Master with the prejudice of false informations, Justice hereby may be strangely perverted and corrupted. Many Masters themselves have been honest and upright, yet much wrong hath been done under them by their wicked *Servants*. It is said of Queene *Mary*, that, for her own part, *She* did not so much as bark; but she had them under her, which did more than bite; such were *Gardner, Bonner, Story, Woodroffe, Tyrrell*: Now she should have tyed up these *Bandogs*, and chained and fettered up these *Blood-bounds* from doing any mischief. *Camden* in his *Elizabetha*, in the yeare 1595, writeth thus of the then Lord *Chancellor of England*; *Ob sordes & corruptelas famulorum in beneficiis Ecclesiasticis nundinandis, ipse vir integer ab Ecclesiasticis baud bene audivit*. He ought to have imitated the example of *Boaz*, not onely to have done no harme himselfe, but also to have enjoyned the same to his servants: *Have I not commanded my servants, that they should not touch thee?*

Thirdly, in these words *Boaz* doth intimate, That if he gave a charge to the contrarie, none of his servants durst presume once to molest her.

Observation: Where we see, Masters commands ought to sound Lawes in the eares of their servants, if they be lawfull. Indeed, if *Absolon* (2 *Sam.* 13. 28,) saith to his servants, *Kill Amnon, fear not, for have I not commanded you?* this command did not oblige, because the thing enjoyned was altogether ungodly. Otherwise, men must imitate the obedience of the Centurions servants; who said to the one, *Goe, and be goeth*; and to another, *Come, and be commeth*; and to his servant, *Doe this, and be doth it*.

Corollary: Now, if we ought to be thus dutifull to our Earthly Masters, surely, if the Lord of Heaven enjoyneth us any thing, we ought to doe it without any doubt or delay. Were there no Hell to punish, no Heaven to reward, no Pro-

mises pronounced to the godly, no Threatnings denounced to the wicked; yet this is a sufficient reason to make us doe a thing, because God hath enjoined it; this a convincing argument to make us refraine from it, because he hath forbidden it.

Then she fell on her face and bowed.] *Question*: Was not not this too much honour to give to any mortall Creature? And doth it not come within the compasse of the breach of the second Commandement, *Thou shalt not bow downe and worship them*? Especially seeing godly *Mordecai* refused to bend his knee to *Haman*.

Answer: Civill honour may and must be given to all in Authoritie, according to the usuall gestures of the Countrey: Now such *bowing* was the custome of the Easterne people, *Gen. 33. 3*. As for *Mordecai's* instance, it makes not against this; he being therein either immediately warranted by God, or else he refused to bow to *Haman* as being an *Amalakite*, betwixt which cursed Brood and the *Israelites* the Lord commanded an eternall enmitie.

Corollary: Now, if *Ruth* demeaned her selfe with such reverent gesture to *Boaz*, how reverent ought our gesture to be when we approach into the presence of God. Indeed, *God is a Spirit, and he will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth*; yet so that he will have the outward decent posture of the bodie to accompanie the inward sinceritie of the soule.

And said, Why have I found favour?] As if she had said: When I reflect my eyes upon my selfe, I cannot reade in my selfe the smallest worth to deserve so great a favour from thy hands; and therefore I must acknowledge my selfe exceedingly beholden to you. But principally I lift up my eyes to the providence of the Lord of Heaven; *mens hearts are in his hand as the Rivers of Water; he turneth them whither he pleaseth*: He it is that hath mollified thy heart, to shew this undeserved kindnesse unto me. Here we see *Ruth's* humilitie. Many now-adayes would have made a contrarie construction of *Boaz* his Charitie, and reasoned thus: Surely he seeth in me some extraordinarie worth, whereof as yet I have not taken

notice in my selfe ; and therefore hereafter I will maintaine a better opinion of my owne deserts. But *Ruth* confesseth her owne unworthinesse : And from her example let us learne to be humbly and heartily thankfull to those which bestow any courtesie or kindnesse upon us.

Since I am a stranger.] She amplifies his favour from the indignitie of her owne person, being a stranger.

Corollary : Oh then, if *Ruth* interpreted it such a kindnesse that *Boaz* tooke notice of her, being a stranger, how great is the love of God to us, who loved us in Christ when we were strangers and aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel ! As the never-failing foundation of the Earth is firmly fastned for ever fleeting, yet setled on no other substance then its owne ballasted weight ; so Gods love was founded on neither cause nor condition in the Creature, but issued onely out of his owne free favour. So that in this respect we may all say unto God what *Ruth* doth unto *Boaz* in the Text ; *Why have we found favour in thine eyes, that thou shouldest take knowledge of us, seeing we were but strangers ?*

Verses 11 and 12 : *And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath fully been shewed me, all that thou hast done unto thy Mother in law since the death of thine Husband ; and how thou hast left thy Father and thy Mother, and the Land of thy Nativitie, and art come unto a people which thou knewest not heretofore. The Lord recompence thy worke, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.*

It hath been fully shewed me, all.] More then probable it is, that *Boaz* had received his intelligence immediately from *Naomi*.

Observation : How-ever, here we may see, the vertues of worthy persons will never want Trumpets to sound them to the world. The *Jews* were the *Centurions* Trumpet to our Saviour, *Luke* 7. 3. And the Widowes *Dorcas* her Trumpet to S. *Peter*, *Acts* 9. 39. Let this encourage men in their vertuous proceedings, knowing that their worthy deeds shall not be buried in obscuritie, but shall finde tongues in their lively

colours to expresse them. *Abfolon* having no Children, and desirous to perpetuate his Name, erected a Pillar in the Kings Dale; and the same is called *Abfolon's* Pillar unto this day. But the most compendious way for men to consecrate their Memories to Eternitie, is to erect a Pillar of vertuous Deeds; which shall ever remaine, even when the most lasting Monuments in the World shall be consumed, as not able to satisfie the *Boulimee* of all-consuming Time. And to put the worst, grant that envious men with a Cloud of Calumnies should eclipse the beames of vertuous Memories from shining in the World, yet this may be their comfort, that *God that sees in secret, will reward them openly*. Moreover, it is the dutie of such who have received Courtesies from others, to professe and expresse the same as occasion shall serve; that so their Benefactors may publikely receive their deserved commendation. Thus surely *Naomi* had done by *Ruth*; from whose mouth no doubt, though not immediately, her vertues were founded in the eares of *Boaz*. *It hath been fully shewed me, all.*

Here now followeth a Summarie, reckoning up of the worthy Deeds of *Ruth*; which, because they have been fully discoursed of in the former Chapter, it would be needlesse againe to insist upon them: Proceed we therefore to *Boaz* his Prayer.

The Lord recompence thee.] As if he had said: Indeed, *Ruth*, that courtesie which I afforded thee to gleane upon my Land without any disturbance, comes farre short both of thy deserts and my desires. All that I wish is this, That what I am unable to requite the Lord himselfe would *recompence*: May he give thee *a full reward* of Graces internall, externall, eternall; here, hereafter; on Earth, in Heaven; while thou livest, when thou diest; in Grace, in Glory, *a full reward*.

Where first we may learne, that when we are unable to requite peoples deserts of our selves, we must make up our want of workes with good Wishes to God for them. Indeed, we must not doe like those in the second of *S. James, verse 16*, who onely said to the Poore, *Depart in peace, warme your selves, and fill your bellies*, and yet bestowed nothing upon them: We must not both begin and conclude with good Wishes, and doe nothing else; but we must observe *Boaz* his method:

first, to begin to doe good to those that being vertuous are in distresse; and then, where we fall short in requiting them, to make the rest up with heartie Wishes to God for them.

Observation: But the maine Observation is this; *There is a recompence of a full reward upon the good workes of his servants, Gen. 15. 1. Moreover, by them is thy servant taught; and in keeping them, there is great reward, Psal. 19. 11.* Verily, there is a Reward for the Righteous; doubtlesse, there is a God that judgeth the Earth; Godlinesse hath the promises of this Life, and of the Life to come.

Use 1: It may serve to confute such false Spies as rayse wrong Reports of the Land of *Canaan*, of the Christian Profession, saying with the wicked, *Mal. 3. 14, It is in vaine to serve God; and what profit is it that we have kept his Commandements, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of Hostes?* Slanderous Tongues! which one day shall be justly fined in the Starre-Chamber of Heaven, *Ob scandala magnatum*, for flandering of Gods noble servants and their Profession; for indeed, the Christian Life is most comfortable, for we may both take a liberall Portion, and have a sanctified use of Gods Creatures: besides, within we have peace of Conscience, and joy in the Holy-Ghost in some measure; one Dramme whereof is able to sugar the most wormewood affliction.

Use 2: When we begin to feele our selves to lagge in Christianitie, let us spurre on our affections with the meditation of that *full reward* which we shall in due time receive; with our Saviour, let us *looke to the Joyes which are set before us*; and with *Moses*, let us have *an eye to the recompence of Reward*: Yet so, that though we look at this *Reward*, yet also we must look through it, and beyond it. This meditation of the *Reward* is a good place for our soules to bait at, but a bad place for our soules to lodge in: we must mount our mindes higher, namely, to aime at the glory of God; at which all our actions must be directed, though there were no Reward propounded unto them. Yet since it is Gods goodnesse to propound unto us a Reward over and besides his owne Glory, this ought so much the more to incite us to diligence in our Christian calling: For if *Othniel*, *Judges 1. 13*, behaved himselfe

so valiantly against the enemies of *Israel*, in hope to obtaine *Acbsab*, *Calebs* Daughter, to Wife; how valiantly ought we to demeane our selves against our spirituall enemies, knowing that we shall one day be married unto our Saviour in eternall happinesse! And this is a *full Reward*.

Objection: But some may say, These termes of *Recompence* and *Reward* may seeme to favour the *Popish* Tenent, That our good workes merit at Gods hand.

Answer: *Reward* and *Recompence* unto our good workes are not due unto us for any worth of our owne, but meerely from Gods free favour and gracious promise. For, to make a thing truly meritorious of a Reward, it is required, first, that the thing meriting be our owne, and not anothers; now our best workes are none of ours, but Gods Spirit in us. Secondly, it is requisite that we be not bound of dutie to doe it; now we are bound to doe all the good deeds which we doe, and still remaine but *unprofitable servants*. Thirdly, there must be a proportion betweene the thing meriting, and the Reward merited; now there is no proportion betweene our stained and imperfect workes (for such are our best) and that infinite weight of glory wherewith God will reward us. It remaines therefore, that no Reward is given us for our owne inherent worth, but meerely for Gods free favour, who crownes his owne workes in us.

Under whose wings thou art come to trust.] A Metaphor; it is borrowed from an Hen, which with her clocking summons together her stragling Chickens, and then out-stretcheth the fanne of her wings to cover them. Familiarly it is used in Scripture, and amongst other places, by our Saviour, *Matth.* 23. 37, *How oft would I have gathered thee together, as an Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings, and ye would not!* And just it was with God, because the foolish Chickens of the *Jewes* would not come to Christ, the Hen, calling them, to suffer them to be devoured by the Eagle, the Imperiall Armie of the *Romans*.

Observation: Gods love and care over his Children is as great as an Hen's over her Chickens. Now the Hen's wings doe the Chickens a double good.

First, they keepe them from the Kite; so Gods providence protecteth his servants from that Kite, the Devill: For as the Kite useth to fetch many Circuits and Circles, and long hovers and flutters round about, and at length spying her advantage pops downe on the poore Chicken for a prey; so the Devill, who, as it is *Iob* 1. 7, *compasseth the Earth to and fro, and walketh through it*; and at length spying an opportunitie pitcheth and setleth himselfe upon some poore Soule to devoure it, if the wings of Gods providence (as the Citie of Refuge) doe not rescue him from his clutches.

Secondly, the Hen with her wings broodes her Chickens, and makes them thereby to thrive and grow. In Summer her wings are a Canopie, to keepe her Chickens from the heat of the scorching Sunne; and in Winter they are a Mantle, to defend them from the injurie of the pinching cold: So Gods providence and protection makes his Children to sprout, thrive, and prosper under it. In Prosperitie, Gods providence keepeth them from the heat of Pride; in Adversitie, it preserveth them from being benumbed with frozen Despaire.

Use: Let us all then strive to runne to hide our selves under the wings of the God of Heaven. Hearke how the Hen clocks in the *Psalmes*, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will beare thee, and thou shalt prayse me!* How she clocks in the *Canticles*, *Returne, O Shulamite, returne, returne, that we may behold thee!* How she clocketh, *Matth. 7. 7, Aske and ye shall have, seeke and ye shall finde, knock and it shall be opened unto you!* How she clocks, *Matth. 11. 28, Come unto me all ye that are wearie and beavie laden, and I will ease you!* Let not us now be like fullen Chickens, which sit moaping under a rotten Hedge, or proating under an old Wood-pile, when the Hen calleth them. Let not us trust to the broken Wall of our owne Strength, or think to lurke under the tottering Hedge of our owne Wealth, or winde-shaken Reeds of our unconstant Friends; but flye to God, that he may stretch his wings over us, as the Cherubins did over the Mercie-Seat. And as alwayes in Day-time, so especially at Night, when we goe to Bed, (for Chickens, when going to Roost, alwayes run to the Hen,) let us commend our selves with prayer to his Providence, that he would be

pleased to preserve us from the dangers of the Night ensuing ; *trusting, with Ruth in the Text, under the wings of the Lord God of Israel.*

Verſes 13 and 14: *Then ſhe ſaid, Let me finde favour in the ſight of my Lord ; for thou haſt comforted me, and ſpoken comfortably unto thy Maid, though I be not like to one of thy Maids. And Boaz ſaid unto her, At the meale time come thou hither, and eate of the Bread, and dip thy morſell in the vineger. And ſhe ſate beſide the Reapers, and he reached her parched Corne ; and ſhe did eate, and was ſufficed, and left thereof.*

Boaz had formerly called *Ruth*, Daughter ; now *Ruth* ſtileth him, Lord. When great ones carry themſelves familiarly to meaner perſons, meaner perſons muſt demeane themſelves reſpectfully to great ones. Indeed, with baſe and fordid natures familiaritie breeds contempt ; but ingenuous natures will more awfully obſerve their diſtance towards their Superiours, of whom they are moſt courteouſly intreated. And if great Perſonages ſhould caſt up their accompts, they ſhould finde themſelves not loſers, but gainers of honour by their kinde uſage of their Inferiours. Thoſe Starres ſeeme to us the greateſt and ſhine the brighteſt which are ſet the loweſt. Great men, which ſometimes ſtoop, and ſtoop low, in their humble carriage to others, commonly get the greateſt luſtre of credit and eſteeme in the hearts of thoſe that be vertuous.

And ſpoken comfortably unto thy Maid.] In Hebrew, haſt ſpoken unto the heart. A comfortable ſpeech is a word ſpoken to the heart.

Meditation : Oh that Miniſters had this facultie of *Boaz* his ſpeech ; not to tickle the eares, teach the heads, or pleaſe the braines of the people, but that their Sermons might ſoake and ſink to the root of their hearts ! But though this may be endeavoured by them, it cannot be performed of them without Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance. We may leave our words at the outward porch of mens eares, but his Spirit muſt conduct and lodge them in the Cloſet of their hearts.

Though I be not like to one of thy Maids.] Meaning, because she was a *Moabiteffe*, a Stranger and Alien, they Natives of the Common-wealth of *Israel*; in this respect she was farre their inferiour.

Observation: The godly ever conceive very humbly and meanly of themselves: *Moses*, Exod. 4. 10; *Gedeon*, Judg. 6. 15; *Abigail*, 1 Sam. 25. 41; *Esay*, 6. 5; *Jerem.* 1. 6; *John Baptist*, Math. 3. 11; [*Paul*,] 1 Tim. 1. 15. And the reason hereof is, because they are most privie to and sensible of their owne infirmities; their Corruptions which cleave unto them are ever before their eyes. These black feet abate their thoughts when puffed up with Pride for their painted Trainee of other Graces. On the other side, the wicked set ever the greatest price on their owne worth; they behold their owne supposed Vertues through magnifying Glasses, and think with *Haman* that none deserves better to be honoured by the King but themselves.

Use: Let us endeavour to obtaine humilitie with *Ruth*, a vertue of most worth, and yet which costeth least to keepe. Yet notwithstanding, it is both lawfull and needfull for us to know our owne worth, and to take an exact survey of those Graces which God hath bestowed upon us. First, that we may know thereby the better to proportion our thanks to God. Secondly, that we may know how much good the Church and Common-wealth expecteth to be performed by us. And lastly, that if any should basely insult and domineer over us, we may in humilitie stand upon the lawfull justification of our selves, and our owne sufficiencie, as *S. Paul* did against the false Apostles at *Corinth*; alwayes provided that we give God the glory, and professe our selves to be but *unprofitable servants*.

And Boaz said unto her, At the meale time come thou hitber, and eate of the Bread.] Two things herein are commendable in *Boaz*, and to be imitated by Masters of Families.

First, That he had provided wholesome and competent foode for his owne servants: so ought all house-holders to doe. And herein let them propound God for their President, for he maintaineth the greatest Family; all creatures are his

servants, and *he giveth them meat in due season; he openeth his hand, and filleth with his blessing every living thing.*

Secondly, As Boaz provided Meat for his servants, so he allowed them certaine set convenient Times wherein they might quietly eate their Meat. But as the people of the *Jewes* pressed so fast upon our Saviour, that he had not so much leisure as to *eate Bread* (*Mark 3. 20.*) and take necessarie sustenance: So, such is the gripple nature of many covetous Masters, that they will so taske and tye their servants to their worke, as not to afford them seasonable Respite to feede themselves.

And dip thy morsell in the vineger.] Observation: The Fare of Gods servants in ancient time, though wholesome, was very homely: Here they had onely Bread and Vineger, and parched Corne. For a thousand five hundred and sixtie yeares the World fed upon Herbes; and the Scripture maketh mention since of meane and sparing Fare of many godly men. It may therefore confute the Gluttonie and Epicurisme of our Age, consisting both in the superfluous number of Dishes, and in the unlawfull nature of them. We rifle the Ayre for daintie Fowle, we ranlack the Sea for delicious Fish, we rob the Earth for delicate Flesh, to suspend the doubtfull Appetite betwixt varietie of Dainties. As for the nature of them, many are meere needlesse Whetstones of Hunger, which in stead of satisfying doe encrease it. And as in the *Spanish Inquisition* such is their exquisite Crueltie, that, having brought one to the doore of Death by their Tortures, they then revive him by Cordials; and then again re-killing him with their Torments, fetch him againe with comfortable things; thus often re-iterating their Crueltie: So men, having killed their Appetite with good Cheare, seeke with Dishes made for the nonce to enliven it againe, to the superfluous wasting of Gods good creatures, and much endammaging the health of their owne bodies. But leaving them, let us be content with that competent Foode which God hath allotted us, knowing that *better is a Dinner of Herbes with peace, then a stalled Oxe with strife*; and God, if it pleaseth him, can so blesse *Daniels* Pulse unto us, that by meane Fare we shall be made more

strong and healthfull then those who surfet on excesse of Dainties.

And she did eate and was sufficed.] It is a great blessing of God, when he gives such strength and vertue to his creatures as to satisfie our hunger; and the contrarie is a great punishment: For as, (1 Kings 17. 1,) when they heaped abundance of *Clothes* on aged King *David*, yet his decayed body felt no *warmth* at all; so God so curseth the Meat to some, that though they cramme downe never so much into their bellies, yet still their hunger encreaseth with their Meat, and they finde that Nature is not truly contented and satisfied therewith.

And left thereof.] Hence we learne, the over-plus which remaineth after we have fed ourselves, must neither be scornfully cast away, nor carelessly left alone, but it must be thriftily kept: Imitating herein the example of our Saviour; who, though he could make *five Loaves* swell to sufficient foode for five thousand men, yet gave he command, that the *fragments* should be carefully basketted up.

Verfes 15 to 17: *And when she arose to gleane, Boaz commanded his servants, saying, Let her gather among the sheaves, and doe not rebuke her; Also let fall some of the sheaves for her, and let it lie, that she may gather it up, and rebuke her not. So she gleaned in the field untill Evening, and she threshed that she had gathered, and it was about an Ephah of Barley.*

Before I enter into these words, behold an Objection stands at the doore of them, which must first be removed.

Objection: One may say to *Ruth*, as our Saviour to the young man in the Gospel, *One thing is wanting*. Here is no mention of any *Grace* she said to God either before or after Meat.

Answer: Charitie will not suffer me to condemne *Ruth* of forgetfulnesse herein: She who formerly had been so thankful to *Boaz*, the Conduit-Pipe, how can she be thought to

be ungratefull to God, the Fountaine of all favours? Rather I think it is omitted of the holy Spirit to be written downe; who, had he registred each particular action of Gods Saints, (as it is *Jobn* 21. 25,) *the world would not have been able to containe the Books which should be written.*

Let none therefore take occasion to omit this dutie, because here not specified; rather let them be exhorted to performe it, because in other places it is both commanded by Precept, and commended by Practice, *Deut.* 8. 10; *1 Cor.* 10, 31. Yea, in the twenty-seventh of the *Acts*, the Mariners and Souldiers (people ordinarily not very Religious) though they had fasted fourteene days together, yet none of them were so unmannerly, or rather so profane, as to snatch any Meat, before *S. Paul* had given *Thanks*. Let us not therefore be like *Esau*, who in stead of giving a Blessing to God for his Pottage, sold his Blessing to his Brother for his Pottage: but though our haste or hunger be never so great, let us dispense with so much time as therein to crave a Blessing from God, wherein his creatures are sanctified; as no doubt *Ruth* did, though not recorded.

And when she arose to glean.] The end of feeding, is to fall to our Calling. Let us not therefore with *Israel*, sit downe to eate and to drinke, and so rise up againe to play; but let us eate to live, not live to eate. 'Tis not matter, we need not make the Clay-Cottage of our Body much larger then it is, by immoderate feasting; it is enough, if we maintaine it so with competent food, that God our Landlord may not have just cause to sue us for want of Reparations.

Boaz commanded his servants, saying, Let her gather among the sheaves, and doe not rebuke her.] *Observation*: It is lawfull for us, according to our pleasure, to extend our favours more to one then to another. *Ruth* alone, not all the gleaners, was priviledged to gather among the sheaves uncontrouled. Give leave to *Jacob* to bequeath a double Portion to *Joseph*, his best beloved sonne; for *Joseph* to make the Messe of *Benjamin* five times greater then any other of his Brethren; for *Elkanah* to leave a worthier Portion to *Hannah* then to

Peninnab : the reason is, because there can be no wrong done in those things which are free favours. I am not lesse just to him, to whom I give lesse ; but I am more mercifull to him, to whom I give more. Yet in the dealing and distributing of Liberalitie, let those of the Family of Faith be especially respected ; and of these, those chiefly which, as the Apostle saith, are worthy of a *double honour*.

Corollarie : Shall it not therefore be lawfull for the Lord of Heaven to bestow Wealth, Honour, Wisdome, effectual Grace, Blessings outward and inward, on one, and denie them to another ? You therefore, whom God hath suffered to gleane among the Sheaves ; and hath scattered whole handfulls for you to gather ; you that abound and flow with his favours, be heartily thankfull unto him ; he hath not dealt so with every one, neither have all such a large measure of his Blessings. And ye common gleaners, who are faine to follow farre after, and glad to take up the scattered eares, who have a smaller proportion of his favour, be neither angry with God, nor grieved at your selves, nor envious at your Brethren ; but be content with your condition. It is the Lord, and let him doe what is good in his eyes : shall not he have absolute power to doe with his owne what he thinketh good, when *Boaz* can command, that *Ruth*, and no other, may gleane among the sheaves without *rebuke* ?

Had the servants of *Boaz*, without expresse warrant and command from their Master, scattered handfulls for her to gleane, their action had not been Charitie, but flat Theft and Robberie ; for they were to improve their Masters goods to his greatest profit. On the other side, it had been a great fault, to with-hold and with-draw any thing from her, which their Master commanded them to give. Yet, as the unjust Steward in *Luke* made his Masters Debts to be lesse then they were ; so many servants now-adayes make their Masters gifts to be lesse then they are, giving lesse then he hath granted, and disposing lesse then he hath directed. Men commonly pay Toll for passing through great Gates, or over common Bridges ; so when the Liberalitie of Masters goeth through the Gate of their servants hands, and Bridges of their fingers, it is constrained to pay Tribute and Custome to their servants,

before it commeth to those Poore to whom it was intended. Thus many men make the augmentation of their owne Estates, from the diminution of their Masters Bountie.

Question: But some may say, Why did not *Boaz* bestow a quantitie of Corne upon *Ruth*, and so send her home unto her Mother?

Answer: He might have done so, but he chose rather to keep her still a working. Where we learne, that is the best Charitie which so relieves peoples wants, as that they are still continued in their Calling. For as he who teacheth one to swimme, though happily [haply] he will take him by the Chinne, yet he expecteth that the learner shall nimbly ply the Oares of his hands and feet, and strive and struggle with all his strength to keepe himselfe above water: so those who are beneficiall to poore people, may justly require of them, that they use both their hands to worke and feet to goe in their Calling, and themselves take all due labour, that they may not sinke in the Gulfe of Penurie. Relieve an Husbandman, yet so, as that he may still continue in his Husbandry; a Trades-man, yet so, as he may still goe on in his Trade; a poore Scholar, yet so, as he may still proceed in his Studies. Hereby the Common-wealth shall be a gainer. Drones bring no Honey to the Hive, but the painfull hand of each privat man contributes some profit to the publike good. Hereby the able poore, the more diligent they be, the more bountifull men will be to them; while their bodies are freed from many diseases, their soules from many sinnes, whereof Idlenesse is the Mother. Lazinesse make a breach in our Soule, where the Devill doth assault us with greatest advantage; and when we are most idle in our Vocations, then he is most busie in his Temptations. A reverend Minister was wont to say, that the Devill never tempted him more then on Mondayes, when (because his former Weekes Taske was newly done, and that for the Weeke to come six dayes distant) he tooke most libertie to refresh himselfe.

Since therefore so much good commeth from Industrie, I could wish there were a publike *Vineyard*, into which all they should be sent who *stand lazing in the Market-place till the eleventh houre of the day*. Would all poore and impotent

were well placed in an Hospitall, all poore and able well disposed in a Work-house; and the common Stocks of Townes so layd out, as they thereby might be imployed!

So she gleaned in the field untill evening.] The Night is onely that which must end our labours: onely the Evening must beg us a Play, to depart out of the School of our Vocation, with promise next Morning to returne again; *Man goeth out to his labour untill Evening.* Let such then be blamed, who in their working make their Night to come before the Noone; each day of their labour being shorter then that of S. Lucy [Dec. 13]; and after a spurt in their Calling for some few houres, they relapse againe to lazinesse.

And she threshed what she had gathered.] The Materialls of the Temple were so hewed and carved, both Stone and Wood, before that they were brought unto *Hierusalem*, that there was not so much as the noyse of an *Hammer heard in the Temple.* So *Ruth* fits all things in a readinesse before she goes home: What formerly she gleaned, now she threshed; that so no noyse might be made at home to disturbe her aged Mother. Here we see Gods servants, though well descended, disdaine not any homely, if honest, worke for their owne living: *Sarah* kneaded Cakes, *Rebeccah* drew Water, *Rachel* fed Sheepe, *Tamar* baked Cakes. *Suetonius* reporteth of *Augustus Cæsar*, that he made his Daughters to learne to spinne; and *Pantaleon* relates the same of *Charles* the Great. Yet now-adayes, (such is the pride of the World,) people of farre meaner qualitie scorne so base imployments.

And it was about an Ephah of Barley.] An *Ephab* contained ten *Omers*, *Exod.* 16. 36. An *Omer* of *Mannab* was the proportion allowed for a mans one day meat. Thus *Ruth* had gleaned upon the quantitie of a Bushell; such was her Industry in diligent bestirring her selfe; *Boaz* his Bountie in scattering for her to gather; and, above all, God his Blessing, who gave so good successe unto her. *Ruth* having now done gleaning did not stay behind in the field, as many now-adayes begin their worke when others end; if that may be termed

worke, to filch and steale ; as if the darke Night would be a Veyle to cover their deedes of Darknesse : but home she hasteneth to her Mother, as followeth.

Verfes 18, 19: *And she tooke it up, and went into the Citie, and her Mother in law saw what she had gathered: also she tooke forth, and gave to her that which she had reserved, when she was sufficed. Then her Mother in law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to day? And where wroughtest thou? Blessed be he that knew thee. And she showed her Mother in law with whom she had wrought, and said, The mans name with whom I wrought to day is Boaz.*

And she tooke it up.] See here, the shoulders of Gods Saints are wonted to the bearing of Burthens: Little *Isaac* carryed the Faggot, wherewith himselfe was to be sacrificed; our Saviour his owne Crosse, till his faintnesse craved *Simon of Cyrene* to be his successor. Yet let not Gods Saints be disheartened: if their Father hath a *Bottle wherein he puts the teares* which they spend; sure he hath a Ballance wherein he weighs the Burthens which they beare; he keepes a Note to what weight their Burthens amount, and (no doubt) will accordingly comfort them.

Those are to be confuted, who with the *Scribes*, Math. 23. 4, *binde beavie burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on the backs of others; but for their owne part they will not so much as touch them with one of their fingers*: Yea, some are so proud that they will not carry their owne Provender, things for their owne sustenance; had they been under *Rutbs Ephab* of Barley, with *David* in *Sauls* Armour, they could not have gone under the weight of it; because never used unto it.

And her Mother in law saw what she had gathered.] Namely, *Ruth* shewed it unto her, and then *Naomi* saw it. Children are to present to their Parents view all which they get by their owne labour; otherwise doe many Children nowadays: As *Ananias* and *Saphira* brought *part of the Money*, and *deposed it at the Apostles feet*, but reserved the rest for themselves; so they can be content to shew to their Parents

some parcell of their gaines, whilest they keepe the remnant secretly to themselves.

Also she tooke forth, and gave to her.] Learne we from hence, Children, if able, are to cherish and feed their Parents, if poore and aged. Have our Parents performed the parts of Pelicans to us? let us doe the dutie of Storkes to them: Would all Children would pay as well for the *partie-coloured Coats* which their Parents doe give them, as *Joseph* did for his, who maintained his Father and his Brethren in the Famine in *Egypt*! Thinke on thy Mothers sicknesse, when thou wast conceived; sorrow, when thou wast borne; trouble, when thou wast nurst: She was cold whilest thou wast warme; went whilest thou layd'st still; waked whilest thou slept'st; fasted whilest thou fed'st: These are easier to be conceived then exprefs'd, easier deserved then requited. Say not therefore to thy Father according to the Doctrine of the *Pharises*, *Corban*, it is a gift, if thou profiteest by me; but confesse that it is a true Debt, and thy bounden dutie, if thou beest able, to relieve them: so did *Ruth* to *Naomi*, who was but her Mother in law.

Which she had reserved when she was sufficed.] Observation: We must not spend all at once, but providently reserve some for afterwards; we must not speake all at once, without *Jesuiticall* reservation of some things still in our hearts; not spend all at once, without thriftie reservation of something still in our hands. Indeed our Saviour saith, *Care not for to morrow, for to morrow shall care for it selfe*: but that is not meant of the care of providence, which is lawfull and necessarie; but of the care of diffidence, which is wicked and ungodly. Those are to be blamed, which [say], as *Abisbai* said to *David* concerning *Saul*, *I will strike him but once, and I will strike him no more*. So many men, with one act of Prodigality, give the bane and mortall wound to their Estates: with one excessive Feast, one costly Sute of Clothes, one wastfull Night of Gaming, they smite their Estates under the fifth Rib, (which alwayes is mortall in Scripture,) so that it never reviveth againe. But let us spare where we may, that so we

may spend where we should: in the seven yeares of Plentie let us provide for the seven yeares of Famine; and to make good construction of our Estates, let us as well observe the Future as the Present Tense.

Then her Mother in law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to day?] These words were not uttered out of Jealousie, as if *Naomi* suspected that *Ruth* had dishonestly come by her Corne; (for Charitie is not suspitious, but ever fastens the most favourable Comments upon the actions of those whom it affects;) but she did it out of a desire to know who had been so bountifull unto her. Yet hence may we learne, that Parents after the example of *Naomi* may and ought to examine their Children, how and where they spend their time: For hereby they shall prevent a deale of mischief, whilest their Children will be more watchfull what Companie they keepe, as expecting with feare at Night to be examined. Neither can such Fathers be excused, who never say to their Children, as *David* to *Adoniab*, *Why doest thou so?* But suffer them to rove and range at their owne pleasure. *Am I, say they, my sonnes keeper? He is old enough, let him looke after himselfe.*

Now, as for those *Joashes*, whose *Jeboiada's* are dead, those young men whose Friends and Fathers are deceased, who now must have Reason for their Ruler, or rather Grace for their Guide and Governor; Let such know that indeed they have none to aske them as the Angell did *Hagar*, *Whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?* None to examine them, as *Eliab* did *David*, *Wherefore art thou come downe hither?* None to question them, as *Naomi* did *Ruth*, *Where wroughtest thou to day?* But now, as *S. Paul* said of the *Gentiles*, that *having no Law, they were a Law unto themselves*: so must such young persons endeavour, that having no Examiners, they may be Examiners to themselves, and at Night, accordingly as they have spent their time, either to condemne or acquit their owne actions.

Blessed be he that knew thee.] The man shot an Arrow at unawares, 1 *Kings* 22. 34, yet God directed it to the Chinke

of the Armour of guiltie *Abab*: But *Naomi* doth here dart and ejaculate out a prayer, and that at Rovers, aiming at no one particular Marke; *Blessed be he that knew thee*: Yet, no doubt, was it not in vaine; but God made it light on the head of bountifull *Boaz*, who deserved it.

Learne we from hence, upon the sight of a good deed, to blesse the doer thereof, though by Name unknowne unto us: And let us take heed that we doe not recant and recall our prayers, after that we come to the knowledge of his Name; as some doe, who when they see a laudable Work willingly commend the doer of it; but after they come to know the Authors Name, (especially if they be prepossessed with a private spleene against him,) they fall then to derogate and detract from the Action, quarrelling with it as done out of ostentation, or some other sinister end.

And she shewed her Mother in law with whom she had wrought.] Children, when demanded, are truly to tell their Parents where they have been; rather let them hazard the wrath of their earthly Father, by telling the Truth, then adventure the displeasure of their heavenly Father, by feigning a Lye. Yet as *David*, when *Achish* asked him (1 Sam. 27. 10) *where he had been?* told him, that he had been *against the South of Judah, and against the South of the Jerahmeelites, and against the South of the Kenites*; when indeed he had been the cleane contrarie way, *invading the Geshurites, and Gezrites, and the Amalekites*: So many Children flap their Parents in the mouth with a Lye, that they have been in their Studie, in their Calling, in good Companie, or in lawfull Recreations; when the truth is, they have been in some Drinking-School, Taverne, or Ale-house, mis-spending of their precious time. And many serve their Masters as *Gebezi* did the Prophet; who being demanded, answered, *Tby servant went no whitther*, when he had been taking a Bribe of *Naaman*.

The mans Name with whom I wrought to day is Boaz.] We ought to know the Names of such who are our Benefactors. Those are counted to be but basely borne who cannot tell the Names of their Parents; and surely those are but of a

base nature who doe not know the Names of their Patrons and Benefactors. To blame therefore was that lame man cured by our Saviour (*John* 5. 13), of whom it is said, *And he that was healed knew not the Name of him that said unto him, Take up thy Bed, and walke.* Yet let not this discourage the charitie of any Benefactors, because those that receive their courtesies oftentimes doe not remember their Names; let this comfort them, though they are forgotten by the living, they are remembered in the Booke of Life. The *Athenians* out of Superstition erected an Altar with this inscription, *Unto the unknowne God*: but we out of true Devotion must erect an Altar of Gratitude to the memorie, not of our once unknown, but now forgotten Benefactors, whose Names we have not been so carefull to preserve, as *Ruth* was the Name of *Boaz*: *And the mans Name was Boaz.*

Verse 20: *And Naomi said unto her Daughter in law, Blessed be he of the Lord, for he ceaseth not to do good to the living and to the dead. Againe Naomi said unto her, The man is neere unto us, and of our affinitie.*

These words consist of three Parts. 1. *Naomies* praying for *Boaz*. 2. Her praising of *Boaz*. 3. Her reference and relation unto *Boaz*. Of the first:

Blessed be he of the Lord.] The Lord is the Fountain from whom all blessednesse flowes. Indeed *Jacob* blessed his Sonnes, *Moses* the twelve Tribes, the *Priests* in the *Law* the people; but these were but the instruments, God the principall; these the pipe, God the fountaine; these the Ministers to pronounce it, God the Author who bestowed it.

For he ceaseth not.] Observation: *Naomi* never before made any mention of *Boaz*, nor of his good deeds; but now being informed of his bountie to *Ruth*, it puts her in mind of his former courtesies. Learn from hence, new favours cause a fresh remembrance of former courtesies. Wherefore if men begin to be forgetfull of those favours which formerly we have bestowed upon them, let us florish and varnish over our old

courtesies with fresh colours of new kindnesſes, ſo ſhall we recall our paſt favours to their memories.

Uſe : When we call to mind Gods ſtaying of his killing Angell, *Anno* 1625, let that mercy make us to be mindfull of a former ; his ſafe bringing back of our (then Prince, now) ✓ King from *Spaine* ; when the pledge of our enſuing happineſs was pawned in a forreine Country : Let this bleſſing put us in mind of a former ; the peaceable comming in of our Gracious Sovereigne of happie Memory, when the bounds of two Kingdoms were made the middle of a *Monarchy* : Stay not here, let thy thankfulneſſe travell further ; call to minde the miraculous providence of God in defending this Land from Invaſion in '88. On ſtill : be thankfull for Gods goodneſſe in bringing Queene *Elizabeth* to the Crown, when our Kingdome was like the Woman in the Goſpell, *troubled with an iſſue of blood* (which glorious Martyrs ſhed), but ſtanch'd at her ariving at the *Scepter*. We might be infinite in proſecution of this point ; let preſent favours of God renew the memories of old ones, as the preſent bounty of *Boaz* to *Ruth* made *Naomi* remember his former courtesies : *For he ceaſeth not to doe good to the living and the dead.*

He ceaſeth not.] Our deeds of Piety ought to be continued without interruption or ceaſing. Some men there be whoſe charitable deeds are as rare as an Eclipse, or a Blazing-Starre ; theſe men deſerve to be pardoned for their pious deeds, they are ſo ſeldome guiltie of them : With *Nabal* they prove themſelves by exceſſive prodigalitie at one Feaſt ; but he deſerves the commendation of a good houſe-keeper, who keepes a conſtant Table, who with *Boaz ceaſeth not to doe good.*

To the dead.] The meaning is, to thoſe who now are dead, but once were living ; or to their Friends and Kindred. Whence we learne, Mercie done to the Kindred of the dead, is done to the dead themſelves. Art thou, then, a Widower, who deſireſt to do mercie to thy dead Wife ; or a Widow, to thy dead Husband ; or a Child, to thy deceaſed Parent ? I will tell thee how thou mayeſt expreſſe thy ſelfe courteous : Hath thy Wife, thy Husband, or thy Parent any Brother, or

Kinsman, or Friends surviving? be courteous to them; and in so doing, thy favours shall redound to the dead: Though old *Barzillai* be incapable of thy favours, let young *Kimbam* taste of thy kindnesse: Though the dead cannot, need not have thy mercie, yet may they receive thy kindnesse by a Proxie, by their Friends that still are living.

Mercie, then, to the dead makes nothing for the *Popish Purgatorie*; and yet no wonder if the *Papists* fight for it. 'Tis said of *Sicily* and *Ægypt*, that they were anciently the Barnes and Granaries of the Citie of *Rome*: but now-adayes *Purgatorie* is the Barne of the *Romish* Court, yea, the Kitchin, Hall, Parlour, Larder, Cellar, Chamber, every Roome of *Rome*. *David* said, 2 *Sam.* 1. 24, *Ye Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which clothed you in Skarlet with pleasure, and banded ornaments of Gold upon your apparell*: But should *Purgatorie* once be removed, weep Pope, Cardinals, Abbots, Bishops, Fryers; for that is gone which maintained your excessive pride. When *Adonijah* sued for *Abisbag* the *Skunamite*, *Solomon* said to his Mother, *Aske for him the Kingdome also*. But if once the *Protestants* could wring from the *Papists* their *Purgatorie*, nay, then would they say, Aske the Triple Crowne, Crosse-Keyes, *S. Angelo*, *Peters* Patrimonie, and All: in a word, were *Purgatorie* taken away, the Pope himselfe would be in *Purgatorie*, as not knowing which way to maintaine his expensivenesse.

The man is neere unto us, and of our affinitie.] *Naomi* never before made any mention of *Boaz*: some, had they had so rich a Kinsman, all their discourse should have been a Survey and Inventorie of their Kinsmans goods; they would have made an occasion at every turne to be talking of them. Well, though *Naomi* did not commonly brag of her Kinsman, yet, when occasion is offered, she is bold to challenge her interest in him.

Observation: Poore folks may with modestie claime their Kindred in their rich alliance: Let not therefore great Personages scorne and contemne their poore Kindred. *Cambden* reports of the Citizens of *Corke*, that all of them in some degrees are of kindred one to the other: but I thinke, that all

wealthie men will hook in the Cousin, and draw in some alliance one to other ; but as they will challenge Kindred (where there is none) in rich folkes, so they will denie Kindred where it is in poore ; yet is there no just reason they should doe so : All mankind knit together in the same Father in the Creation, and at the Deluge ; I know not who lay higher in *Adams* Loynes, or who tooke the Wall in *Eves* Belly. I speake not this to pave the way to an *Anabaptisticall* paritie, but onely to humble and abate the conceits of proud men, who look so scornfull and contemptuous over their poore Kindred.

Use : Let such as are allyed to rich Kindred, be heartily thankfull to God for them ; yet so as they under God depend principally on their owne labour, and not on their reference to their Friends ; and let them not too earnestly expect helpe from their Kindred, for feare they miscarry. A Scholler being maintained in the Univerfitie by his Uncle, who gave a Basilisk for his Armes, and expected that he should make him his Heire, wrote these Verses over his Chimney :

*Falleris aspectu Basiliscum occidere, Plini,
Nam vitæ nostræ spem Basiliscus alit.*

Soone after it happened that his Uncle dyed, and gave him nothing at all ; whereupon the Scholler wrote these Verses under the former :

*Certè aluit, sed spe vanâ ; spes vana venenum ;
Ignoscas, Plini, verus es historicus.*

So soone may mens expectations be frustrated who depend on rich Kindred : Yea, I have seene the twine-thred of a Cordiall Friend hold, when the Cable-Rope of a rich Kinsman hath broken.

Let those therefore be thankfull to God, to whom God hath given meanes to be maintained of themselves, without dependance on their Kindred : better it is to be the weakest of Substances, to subsist of themselves, then to be the bravest Accidents, to be maintained by another.

Verse 21: *And Ruth the Moabiteffe said, He said unto me*

also, Thou shalt keep fast by my young men, untill they have ended all my Harvest.

He said unto me also.] Ruth perceiving that *Naomi* kindly resented *Boaz* his favour, and that the discourse of his kindnesse was acceptable unto her, proceeds in her relation.

Doctrines: People love to enlarge such discourses which they see to be welcome to their audience.

What maketh *Tale-bearers* so many, and their *Tales* so long, but that such persons are sensible that others are pleasingly affected with their talke? Otherwise, a *frowning looke*, Prov. 25. 23, will soone put such to silence. When *Herod* saw, *Acts* 12. 3, that the killing of *James* pleased the *Jewes*, he proceeded farther, to take *Peter* also. *Detractors*, perceiving that killing of their *Neighbours Credits* is acceptable to others, are encouraged thereby to imbrew their *Tongues* in the murdering of more *Reputations*.

Secondly, Whereas *Ruth* candidly confesseth what favour she found from *Boaz*, we learne, we ought not fullenly to conceale the bountie of our *Benefactors*, but expresse it to their honour, as occasion is offered. The *Giver* of *Almes* may not, but the *Receiver* of them may, *blow a Trumpet*.

This confuteth the ingratitude of many in our Age; *clamorous* to beg, but *tongue-tyed* to confesse what is bestowed upon them. What the *sinne against the Holy-Ghost* is in *Divinitie*, that *Ingratitude* is in *Moralitie*; an Offence unpardonable. Pittie it is, but that *Moone* should ever be in an *Eclipse*, that will not confesse the beames thereof to be borrowed from the *Sunne*. He that hath a *Hand to take*, and no *Tongue to thanke*, deserves neither *Hand* nor *Tongue*, but to be *lame* and *dumbe* hereafter.

Observe by the way, that *Ruth* expresseth what tends to the prayse of *Boaz*, but conceales what *Boaz* said in the prayse of *her selfe*. He had commended her, *verse* 11, for a *dutifull Daughter in law*, and for leaving an *Idolatrous Land*. But *Ruth* is so farre from commending *her selfe in a direct Line*, that she will not doe it by reflection, and at the *second band*, by reporting the commendations which others gave her.

Doctrines: Let another prayse thee, and not thine owne mouth.

How *Large* are the *Pen-men* of the Scripture in relating their owne faults! How *concise* (if at all) in penning their owne prayſes!

It is generally conceived that the Gospel of S. *Marke* was indited by the Apostle *Peter*; and that from his mouth it was written by the hand of *John Marke*, whose Name now it beareth. If ſo, then we may obſerve, that *Peters denying of his Maſter*, with all the circumſtances thereof, his *Cuſing* and *Swearing*, is more largely related in the Gospel of S. *Marke* then in any other: But as for his *Repentance*, it is ſet downe more ſhortly there then in other Gospels: *Matthew* 26. 75, *And he went out and wept bitterly*; *Luke* 22. 62, *And Peter went out and wept bitterly*; but *Marke* 14. 72, it is onely ſaid, *When he thought thereon, he wept*.

So ſhort are Gods ſervants in giving an account of their owne Commendations, which they leave to be related by the mouthes of others.

Thou ſhalt keepe faſt by my young men.] *Objection*: Here either *Ruths* memorie failed her, or elſe ſhe wilfully committed a foule miſtake. For *Boaz* never bad her to *keepe faſt by his young men*, but, *verſe* 8, *Abide here faſt by my Maidens*. It ſeemes ſhe had a better minde to Male-companie, who had altered the Gender in the relating of his words.

Answer: Condemne not the *Generation of the Righteous*, eſpecially on *doubtfull evidence*. *Boaz* gave a Command, *verſe* 15, to his young men to permit her to *gleane*: ſhe mentioneth them therefore in whom the authoritie did reſide, who had a *Commiſſion* from their *Maſter* to countenance and encourage her in her *extraordinarie gleaning*, which Priviledge his Maidens could not beſtow upon her.

Verſe 22: *And Naomi ſaid unto Ruth her Daughte in law, It is good, my Daughte, that thou goe out with his Maidens, that they meet thee not in any other field.*

And Naomi ſaid unto Ruth, her Daughte in law.] *Doctrine*: It is the bounden dutie of Parents, to give the beſt counſell they can to their Children: As *Naomi* here preſcribes whoſome advice unto her Daughte in law.

It is good.] That is, it is better. It is usuall both in the *Old and New Testament* to put the *Positive* for the *Comparative* in this kinde. Luke 10. 42, *Mary hath chosen that good part;* that is, the *better part*. *It is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, and not thy whole body*, Math. 5. 29; *profitable*, that is, *more profitable*; and as it is expounded, Math. 18. 8, *better*. *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*, 1 Cor. 7. 1; that is, *it is better*; it is more convenient, and freer from trouble, in time of persecution. *It is good for thee, that thou goe out with his Maidens*; that is, *it is better*.

Doctrine: *Maids are the fittest companie for Maids*; amongst whom, a chaste Widow, such as Ruth was, may well be recounted: *Modestie is the Life-guard of Chastitie*.

That they meet thee not in any other field.] Here she rendreth a Reason of her *Councell*, because *Ruth* thereby should escape suspition, or appearance of evill.

Objection: What hurt or harme had it been, if they had met her *in another field*? She might have been met there, and yet have departed thence as *pure* and *spotlesse* as she came thither.

Answer: It is granted. Yet, being a *single woman*, slanderous Tongues and credulous Eares meeting together had some colour to rayse an ill Report on her Reputation. Besides, being a *Moabite*, she ought to be more cautious of her Credit; lest, as she was a *stranger*, she might be taken
✓ for a *strange woman* in *Solomon his sense*. And therefore *Nimia cautela non nocet*. In some eares it is not enough to be honest, but also to have *testes honestatis*; many a Credit having suffered, not for want of clearenesse, but clearing of it selfe, surprized on such disadvantages.

Verse 23: *So she kept fast by the Maidens of Boaz, to gleane unto the end of Barley Harvest and of Wheat Harvest; and dwelt with her Mother in law.*

So she kept fast by the Maidens of Boaz.] Here was good Counsell well given, because thankfully accepted and carefully practised.

Doctrine: *It is the dutie of Children to follow the advice of their Parents.*

We meet with two Examples in wicked persons, which in this respect may condemne many *undutifull Children* of our dayes. The one *Ismael*; who, though he be characterized to be a wild man, *Gen. 16. 12, His band against every man, and every mans band against him*: yet it seemes his hand was never against his Mother *Hagar*, whom he obeyed in matters of most moment; in his Marriage, *Gen. 21. 21, His Mother tooke him a Wife out of the Land of Ægypt*.

The second is *Herodias*; of whom no good at all is recorded, save this alone, That she would not beg a Boone of her Father *Herod*, untill first she went in to her Mother *Herodias*, tok now what she should aske. How many now-adayes make *Deeds of Gift* of themselves, without the knowledge and consent of their *Parents*!

Unto the end of Barley Harvest.] Commendable is the constancie and the continuance of *Ruth* in labour. Many there are who at the first have a *ravenous appetite* to worke, but quickly they *surfet* thereof. *Ruth* gleanes one day, so as she may gleane another; it is the constant pace that goeth farthest, and freest from being tyred: *Matb. 24. 13, But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved*.

And dwelt with her Mother in law.] It was Christs counsell unto his Disciples, *Matb. 10. 11, to abide in the place wherein they did enter*, and not to goe from house to house. Such the settlednesse of *Ruth*; where she first fastned, there she fixed: *She dwelt with her Mother*. *Naomi* affords *Ruth* House-room, *Ruth* gaines *Naomi* Food; *Naomi* provides a Mansion, *Ruth* purveyes for Meat; and so mutually serve to supply the wants of each other.

If *Envie*, and *Covetousnesse*, and *Idlenesses* were not the hinderances, how might one *Christian* reciprocally be a helpe unto another! All have something, none have all things; yet all might have all things in a comfortable and competent proportion, if seriously futing themselves as *Ruth* and *Naomi* did, that what is defective in one, might be supplied in the other.

[“ Within that order which the third seats make
Is seated Rachel, lower than the other,
With Beatrice, in manner as thou seest.
Sarah, Rebecca, Judith, and her who was
Ancestress of the Singer, who for dole
Of the misdeed said, *Miserere mei*,
Canst thou behold from seat to seat descending.”
DANTE’S *Paradiso*, LONGFELLOW, xxxii. 7-13.]

JOSEPH'S
PARTY-COLOURED
COAT,

CONTAINING,
A COMMENT ON
Part of the II. Chapter of
the I. Epistle of S. *Paul*
to the CORINTHIANS.

Together with several Sermons: namely,

- 1 *Growth in Grace.*
- 2 *How farre Examples may be followed.*
- 3 *An ill Match well broken off.*
- 4 *Good from bad Friends.*
- 5 *A Glasse for Gluttons.*
- 6 *How farre Grace may be Entayled.*
- 7 *A Christning Sermon.*
- 8 *Faſtion confuted.*

By T. F.

JOHN 6.12.

Gather up the Fragments that remaine, that nothing be loſt.


LONDON,

Printed by *Iohn Dawson*, for *Iohn Williams*, and are to be
ſold at his ſhop, at the Signe of the Crane, in Pauls
Church yard. 1640.

[" But after the manducation of the Paschal Lamb, it was the custom of the Nation to sit down to a second Supper in which they ate herbs and unleavened bread ; the *Major-domo* first dipping his morsel, and then the family ; after which the Father brake bread into pieces, and distributed a part to every of the Guests, and first drinking himself, gave to the rest the chalice filled with wine, according to the age and dignity of the person ; adding to each distribution a form of benediction proper to the mystery, which was Eucharistical and commemorative of their Deliverance from *Egypt*. This supper *Jesus* being to celebrate, changed the forms of benediction, turned the Ceremony into Mystery, and gave his Body and Blood in Sacrament and religious configuration ; so instituting the venerable Sacrament, which from the time of its institution is called *the Lord's Supper* ; which Rite *Jesus* commanded the apostles to perpetuate in commemoration of him their Lord untill his second coming. And this was the first delegation of a perpetual Ministry which *Jesus* made to his apostles, in which they were to be succeeded to in all the generations of the Church."—*JEREMY TAYLOR's Great Exemplar of Sanctity, &c.* ; part iii. sect. xv. page 350, ed. 1702.]

TO
The Right Worshipful,
the Lady IANE COVERT,
of Peper Harrow
in SURRY.

MADAM,

USTOME hath made it not only pardonable, but necessary to flatter in Dedicatory Epistles: Epitaphs, and Dedications, are credited alike.

But I will not follow the streame herein: First, because I account it beneath my calling to speake any thing above the truth. Secondly, because of you it is needlesse: Let deformed Faces be beholding to the Painter; Art hath nothing to doe, where Nature hath prevented it.

Wherefore I will turne my prayeing of you, into prayer for you, desiring God to strengthen and increase all goodnesse in you, and give you perseverance (that golden Claspe) which joynes Grace and Glory together.

Thus desiring to shroud my weake labours under your favourable Patronage, I rest

Your Ladiships in all service,

T. F.

[Introduction.]

THIS quaintly-entitled collection of sermons connects itself with the preacher's Dorsetshire cure, and his Salisbury canonry,—“*none of the worst Livings, and one of the best Prebends in England*,” as he termed them (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, 1659, part i. page 2). The Prebendal stall of Netherbury-in-Ecclesia, near Beaminster, had, 18th June, 1631, been bestowed upon the young divine by his uncle DAVENANT, Bishop of Salisbury, who moreover had in 1622 advanced the elder THOMAS FULLER to the Prebend of Highworth, Wilts., in the same Church. The son had afterwards occasion to remind his opponent, Dr. HEYLIN, who had imputed to Fuller disloyalty to his Church, that his “*Extraction who was Prebendarius Prebendarides, and relation (as the Animadversor knows) to two no meane Bishops, my Uncles*” (TOWNSON and DAVENANT), might clear him from any episcopal antipathy (*Appeal*, part iii. page 47). Picturesque and instructive details of cathedral-life at Salisbury at this time have (as if to compensate for the disfavour shown to literary inquirers at the Episcopal registry) been given to the public in the *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Hist. MSS.* This Blue-book contains the detailed replies to Archbishop LAUD's Visitation-Articles of 1634, from the original documents in the House of Lords (pages 127 *seq.*). FULLER's name is not found amongst the printed answers (they belong to May, 1634) of the Prebendaries, perhaps because, not being a Canon-residentary, his visits to the cathedral were infrequent. On two other occasions only does he himself refer to his position at Salisbury, viz., in *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, § Mixt Contemplations, No. xxii. page 241 (ed. 1645); and in the *Worthies*, § Wilts., page 145. Certain of his cousins and connections, who were likewise non-resident, are, however, named in the *Report*, as giving joint or particular replies to some of the twenty-nine articles of inquiry. Dr. EDWARD DAVENANT, his cousin (formerly his college-tutor, but then holding preferment in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Berkshire), makes four answers, and then adds: “To the rest of the articles given in charge, I, being only a prebend at large, and not resident among them who have the immediate care and government of the Church, am able to say nothing;” and their relative John TOWNSON (who was then holding the stall of the elder FULLER) is similarly reticent (page 132). The longer and more interesting replies definitely indicate at once the duties and defaults of the canons. According to a statute made “by the now Lord Bishop” (Dr. DAVENANT), and the Dean (Dr. MASON) and chapter seven in number, the Prebendaries were to preach in their own turn in the Cathedral, on Sundays and holydays, and they were to wear the surplice and the square cap (according to the canon and ancient

customs of the Church) ; but if unable to perform their duty, some other Prebendary or able preacher might do it upon the Dean and Chapter being acquainted beforehand ; "yet this good ordinance hath ben broken by many" (page 128). Some of the replies in the documents which admit that in the Church there was "a faction against the Church," are of a recriminatory nature ; and they all reveal a remissness in duty and a state of dissension that must have harassed the presiding bishop, who was, says his nephew, "happy to die before his order for a time died, April, 1641" (*Worthies*, § London, page 207). Like this "Good Bishop," the "second JEWELL of Salisbury," FULLER kept strictly to the Canonical regulations of JAMES I.'s reign ; and he could therefore appeal, as his compurgators in an unjust accusation that was afterwards made against him of being "careless of surplice, hood, and band," to "such as knew my conformity in the Colledge Chappel, Country Parishes, and Cathedral of Sarum" (*Appeal*, part ii. page 80). It is, however, asserted in one of the Visitation-replies that surplice and hood were then seen in the cathedral scarce once a quarter (page 131).

About three years after this last preferment, FULLER was appointed by his uncle to the Rectory of Broadwindsor, near Beaminster, Dorsetshire. The living was then in the diocese of Bristol ; and hence arose the election of FULLER, then a Bachelor of Divinity, as a Proctor for that diocese, in the famous Convocation of 1640. The state of ecclesiastical matters in the thriving villages of the west took their complexion from the towns. In the "Remembrancer" that accompanies the documents relating to the Visitation of the diocese, it is said that "in most parishes in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and the Westerne partes, there is still a puritane and an honest man chosen churchwardens together. The puritane alwayes crosses the other in repayres and adorning the church, as also in the presentments of vnconformities, and in the issue putts some trick or other vpon the honest man, to putt him to sue for his charges hee hath been at for the church. Y^e shall find it at this instant in the parish of Beaminster in Dorsetshire, between CRABB and ELLERY. The suit now pending" (page 131). The first of these litigants was the Rev. JOSEPH CRABB, M.A., one of CALAMY's ejected ministers (i. 176, ed. 1802), but who died Vicar of Axminster in 1699. CRABB was, with WILL. BALL and THO. LYE (who also belonged to the West), concerned in setting forth *Eighteen Sermons preached* (by Archbishop USSHER) in Oxford in 1640 (4to. 1660),—these three editors being perhaps the note-takers mentioned in the Epistle as "such who had the pens of ready writers." The Rev. STANLEY GOWER of Dorchester wrote the preface to this volume.—With reference to ELLERY, the troublesome Churchwarden, there is an aisle in Beaminster Church, built by the ELLERY or HILARY family, of Meerhay, between whom and the Vicar for the time being there was a continual feud.

The religious questions which had in FULLER's time entered into discussion, were not a little heightened by the political situation of the country. Of these troubles the only indication in the following Sermons is perhaps found in certain passages in the last of the series, called *Faction Confuted*. An air of peace seems, indeed, to pervade the Church-life of the preacher, his connection with his benefice and cathedral being the "simple annals"

of a good parson. That he ranked high in the opinion of his rustic parishioners is shown by an anecdote related in his anonymous *Life*, 1661, pages 9, 10; and none the less exemplary was his intercourse with his fellow-canon, among whom are to be found the names of some who became as famous as himself.

The sermons show that the author's churchmanship was of a sound kind, being as far removed from the high Anglicanism that was assuming authority, as from the simple ritual of the Anabaptists. He was emphatically a moderate Divine. Hence his warning to kill the itch of novelty, and to keep to the old paths (page 122); his plea for the "decent garnishing" of churches (page 113); his objection to general censures (page 116); &c.

As in the former addresses, we have here a running commentary on the passage which deals with the dissensions in the Corinthian assemblies, and with the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 18-30). The nature of the subject draws the preacher into deeper and more debateable topics, which are reverently handled. His knowledge of the human heart is seen in his remarks on worthiness in receiving the Sacrament (pages 151 *seq.*), on self-examination (pages 155 *seq.*), &c.; while his acquirements in historical divinity may be gathered from the discussion of tradition (pages 135 *seq.*), transubstantiation (pages 142 *seq.*), &c.

Amongst many noticeable passages is the character of the Founder of a heresy (pages 120 *seq.*), which is equal in finish to any of the portraits in *The Holy and Profane State*. This sketch was perhaps the original of The Heretic in that work (ed. 1652, page 378).

There are copies of *Joseph's Party-coloured Coat* differing from others in respect of corrections of certain errors of the press. The uncorrected copies have no border round the title-page. This book has been reprinted once only, viz. in 1867 (London, 8vo. Tegg), edited by William NICHOLS.

Lady JANE COVERT, the patroness of this volume (*anted.*, page cix.), was the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir JOHN SHIRLEY, of Isfield, co. Suffex, Knight, where she was baptized, 3rd January, 1596-7. She was thrice married. First, to Sir WALTER COVERT of Slougham, Suffex, Knight, 22nd August, 1616. She was next united to Sir JOHN FREAKE of Cerne, co. Dorset, Knight, about 1632-3. Her abode in this county explains her connection with these sermons; and FULLER addresses her, as was customary, by her old title. The lady's third husband was DENZELL HOLLES, first Baron HOLLES (married 12th March, 1641-2), to whom she was second wife, and who survived her. Her will, dated 31st July, 1658, was proved 13th April, 1667. In this document she describes herself as "Dame JANE COVERT, of Cerne Abbas, co. Dorset," mentioning her jointure-house at Pepper Harrow. She was buried at Iwerne Courtney, co. Dorset, 25th April, 1666.]



A
Comment
on I Cor. II. 18: &c.



Verse 18: *For first of all when you come together in the Church, I beare there be divisions among you, and I partly beleeve it.*

THE Apostle calleth the Corinthians to an account, and readeth his black Bill unto them. It containeth severall *Items*, which you may reade in the following chapters; but the *Imprimis* is in the Text. *For first of all, &c.*

When you come together in the Church, &c.] Observation: Even in the non-age and infancy of Christianity, there were Churches appointed for Gods holy service. True, some take *Church* here, *pro cœtu fidelium*; yet *Theophylact* and all Greeke Writers generally expound it, the materiall place of meeting.

Two things then were chiefly aymed at in Churches: 1. Receipt, that the place were capable to containe the people. 2. Privacie.

Being then under persecution they built not their Churches to be seene, but not to be seen; and then were as plaine in their houses as in their dealing. Beauty and Magnificence were of later date in Christian Temples, when Religion grew acquainted with peace and prosperity; and good reason Gods house now should bee decently garnished: Some, shunning whorish gaudinesse, leave the Church to sluttish nastinesse; the Font (our Iordan) having more mud than water in it; the Communion-table unseemingly kept.

Caution : Withall let us take heed lest as it hath been observed in England, that great House-building hath beene the bane of good House-keeping : So let us take heed lest piety in us bee so much the worse, by how much our Churches are better then they were in the time of Saint *Paul* : What a shame would it be, if there should be more light in the Church windows than in our understanding, more pious sentences written in their wals than in our hearts, more uniformity in the building than in our behaviours !

I beare there be divisions among you.] *Question :* How came Saint *Paul* by this intelligence ? Was not hee at Philippi when hee wrote this Epistle, (as appears by the Postscript), which was many miles from Corinth ? How heard the Apostle of these divisions at such a distance ?

Answer : Saint *Paul* was cunning in a kind of Christian and lawfull Magick. All the world was his circle ; (for so he saith of himselfe, *The care of all Churches lyeth upon me*, 2 *Cor.* 11. 28 ;) and some faithfull friends in every Church were his familiar Spirits in this circle, to inform him of all considerable passages. So that Saint *Paul* was at Corinth, when hee was not at Corinth ; absent in person, present by his Proxies, these Intelligencers which kept correspondencie with him.

Doctrine : Men in authority have quick eares to heare at a great distance. The mutterings of Malefactors are hollowings to Magistrates, who heare distinctly what offenders but whisper to themselves.

Use : Let none therefore be encouraged to sinne through a confidence to be concealed : What though Sinners be the servants of the Prince of darkenesse, and therefore hope to obtaine from their Lord and Master a protection that no punishment may arrest them ? yet let them know, that though the place wherein they sin seeme to them as darke as Egypt, it is as light to men in authority as the land of Goshen : Lyons sleepe with their eyes open ; Magistrates with their eyes both open, and seeing : when wee thinke them blind, they *Bebold* : when deafe, with Saint *Paul* they *Heare*.

Question : Did these men (whosoever they were) well in telling Saint *Paul* these discords of the Corinthians ? Had

they not better have gone backward, and covered the nakednesse of their neighbours with the cloake of silence? Pitty it is but that his tongue should bee for ever bound to the peace, who will prate of every fault hee finds in another; and at the best they are but clacks and tel-tales for their paines.

Answer: Had they told it to some scoffing *Cham* or mocking *Ismael*, who would have made musick to himselfe of the Corinthians discords, then they had been faulty in relating the faults of others: *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in Askalon, lest, &c.* 2 *Sam.* 1. 20; but it being told to *S. Paul*, who would not mock, but bemoan, not defame, but reform these offenders, it was no breach, but a deed of charity, and the doers hereof benefactors herein to the Church of Corinth.

Doctrine: It is both lawfull and laudable to discover the faults of our dearest friends, to those who have power and place to reforme them. Thus *Ioseph* brought to his father *Iacob* the evill deeds of his brethren, *Gen.* 37. 2. Indeed the Devill is called the Accuser of the brethren, *Revel.* 12. 10; but he accuseth them often without cause, even without charity, who since hee hath been cast into hell knowes no other heaven then to doe mischief. But for a man to open the sins, the wounds of his neighbour, not with desire to put him to torment, but that the Chyrurgion may searce and salve them, is an action most charitable.

There are divisions.] *Objection*: But did not Saint *Paul* in the second verse of this Chapter prayse the Corinthians? *Now I commend you brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keepe the Ordinances as I delivered them to you.* Were they growne so bad since the beginning of this Chapter? or doth Saint *Paul* with Saint *Augustine* write a retractation of what hee had written before? Is this faire dealing, that hee who formerly had by his commendations given the Corinthians a generall Acquittance from all their faults, should now come over them with an after-reckoning, and charge them with the sin of divisions?

Answer 1: Some answer, *Omnia, id est, pleraque omnia.*

¹ Cornelius à Lapidè *on the Text* [*i.e.* on verse 2, Ed. Paris, 1638, page 283].

So that all the ordinances are to be expounded the greatest part of them.

2. Others by Ordinances understand onely certaine Ecclesiasticall ¹Rites and Ceremonies, touching the discipline of the Church, which had no necessary influence, either on doctrine or manners; so that the Corinthians might be observant of all these, and yet peccant both in life and beliefe.

If this bee the meaning, then let us take heed that though we be whole in discipline, wee be not halting in Doctrine; though sound in ceremonies, not sick in manners; there being no such inseparable connexion betwixt the one and the other, but that a man may observe all orders in Church service, and yet be disorderly in his life and conversation. Lightning oft times breaks the sword, yet bruises not the scabard; so error and vitiousnesse may breake all piety and religion in us, though in the mean time the sheath of Religion (formall decency and outward conformity) remaine in us sound and entire.

Calvins ²opinion is that the Apostle commending the Corinthians, meaneth the maine and general body of the Church, though there might be many straglers justly to be reproved, confessing *Laborasse quidem alios alijs vitijs: Interea tamen ab universo corpore retentam fuisse formam quam commendaverat.* That Church therefore is, and is to be counted and commended for a good Church, whose head is whole, heart healthful, all vital parts entire, though having a lame leg, a bleared eye, a withered hand, some bad and vitious members, belonging unto it.

And I partly beleve it.] That is, I beleve some of you are guilty of this fault, though others be innocent.

Doctrine: Generall censures condemning whole Churches are altogether uncharitable. Angle out the offenders by themselves, but take heed of killing all with a Drag-net: And grant many, yea, most to be faulty, yet some may be guiltlesse. Wickednesse was not so generall a Rule in Sodome, but that righteous *Lot* was an exception from it. See *Obadiab* (as a

¹ Thom. Morton in his Comment upon the 1 Cor. 11.

² Cal[vin, on] 1 Cor. 11. 2 [Com. in omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, Ed. Geneva, 1600, page 192].

Iewell in the head of a Toad) Steward of *Ababs* wicked household. Yea, seeing Impiety intrudes it selfe amongst the thickest of Gods Saints, (even drowning *Cbam* in *Noabs* Arke,) just it is that God should have some names even where the throne of Satan is erected.

Let us therefore follow the wary proceedings of *Iebu*, 2 *Kings* 10. 23, who being about to kil *Baals* Priests, caused a strict search before to be made: *Search and look that there be bere with you none of the servants of the Lord, but the servants of Baal only.* So when wee are about with censuring, to murder the credits of many together, let us take heed that there be not some Orthodoxe amongst those whom we condemn al to be Hereticks; some that desire to bee peaceable in this our Israel, amongst those whom wee condemne for all factious Schismaticks.

But these words (*I partly beleeve it*) may thus also be expounded, as wel of the faults, as of the persons, as if he had said, I beleeve these accusations only in part, and hope they are not so bad as they are reported.

Doctrin: When Fames are brought unto us from good hands, let us not be so incredulous as to beleeve no part of them; nor so uncharitable as to beleeve all; but with Saint *Paul* partly beleeve it. The good man carrieth a Court of Chancery in his owne bosome, to mitigate the rigour of common reports with equall and favourable interpretations.

Reason 1: Because Fame often creates something of nothing, alwayes makes a great deale of a little. 'Tis true of Fame what is said of the Devill: It has beene a Lyar from the beginning. Yea, and sometimes a Murderer. *Abalom* flew one of *David*s sonnes, and Fame killed all the rest, 2 *Sam.* 13. 30.

2. Because men in reporting things often mingle their own interests and ingagements with their Relations, and making them better, or worse, as they themselves stand affected: Water resembleth both the taste and colour of that earth through which it runneth; so reports relish of their Relators, and have a blush and a smack of their partiall dispositions, and therefore such Relations are not to be beleeved in their full latitude, extent, and dimension.

It confutes (1) Those that will beleeve nothing of what they

heare reported, though warranted by never so good witnesses. Though they be perswaded, they will not be perswaded, and will not credit any accusations though never so just. Yea, sometimes are so farre from trusting the tongues of others, that they wil not trust their owne eyes : I beare them witnesse these men have charity, but not according to knowledge.

(2) But where too much charity hath slaine her thousands, too little hath slaine her ten thousands. More men there be who take all reports upon the credit of the Relators, and never weigh them in the scales of their owne judgements to see if they bee too light or no : Yea, some are so excessive in this kind, their beliefe out-stretcheth the report : what is told them to be done out of ignorance, they beleeve to be out of knowledge ; what is told them to be done out of infirmity, they beleeve to bee done out of presumption : they need not say with the man in the Gospel, *Lord, I beleeve, helpe my unbeleeve* ; but, Lord, pardon my too much beliefe, pardon my over-credulity, in that I beleeve all, and more than all reported.

To conclude, let not our beliefes be altogether of clay to receive any impressiion, nor altogether of Iron to receive none at all. But as the toes in the Image of *Nebuchadnezzars* Dreame were partly iron and partly clay : So let our beliefes be composed of charity mixt with our credulity ; that when a crime is reported wee may with Saint *Paul* partly beleeve it.

Verse 19 : *For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.*

Here Saint *Paul* argueth a *minore ad majus*, being the more easily induced to beleeve there might be divisions among them, because also there must be Heresies.

Doctrines : Heresies are worse than Schisms, false doctrines more dangerous than divisions. The former sinnes against Faith ; the later, against Charity ; and though these two Graces be sisters and twins, yet Faith is the eldest and choycest.

However, as children use to say, they love Father and Mother both best : So let us hate Heresies and Schisms both worst. The rather because schisme is a fit stock to graft

Hereſie on; yea, of their owne accord, old Schiſmaticks ripened with age, grow young Heretikes: witneſſe the Donatiſts, who (as Saint ¹*Auguſtine* ſaith) were but pure Schiſmaticks at firſt, and turned Heretikes afterwards.

Queſtion: What is a Hereſie? A demand very important to be answered, ſeeing Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Acts* 24. 14, *After the way which they call Hereſie, ſo worſhip I the God of my Fathers.*

Answer: Hereſie is an error in the fundamentals of Religion, maintayned with obſtinacy. It muſt be in the fundamentals. In the Primitive Church many were too lavish in beſtowing the name of Heretike on thoſe which diſſented from the Church, in (as I may ſay) Veniall errors. A charitable man would have been loath to have beene of the Jury, to condemne *Iovinian* for an Heretike on no other evidence than that hee maintayned marriage in merit to be equall with Virginitie. As therefore by thoſe many Kings mentioned in the old Teſtament, thirty and one in the little land of Canaan, *Joſh.* 12. 24, is meant onely Toparchs, not great Kings, but Lords of a little Dition and Dominion; So in the ancient Catalogues of Heretikes (eſpecially of that which ²*Phylaſter* made) we may underſtand in ſome of them onely erroneous perſons, ſwarving from the truth.

The next thing neceſſary in an Hereſie is that it be maintained with obſtinacy, which is the dead fleſh, making the greene wound of an error feſter into the old ſoare of an Hereſie. Thoſe two hundred men of Ieruſalem, *2 Sam.* 15. 11, who followed *Absolom* to Hebron in their ſimplicity, and knew not any thing, cannot properly be counted Traytors or Rebels: No more can people purely erroneous, who doe not bolt and barre their eyes againſt the beames of truth, but willingly would imbrace it if delivered unto them, and maintaine an error out of conſcience, not knowing the truth, be accounted Heretikes. Charitable therefore was the cautiousneſſe of *Epiphanius*, who would not condemne the Anthropomorphites for Heretikes, (who, miſtaking ſome places of

¹ *Libro de Hereſibus ad quod vult Deum.*

² S. Aug[ustine] loco prius citato ſaith of him, *Hereſes quidem ipſe commemorat, ſed mihi appellande hereſes non videntur.*

Scripture which speake of Gods eyes, feet, and hands, conceived him to bee of a bodily substance,) but rather imputed it to their simplicity than obstinacy, *Rusticitat eorum tribuens*.

Question : Whether doth every Heretike maintain that which in his owne conscience he knowes to be false?

Answer : No : perchance some Heretikes at first may strive to defend errors, even against the reluctancies of their own judgements, and God may afterwards justly take from them that light which they thrust from themselves : and as great Lyars tell lyes so long till at last they themselves beleeve them to bee true : so many Heretikes so long maintaine falshoods against their judgement, till at last, being delivered up to a Reprobate Mind, they beleeve their very errours to be truth.

And wee will take just occasion to describe those qualities which dispose a man to bee a Father and Founder of an Heresie.

1. He must be abominably proud : Pride is the key of the worke, especially spirituall pride. When one is elated with conceited sanctity above others, chiefly he wil snarle with his Superiours, and quarrel with men in authority, that those are before him in place, which are behind him in piety. 2. To pride add discontentment, that his preferments bare not proportion to his supposed deserts ; thus *Arius* would be an Arian, because he could not bee a Bishop. 3. Learning void of humility. *The Serpent was the subtilest of all the beasts in the field, Gen. 3. 1 :* in this kind a Dunce is no dish for the Devils tooth. But in default of learning, good naturall parts will serve the turne, especially Memory (which is θαυματουργός, a Wonder-working facultie) and a fluent expression : so that when hee calleth for words, *Gad : Behold, a Troope commeth*. If both learning and natural parts bee wanting, yet (as when the golden shields were taken away, *Reboboams* brazen Shields did the deed, and made as much glittering, 2 *Cbron.* 12. 10) boldnesse and brazen-fac't impudence will supply the place, especially if hee trades with the Vulgar, broaches dregs, and founds a dull and sottish Heresie which hath no affinity with Learning. [4.] To varnish all these there must bee pretended Piety and Austerity of life, and how fowle or filthy soever

the Posterne or Back doore be, the door which opens to the street must be swept and garnished. Put all these together, Pride, Discontent, Learning (at least-wise good parts, or impudency), pretended sanctity; and they spel together *Herefiarcham*, one cut and carved out to be Ring-leader and Captaine of an heresie.

To prevent these mischiefes, let such men pray to God for Humility, (that vertue which is most worth, yet costeth the least to keepe it,) and beware of spirituall pride, which is the Hectick Fever of the soule, feeding on the very moisture of the heart of Piety. Let them beware of discontentment, which is a direct quarrelling with God, who is the fountaine of all preferment, though men may be the channell; and hee who hath the least from Him, hath more than he deserveth: And grant preferment is denyed thee, bee not so childish to cast away a Crowne, because thou canst not get a counter; willingly throw away thy soul, and foolishly revenge the fault of the times (as thou countest it) upon thy selfe. Lastly, if God hath bestowed good parts upon thee, pray to him to sanctifie them to thee; otherwise the greatest memory may soone forget it selfe, and a fluent tongue may cut his throat that hath it.

So much for the Character of an Arch-Heretike. But those whose barren wits want pregnancy to be the Mothers of Heresies, may notwithstanding serve for dry Nurfses to feed and foster them; and to this purpose the Devil will make use of them.

A plaine Follower of an Heresie may bee thus described: First, he must be ignorant, for hee that knowes nothing will beleieve any thing. These bee Maidens for their Religion; and therefore the opinion which first woed them first wins them, first come first served. Old Seducers, as it is 2 *Tim. 3. 6, 7, Creepe into houses, and leade captive silly women laden with sinnes, led away with divers lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* Secondly, desirous of Novelty: It is an old humour for men to love new things, and in this poynt even many Barbarians are Athenians. Lastly, (what resulteth from the two former,) they must have the persons of men in much admiration,

doting on some fancied mans parts and perfections, and enter-tayning anything he saith, because he said it.

To prevent these mischiefs, that men may not be Followers of Heresies, let the meanest-parted labour to attaine to some competent measure of knowledge in matters of salvation, that so hee may not trust every spirit, but be able to try whether he bee of God, or no. Beleeve no man with implicite faith in matters of such moment; for hee who buyes a Jewell in a case, without ever looking on it, deserves to be couzened with a Bristoll Stone, in stead of a Diamond. Secondly, kill the itch of novelty in thy soule, practising the Prophets Precept, *Jer. 6. 16, Thus saith the Lord, Stand yee in the wayes, and see, and aske for the old pathes, where is the good way, and walk therein, and yee shall find rest for your soules.* Lastly, love and admire no mans Doctrine for his person, but rather love his person for his Doctrine.

And now to returne to the very words of the Text.

There must be also Heresies.] There is a double Must, or a two-fold necessity of things being: first, an absolute necessity; when the thing hath in it selfe the cause of its necessary being: Thus God alone *Must Be*: (for what can bee, if being it selfe be not?) and must bee good, and must bee true. Secondly, a conditionate *Must*, or a necessity, *ex hypothesi*, which must needs bee if such a thing be granted before. As, suppose the Sun be risen, and it must bee day. Such a conditionate necessity is this in the Text: For upon the presupposition of these two things which cannot be denied: that the Devill goeth about like a roaring Lyon seeking whom he may devoure; and that the flesh lusteth against the spirit, making men prone to all wickednesse: hence it followeth ther must be heresies. Thus he that beholdeth a family, and findeth the Master to be carelesse, the Mistris negligent, the sons riotous, the servants unfaithfull; hee may safely conclude that family cannot be safe, but must be ruined; *There must be heresies*: paralel to that, *Luke 17. 1, It is impossible but that offences should come.* But farre bee it from us to conceive that God imposeth a fatall necessity, or by the irresistableness of his Decree

urgeth or enforceth any to bee Heretikes: their badnesse he wisely permits, but in no wise is the cause or Author thereof.

Among you.] You Corinthians, though men of excellent parts and endowments, are not priviledged from having heresies among you; yea, happily [haply] because of your excellent naturall gifts, are more disposed thereunto. Or take it generally, Among you Christians, for properly heresies have their rise and originall out of the Church, and issue thence, according to the 1 *Iohn* 2. 19, *They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had, &c.* I see not therefore how *Epiphanius* can well make Platonists and Pythagoreans to bee Heretikes, (the latter for their opinion of Transanimation,) seeing neither of these were ever of the Church.

That they which are approved may be made manifest among you.] That they whom God from all eternity in his secret councill hath approved, may have their Epiphany and manifestation unto the world; that, thus discovered, they may receive from men a Testimoniall of their soundnesse and sincerity. Not that God hereby gaineth any accession of knowledge (*fore-knowne unto God are all his workes from the beginning of the world, Aet. 15. 18*), but others hereby are certified and assured of that which was doubtfull before: Thus often times Gold-smiths, though they themselves bee sufficiently satisfied of the goodnesse of the gold, yet *put it to the touch* to content the Beholders.

And hereby also those which are not approved are made manifest. Many who doe *εὐπροσώπησαι ἐν σαρκί*, make a brave shew in the flesh, and carry it in a high tryumphant way, wil prove but base when brought to the tryal. Whilst many unknowne men, of whom the world tooke no notice, not suspected for any worth, shall acquit themselves valiant and appeare glorious to God and all good men: Many a bright candle formerly hid under a bushell, of a private and obscure life, shall then be set on a Candlestick and shine forth to the world: And shall cause,

1. Glory to God, who shall be honoured and praysed in

these his servants, and, as it is *Matth. 9. 8*, *The multitudes will marvell, and glorifie God which hath given such power unto men.*

2. Honour to these his Champions of the truth. Never had *Atbanasius* so answered his name and beene so truly immortall in his memory, but for opposing of the Arrians. Never had Saint *Augustine* been so famous but for quelling of Manicheans, Pelagians, Donatists, and whom not? for all his Heretikes lay pat for his hand to dash them in peeces.

3. Clearing to the Truth: her old Evidences which have layd long neglected wil then be searched and found out; her rusty Arguments will be scoured over and furbished up. Many will run to and fro, and knowledge shal be increased. Those which before shooting at the Truth, were over, under, or wide, wil now, with the left handed Gibeonites, hit the mark at an haire bredth, and faile not: Many parts of true Doctrine have bin but slenderly guarded, till once they were assaulted by Heretikes; and many good Authors in those points which were never opposed, have written but loofely, and suffered unwary passages to fall from their posting pens. But when theeves are about the countrey, every one will ride with his sword and stand on his guard: when Heretikes are abroad in the world, Writers weigh each word, ponder each phrase, that they may give the enemies no advantage.

4. Confirmation to weak Christians. Many, whose hearts and affections were loyall to the Truth, but likely to be overborne by the violence of the opposite party, will hereby be strengthened and established in the Right.

5. Those will bee reduced, who (as *Agrippa* said of himselfe, *Act. 26. 28*, *That hee was almost a Christian*) are almost Heretikes, not as yet *Formati et Radicati Hæretici*, but such as well going (or rather ill going) that way will plucke one foot out of the snare, and will returne to the bosome of the Church.

6. Lastly, the Hardned will bee made unexcusable, who obstinately persist in their errours: They cannot plead they lost their way for want of Guides, but for meere wilfulnesse. And thus God is so good, hee would suffer no Heretikes to

bee in the World ; were hee not also so strong and so wise that hee can extract thus many goods by permitting them.

Verſes 20, 21 : *When you come together therefore into one place, this is not to eate the Lords Supper. For in eating, every one taketh before other his own Supper ; and one is hungry, and another is drunken.*



F the ſenſe of the firſt of theſe verſes are many and different opinions, both what is meant by *This is not to eate, and the Lords Supper.* Omitting varietie of Interpretations, we wil embrace that which we conceive the beſt.

This is not to eate the Lords Supper.] As if hee had ſaid : True it is, yee Corinthians, when yee come together to one place, you *eate the Lords Supper* ; (meaning the body and blood of Chriſt in the Sacrament, ſo expounded by ¹ Saint *Auguſtine*, and *Ambroſe*, with many other Latine Writers ;) and yet though you *eate it*, you doe not eate it. You perform the materiall part of the action, but leave out the life and ſoule thereof, not doing it legally and ſolemnely according to Chriſts Inſtitution. Such is your want of charity and exceſſe of riot in your *Love-feaſts* (which you eate before the Sacrament), whereby your ſoules are diſturbed, diſtempered, and quite put out of tune to eate the *Supper of the Lord*, as yee ought.

Doctrine : A duty not done as it ought to be done, is in effect not done at all. .Eſay 64. 7 : *There is none that calleth upon thy name, that ſtirreth up himſelfe to take hold of thee.* Not that the true Church of God, in whoſe perſon it is ſpoken (as Antiquity expounds it, and may bee demonſtrated by unanſwerable Arguments), do any times wholly neglect, though too often negligently performe their calling on God ; not doing it with that faith and conſtancy, care and fervencie, devotion and diligence, as they ought, and God requires ;

¹ *Epist. 118. ad Ianuar. cap. 5. Ipſam acceptionem Eucharistiæ, carnem Dominiſam vocat.*

they did not call on God, in the same sence as Saint *Paul* speaketh, *This is not to eate.*

Use : It will abate their pride who rest on *Opus operatum*, as bad Divinity as Latine. For a deed done is a deed not done, where the manner of the doing confutes and confounds the matter of the deed. Yea, in the best of Gods children ; as *Gideons* Army of two and thirty thousand did shrink to three hundred, *Iudg.* 7. 6 ; So it is to bee feared, that their so many Sermons heard, prayers made, Almes given, which they score up to themselves, and reckon upon, will shrink in the tale when God takes account of them ; and prove Sermons not heard, prayers not made, Almes not given, because not done in forme as he requires.

Yet it is some comfort unto us, if all our actions proceed from faith, and ayming at Gods glory ; so that the faylings be rather in the branches and leafes than in the roots of our performances. As for the Vnregenerate, they so remayning have in them *læsum principium* of all true pious workes : all their divine actions are none at all ; it being true of their whole list, what ¹one writes of the yeare of our Lord, 903, *Annus sua tantum obscuritate illustris*, famous only for this, that nothing famous was done in it, and the whole story thereof a very *Blanke*.

For in eating every one taketh before other his owne Supper.] Herein the Apostle reproveth their abuses in their LOVE-
FEASTS, whose Institution, Declination, and Corruption, we will briefly describe.

Their Institution : *Love-feasts* were founded on no expresse command in Holy Write, but only on the Custome of the Church, who immediatly before the receiving of the Sacrament, as appears both by the Text and Saint ²*Augustines* Comment on it, (though Saint *Chrysostome* makes these *Love-feasts* to bee after the taking of the *Eucharist*,) used to have a great Feast, to which all the poore people were invited, on the charges of the rich. This they did partly in

¹ Spondanus, *Annal. Eccles.* [*Baronii*] in anno 903 [Ed. Paris, 1639, part ii. page 329].

² *Loco prius citato.*

imitation of our Saviour, who instituted the Sacrament after a full Supper; and partly in expression of their perfect love and charity towards all men. •

Their Declination: But the number of the rich men increased not proportionably with the poore: 1 Cor. i. 26, *Behold your calling, that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.* The Church (in time of persecution, especially) is like a Copse, wherein the underwood growes much thicker and faster than the Oakes. Hence came it to passe, that there were few Hosts, many Guests; few Inviters, many to be invited; and the burden growing hevie, lying on few backs, they wholly omitted the poor, who loath to come without any invitation, (the warrant to keepe a Guest from trespassing on good manners,) were excluded from their Feasts.

Their Corruption: Thus love to men in want, was quickly turned into want of love, *Mare Euxinum* into *Mare Axinum*, *Love-feasts* into *No-love-feasts*. (Thus too often Charity is changed into bargaining; *Hospitals* turned into *Exchanges*, wherein those are taken in, that can give; and those left out, that have nothing.) The poore people in Corinth did see and smell, what the rich men tasted, *Tantalizing* all the while, and having their penury doubled by the *Antiperistasis* of others plenty; yea, ryot and excesse; for some of them were drunken.

Yet marke by the way that Saint *Paul* doth not plant his Arguments poynt-blanke to beat these *Love-feasts* downe to the ground, wholly to abrogate and make a nullity of them, but onely to correct and reforme the abuses therein, that there might be lesse ryot in the Rich and more charity towards the poore.

Use: Let not things simply good in themselves, be done away for their abuses; *Abraham* said unto God, *Gen. 18. 25, To slay the Righteous with the wicked, that be farre from thee;* and farre be it from us to casheare the good use of a thing with the ill abuses annexed thereunto. Hee is a bad husband that having a spot in his coat will cut out the cloath, not wash out the dirt. Wherefore in matters of a mixt nature, wherin good and bad are confusedly jumbled together, let us with

the fire of judgement try the drosse from the gold; and with the fanne of discretion winnow the chaffe from the corne.

For in eating every one taketh, &c.] By *Every one*, understand not every particular person in the Church of Corinth (for then how could some bee *hungry*?) but every division: the faction of *Paul* a part, of *Apollo* a part, the sect of *Cephas* by it selfe.

His owne Supper.] Meaning that *Love-feast*, or plentiful Supper, whereof formerly, therefore called their *Owne*, both because severally provided for their *Owne* faction, as also in distinction of the *Lords Supper* which they tooke afterwards.

And one is hungry.] Here is nothing in the poore to be condemned. For that they were hungry, was no sinne in them, but their punishment; Gods pleasure, and the rich mens fault. *Observation: Poverty sometimes keeps men innocent, while abused wealth makes rich men to offend.*

Something is here in the poore to be commended, that they would be *hungry*. Our age affords such unmannerly *Harpies*: they would have snatched the meat out of the rich mens mouthes. Some will not want a fire if there be fewell in their neighbours yard: But O let us not unlawfully *remove the Land-mark* of our estates! Let us rather trespasse against modesty than honesty, goe naked, than steale clothes; be hungry and fast, than feast on forbidden food.

And another is drunken.] Question: Is it credible that any of the Corinthians, being about to receive the Sacrament, would be so farre overtaken, as to *be drunken*?

Answer: Surely not so drunken as he, *Prov. 23. 35: They have stricken mee, said hee, and I was not sicke; they have beaten me, and I felt it not.* They pronounced not *Siboletb* for *Skiboletb*; so that it might have beene said to them, as it was to Saint *Peter*, *Thy very language betrayeth thee.* Sure their tongues, eyes, and feet, were loyall enough to preserve their Masters credit. So then by *Drunken* here, understand the highest flight and pitch of mirth. And as hearbs hot in

the fourth degree are poyson; so *Summa hilaritas* is *Ima ebrietas*, the highest staire of mirth is the lowest step of drunkennesse.

Doctrine: There is a concealed Drunkennesse, which no Informer can accuse, no witnesse can testifie, no earthly Iudge can punish; yet is it lyable to a censure in the Court of Heaven, and counted Drunkennesse in the eyes of God. And though others cannot perceive it in us, wee may take notice of it in our selves, especially if wee examine our selves: 1. By our unaptnesse to serve God in our generall or particular callings. 2. By the quantity of the liquor wee have drunke. 3. By the company with whom wee drinke. For as some who of themselves never take notice of their owne fast going, yet are sensible of it when they heare some of their company, whose legs are not so long and so strong, begin to complaine: so though of our selves we find no alteration in our owne temper; yet if any of our Companions in drinking, who started from the same place and ran the same pace with us, begin to be tyred, let them bee our Monitours that it is high time, *claudere jam rivos*, to leave off our course, as being already drunkennesse before God.

Vse: Let us not walke to the utmost bounds of what we may, nor take so much liquor as perchance we may justifie. It was permitted to the Iewes to beat a Malefactor with forty stripes, *Deut.* 25. 3; yet they never exceeded nine and thirty, as appeares by their scourging Saint Paul, to whom no doubt they used their greatest cruelty, *2 Cor.* 11. 24. Let us not stretch our Christian Liberty to the utmost: be that never will drinke lesse than he may, sometimes will drinke more than hee should.

Question: But why is here mention of Drunkennesse onely, and not of Gluttony, seeing probably at such great Feasts these twin-vices goe together?

Answer: The Apostle only instanceth in that sinne which is most obvious and appearing to sight: Gluttony is scarce discernable in him that is guilty of it; *Quia per esum necessitati voluptas miscetur, quid necessitas petat, et quid voluptas suppetat, ignoratur*, saith ¹Gregory, Necessitie in eating so incorporates

¹ *Moralia in Expos. Beati Iob*, cap. 39, ver. 7] lib. 30. cap. 28 ante medium [¶ 62].

it selfe with delight, that they are hardly to be distinguished. Besides, as thunder and lightning, though they come together, yet lightning first arriveth to our sight : So though probably at the Corinthians Feasts, Gluttony and Drunkenesse were both joyned together in the same person, yet Drunkenesse was soonest and easiest discerned.

Verse 22: *What ! have yee not houses to eat and drinke in? or despise yee the Church of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say unto you? shall I prayse you in this? I prayse you not.*

MVST you needs make the house of God the place of your feasting? If you be disposed to bee merry, have yee not houses wherein yee may doe it with more privacie and lesse offence? or *despise you the Church of God?* Doe you under-value the place set apart for Gods service, to convert it into an ordinary Banquetting-house? This is the exposition of all Greeke Writers, who expound it the Materiall Church; and their opinion is much favoured by the Antithesis and opposition in the Text betwixt *Church* and *Houses*. Hence it appeares, that these *Love-feasts* (which of late by the rich mens covetousnesse were inclosed into a private courtesie, which at the first were a common Charity) were to their greater abuse kept in the Church or place of publike meeting.

Only duties pious and publike are to be performed in the Church. Duties publike and not pious more besit a Guild-hall or Towne-house; duties pious and not publike more become a Closet: *Psalme 4. 4, Commune with your heart in your Chamber, and be still;* whilst duties publike and pious beseme a Church, as proper thereto.

Use: Too [to] blame those that turne the Church into a Counting-house, there to rate their neighbours, both to value their estates, and too often to revile their persons. Others make it a Market-place, there to bargain in; yea, some turne it into a Kennell for their dogs, and a Mew for their Hawkes, which they bring with them. Surely if Christ drove out thence sheep and doves, the emblems of Innocencie, he would

not have suffered these Patterns of cruelty to have abide in his Temple.

But most Latine Writers expound these words, *Or despise yee the Church of God?* of the spirituall Church. The rich Corinthians in not inviting the poore made Balkes of good ground, chaffe of good corne; yea, Refuse of Gods Elect.

Objection: But not inviting the poore, was not despising them. A Free-will-offering is no debt. *In gratuitis nulla est injustitia.* Seeing therefore it had beene no sin in the Corinthians wholly to have omitted their Feasts (as being not commanded by Gods Word), it could bee no offence to exclude any Guests at their pleasure.

Answer: This is true of civill and ordinary entertainements: But these being entitled *Love-feasts*, and Charity pretended the maine Motive of them, poore people were the most proper, should have beene the most principall Guests. Besides, if not Christianity, yet Civility; if not grace, good nature; might have moved them, whilst they gorged themselves, to have given something to the poore which stood by. To let them look on hungry was a despising of them in an high degree, a *Scandalum Magnatum*, censurable in the *Star-chamber* of Heaven: Thus to wrong their Peeres in Grace here and glory hereafter.

Doctrine: *Hee that despiseth the poore, despiseth the Church of God.* Whereof they are a member inferiour to none in piety; (*God hath chosen the poore of this world to be rich in faith, James 2. 5;*) superiour to all in number. Now he that pincheth the little toe paineth the whole body; the disgracing any member is the despising the whole Church. Let us beware of affronting those in want, upbrayding their rags with our filkes; setting our meat before their eyes only to raise their appetites. He that hath the things of this World, and seeth his Brother to want, how doth the love of God dwell in him?

And shame them that have not.] Not, that have not houses, though perchance but homely and hired; but *μὴ ἔχοντες*, those that have not wealth and substance to pay the shot, and goe to the cost to invite you againe.

What shall I say? shall I prayse you in this?] Doctrine : *Pastours may and must prayse their people wherein they doe well.* Reasons : 1. Hereby they shall peaceably possesse themselves of the good-wils of their people, which may much advance the power and efficacie of their preaching. 2. Men will more willingly digest a Reproofe for their faults, if prayfed when they doe well. 3. Vertue being commended doth increase and multiply ; Creepers in goodnesse will goe, Goers run, Runners fly.

Use : Those Ministers to bee blamed which are ever blaming, often without cause, alwayes without measure ; whereas it is said of God, *hee will not be alwayes chiding*, *Psalm* 103. 9. These Preachers use their reproofes so commonly, till their Physicke turnes naturall, and will not worke with their people.

Doe any desire to heare that which *Themistocles* counted the best Musicke ; namely, themselves commended ? On these conditions, wee Ministers will indent with them : Let them find matter, wee will find words ; let them doe what is commendable, and blame us if we commend not what they doe. Such work for us would be Recreation ; such employment, a pleasure, turning our most stammering tongue into *the pen of a ready Writer*. To reprove is prest from us as Wine from Grapes ; but prayses would flow from our lips as water from a Fountaine. But alas ! how can we build when they afford us neither *brick*, nor *straw* ? how can wee prayse what they doe when they will not doe what is to bee prayfed ? If with *Abab* they will doe what is evill, then with *Micaiah* wee must alwayes prophesie evil unto them.

In this I prayse you not.] Doctrine : *Ministers must not commend their people when they doe ill.*

Reasons : 1. Dishonourable to God. 2. Dangerous to the Ministers. That Embassadour, who being sent to proclaime warre pronounceth peace to Rebels, (*There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked*, *Esay* 57. 21,) deserves at his returne to bee preferred to the Gallows. 3. Dangerous to the people, who are soothed in their sinnes : Honey-dewes, though they be sweet in taste, doe black and blast the corne : So those

who prayse their people without cause are cruelly kind unto them: it is pleasant to the pallate of flesh, but destroyeth and damneth the soule.

Use : It were to be wished that as those that live under the Equinoctiall at Noon-day have no shadowes at all ; so great men should have no shadowes, no Parasites, no Flatterers to commend them, when they least deserve it.

Objection : But why doth Saint *Paul* deale so mildly with the Corinthians, *I prayse you not*? Me thinkes hee should have made his little finger as heavie as his loynes : O yee Corinthians, I excommunicate every mothers child of you ; I damne you all to the pit of hell, and deliver you to Satan for your sinne of Drunkenesse at the receiving of the Sacrament, never to be absolved but on your most serious and solemne repentance. Otherwise, considering the corrupt humour in the Corinthians, the Apostles purge was too gentle for them.

Answers : 1. *Theophylact* answers, that Saint *Paul* reproveth the rich men the more mildly, lest otherwise they should be implacably incensed against the poore, fretting against them as the causers of the Apostles anger.

2. It was the first time hee told the Corinthians of their fault, and therefore used them the more gently on hope of their amendment. This corrupt humour in the Corinthians was not as yet growne tough, bak't and clodded in them by custome, and therefore the easier purged and removed.

Observation : Ministers must use mildnesse, especially at their first reprovings of a sinne. Yea, God so blest the mild severitie of Saint *Paul* that the Corinthians reformed all their errours ; for no fault reprehended by the Apostle in them in this first Epistle is taxed againe in the second Epistle ; a very strong presumption that all those faults were amended.

Now whereas wee find such abuses in the Church of Corinth presently after it was newly planted : we may learne

Doctrine : *Corruptions will quickly creepe into the best Church.* Thus Saint *Paul* no sooner went back from the Galatians, but they went back from his Doctrine, *Gal. 5. 7* : *Yee did run well ; who did hinder you ?* And as we reade of *Mezentius*, a cruell Tyrant, who joyned dead corpes to

living men, and so killed them with lingering torments : So some Seducers in the Church of Galatia sought to couple the lively grace of God and active faith with the dead Letter of the Law, and old legall Ceremonies long since dead, buried, and rotten, in the Grave of our Saviour.

Vse : If it be done thus to the greene Tree, what shall be done to the dry ? If Primative Churches, whilst the Apostles which planted them were alive to prune them, had such errours in them, no wonder if the Church at sixteene hundred yeares of age may have some defaults. *Moses* said unto the Israelites, *Deut. 31. 27, Behold while I am alive with you this day, yee have beene rebellious against the Lord ; and how much more when I am dead ?* So if, while Saint Paul survived, Churches were so prone to decline, what can be lesse expected in our dayes ? It was therefore well concluded in the thirty-ninth Session of the Councell of ¹*Constance* [A.D. 1414-18] : That every ten yeare at the farthest there should bee a Generall Councell held to reforme such errours in the Church as probably in that time would arise.

Verse 23 : For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Iesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread.

AFTER hee had fully reprov'd the corruptions of their *Love-feasts*, commeth he now to reduce the receiving of the Sacrament to the first Institution of Christ. *Observation : It is the safest way to correct all the Errata's in the Transcript according to the Originall Copie :* Thus did Christ in the matter of Divorce, *Mat. 19. 8, But from the beginning it was not so.* Excellently Saint Cyprian : *Wee must not heed what others did who were before us, but what Christ did who was before all.*

Vse : Were this used betwixt us and the Papists, to cleare the streame of Gods service by the Fountaine of its first Institution, how soone would seven Sacraments shrink to two ! How quickly would Creame, Oyle, and Spittle, fly out

¹ Fox, *Martyrol.* page 594. [Ed. 1641, i. 784 ; Ed. 1855, iii. 420.]

of Baptisme, and leave nothing but faire water behind! How soone, &c.

For I have received of the Lord.] Question: How could Saint *Paul* receive it of the Lord, with whom hee never convers't in the flesh, being *one borne out of time*, as he confesseth of himselfe?

Answer: He received it, 1. Mediatly by *Ananias*, who began with him where *Gamaliel* ended. [2.] Besides, (lest the Corinthians should say that they received it likewise at the second hand, as well as Saint *Paul*,) he had it immediately from God, *Gal. 1. 12: For I never received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the Revelation of Iesus Christ.*

I also delivered unto you.] The Greeke is *παρέδωκα ὑμῖν*. Latine, *Tradidi vobis*, English it as you please, I traditioned it unto you. *Nota* (saith *A Lapide* on this place) *bunc locum pro traditionibus quas Orthodoxi verbo Dei scripto adjungendas docent.* *Bellarmino* also starts Traditions out of the same place. What eye-salve are their eyes anoynted with, that can see unwritten Traditions here, when the Apostle delivereth nothing but is recorded in three Evangelists, *Matthew, Marke, Luke?*

However, hence we will take occasion briefly to speak of unwritten Traditions; the Church of Rome maintayning that the Scriptures of themselves are too scant to salvation, except the course list of unwritten Traditions be cast in to make measure; and this they will have of equall authority with the written Word.

Marke by the way *Four Observables concerning Traditions:*

1. This is the Reason why Romanists are so zealous for Traditions; for finding themselves cast by the Scriptures, they would faigne appeale to another Judge: yea, hereon are founded those points which get them their gaine, as Purgatory and the Appurtenances thereof. Hath not *Demetrius* then reason to stand for *Diana* (*Acts 19. 25,*) when his goods and her Godship must go together?

2. Though they lock up the Scriptures in an unknowne language and forbid the Laity to reade them, yet they suffer

Traditions to bee preached and published to all in generall. Such woodden Daggers will never hurt Popery to the heart; and therefore they suffer their children to play with these dull tooles, though not to handle the *two-edged Sword of Gods Word*.

3. Romanists will never give us a perfect List and Catalogue of their Traditions, that we may know their set number, how many there be of them; but still reckon them up with an *Et Cætera*, leave still a *Plus ultra* to place more in if need require. And as the Athenians for feare they should omit any Deity erected an Altar *to the unknowne God*: So the Papists in summing up their Traditions will not compleat their number, but are carefull to leave Blankes and void places for a Refuge and Retreating Place, that, in case they be prest in Disputation and cannot prove their point by places of Scripture, they may still plead it is a *Tradition*.

4. Whereas the word *Tradition* is taken in severall senses, and there be many kinds of them, Papists jumble and confound them together. As Cheaters use to cast their counterfeit coyne amongst good gold, hoping so to passe it away currant and undiscovered: So they shuffle false and true Traditions together in one heape, that the bad may goe off under the countenance and protection of the good. Wee will marre their Mart, by sorting them into these severall Rankes.

1. *Traditions* in a generall sense are taken for things delivered, though in Scripture, by Christ and his Apostles; thus Saint ¹*Basil* calls Baptising in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost a *Tradition*.

2. For such matters of Faith which are not found in Scripture *totidem verbis*, in the words and sound; but yet in the same sense and substance, or at least may by faithfull consequence bee thence deduced; as the Trinity of Persons, two wils in Christ, his Consubstantiality with God the Father: Thus *Lindan* a Papist calls Originall sinne a *Tradition*.

3. For such opinions against which nothing appeares in Scripture, and the Church in all times and ages have maintained them, condemning the Opposers for erroneous: As that the Mother of Christ was ever a Virgin.

¹ Lib. 3. *contra Eunomium* [page 84, Ed. Paris, 1618].

4. For such Rites and Ceremonies of the Church (no matters of Faith) which therein have beene used from great Antiquity ; and therefore probably might have their Original from the Apostles : As *Fasting* in Lent, though the manner, time, and continuance in keeping it was very different in severall Churches.

Take *Traditions* in the first and second acception, wee account them to have equal force and authority with the Written Word. In the third sense we honour and embrace them as true. In the last Acception wee approve and practise them as decent and ancient ; provided alwayes they be not obtruded as things necessary to salvation, but indifferent in their nature.

But all this makes nothing for the blacke Guard of *Romish Traditions* which lag still behind : some of them frivolous ; as ¹this Apostolical Tradition, That a Priest if against their wils they receive any money from wicked men they must in no case expend it on meat, but to buy wood and coals. Some impious and blasphemous ; worshipping of Images, prayers to Saints, the Sacrifice of the Masse, Purgatory, &c., having nothing for them, much against them, in Gods written Word.

To draw to a conclusion. Scriptures besides many others have two most principall priviledges above *Traditions* :

First, their Infallibilitie, as being inspired by the Spirit of God, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20 : *So that yee first know this, that no prophecie of the Scripture is of any private Interpretation. Verse 21 : For the Prophecie came not in old time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* As for the authors of *Traditions*, they might both *falli* and *fallere*, be deceived themselves, and deceive others. They might be deceived themselves, either by mis-understanding the Traditions delivered unto them, or by mis-remembering, or by mis-relating them againe. They might deceive others, either unwillingly by these fore-named slips and infirmities, or else willingly and wittingly by venting those things as received from the Apostles, which they had not received from them. And by usurpation intitling the fancies of your [their] owne heads to bee Apostolicall Precepts.

¹ Clemens Rom. lib. [sect.] 40. cap. 10, *Apost. Constit.* [Ed. Whifton, 1711.]

2. The Providence of God plainly appeares in his preserving of the Scriptures against all oppositions. *Many a time from my youth up, (may the Scriptures now say,) yea, many a time have they fought against me from my youth, but they could not prevaile against me.* Neither *Antiochus* before *Christ*, nor *Iulian* the Apostate since him, nor the force of Tyrants, nor the fraud of Heretikes (though the world of late hath scarce yeelded a wicked sharpe wit that hath not given the Scriptures a gash) could ever suppress them. Their treading on this Cammimell made it grow the better; and their snuffing of this candle made it burne the brighter. Whereas, on the other side, the Records of *Traditions* are lost, and those bookes wherein they were compiled and composed, *Aut incuria hominum, aut injuria temporis*, or by some other sinister accident, are wholly miscarried, and no where appeare. *Papias* is reported by ¹*Eusebius* in five bookes to have contained all the Apostolicall Traditions, which they call the Word not written, by *Bellarmino* himselfe confessed that these are lost. Likewise *Clemens Alexandrinus* (as the same ²*Eusebius* storieth it) wrote in a booke those Traditions which hee received from the Elders, and they from the Apostles; which booke the Papists themselves at this day cannot produce.

I will conclude all with *Gamaliels* words, *Acts* 5. 39, *But if it be of God, yee cannot destroy it.* Had these bookes beene inspired by Gods Spirit, no doubt the same Providence would have watched to preserve them which hath protected the Scripture. Let us therefore, leaving uncertaine Traditions, stick to the Scriptures alone; trust no Doctrine on its single band, which brings not Gods word for its security. Let that Plate be beaten in peeces which hath not this *Tower-stampe* upon it.

That the Lord Jesus, the same night wherein he was betrayed.] Observation: *Christ bestowed the greatest courtesie on mankind, when hee foresaw that hee should receive the greatest cruelty from them.* O that wee were like minded with our Saviour, to move fastest in Piety when wee draw

¹ Lib. 4, *Hist.* cap. 8. [This chap. is about Hegesippus, and his Five Books; for *Papias*, see lib. iii. cap. 39.]

² Lib. 6, *Hist.* cap. 11.

neereſt the Center of Death ; and then chiefly to ſtudy to faſten favours on our Enemies !

Question : Why did Chriſt inſtitute it then, and not before ?

Answer 1 : Becauſe dying men bequeath not their Legacies till they make their wils, nor departing friends beſtow their tokens till they take their farewell.

2. Becauſe till then the Paſſeover (a Sacrament in the ſame kind) did continue in full force, and the Lords Supper was not to bee lighted, til the Paſſeover was firſt fairly put out.

Question : Seeing Chriſt appoynted it a Supper, how comes it now to be a Dinner ?

Answer : God hath intruſted the diſcretion of his Church on juſt occaſion to alter ſome circumſtances in the Sacrament. True it is, ſuch circumſtances as are Sacramental, not only of the *Commiſſion at large*, but alſo of the *Quorum nomina*, whoſe abſence or alteration maims and mangles the Sacrament, are unchangeable. But *Common* and ordinary circumſtances (ſuch as is the *Time, Place, Kind* of Bread and Wine) the Church hath power to alter by vertue of a *Warrant* left to it by Chriſt. Let all things be done decently, and in order.

Reasons of the change : It was turned into a dinner: 1. To avoid the Inconveniencies which a full ſtomake ſurfetted and ſurcharged will bring, as in the Corinthians.

2. That our bodies, which are like new barrels whiles we are faſting, may firſt bee ſeaſoned with the liquor of Chriſts blood.

Let us thanke God that we are not neceſſitated to receive the Communion in the night, as in the Primitive Church, in time of Perſecution, when Chriſtians to drink Chriſts blood did adventure the looſing of their owne.

Tooke Bread.] Question : Why did Chriſt chooſe ſo cheap and common a thing to exhibite his body in ?

Answer 1 : Herein he graciously provided for the poor. Had he appoynted ſome rich and coſtly receipt, the eſtate of the poore could not procure it for themſelves, and the charity of the rich would not purchaſe it for others.

2. Had he inſtituted it in ſome dear and precious element, happily [haply] people would have imputed the efficacie thereof to its natural worth and working, not to Chriſts Inſtitution.

Christ therefore chooseth plaine bread ; a thing so meane in it selfe, it is not within suspition to eclipse God of his glory ; none can be so mad as to attribute to plaine Bread it selfe such spirituall Operation.

Let us take heed how we take snuffe at the simplicity of Gods Ordinance. Say not with *Naaman : Is not Abanah and Pharpar, &c.* Is not the Bread in the Bakers panniers and the Wine in the Vintners cellar, as good as that which is propounded in the Sacrament ? And farre be it from us to seeke with our owne inventions to beguard that which God wil have plaine ; rather let us pray that our eyes may be anoynted with that eye-salve, to see Majesty in the meanesse, and the state in the simplicity of the Sacraments.

Question : But amongst such variety of others, such cheape Elements to represent Christs body in, why was bread preferred above all ?

Answer : To shew our bodies can as well subsist without Bread, as our soules without a Saviour. It is called *the staffe of Bread [Life]* : other meats are but as pretty wands to whisk in our hands. *Without Bread no Feast, with Bread no Famine.*

Verse 24 : *And when hee had given thanks, hee brake it, and sayd, Take, eate, this is my body, which is broken for you ; this doe in remembrance of mee.*

AND when he had given thanks : *Εὐχαριστήσας.*] So it is *Luke 22. 19.* But Saint *Matthew*, chap. 26. 26, hath it *εὐλογήσας, hee blessed.* Yet let not these two words fall out, for they are Brethren, of affinity in sense and signification : At this day *εὐχαριστήσας, Hee gived thanks*, hath christned the whole service of the *Eucharist.*

Doctrine : *Whensoever wee are to receive any food, wee are to give God thanks, but especially at Sacrament.*

Reason 1 : It is our duty. God the Lord Paramount of the World, though hee hath made us in Christ Free-holders of all his creatures, yet hath reserved thanks as a quick Rent for himselfe.

2. It is profitable for us, 1 *Tim.* 4. 4, 5 : *For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving ; for it is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.* Yea, thanksgiving makes every creature both chew the cud, and cleave the hoof. The Physician may forbid one meat, the Divine cannot ; it may bee against ones health, not ones conscience. True, the Jewes life was a constant *Lent*, from much forbidden meat ; but Christians, paying thanks to God, buy a *License* to eate any thing.

Hee brake it.] To signifie how his body should bee broken for mankind. Whilst therefore the Priest in the Sacrament breaketh the Bread, let the peoples meditation attend his Action, and conceive they see Christs head, backe, hands, feet, side, broken with the thorns, whips, nailes, speare. And hence it appeareth, that the celebrating of Christs body in broken bread is more naturall to Christs Institution, and more expressive in it selfe, than as the Church of Rome doth in a whole and entire Wafer.

And said unto them, Take.] That is, take it in their hands and put it to their mouth, not as the custome lately induced in the Romish Church, for the Priest to put it in the mouth of every Communicant.

Objection : But it is pleaded for the Popish custome that it is unmannerly for Lay-men to handle Christs body ; and therefore it is most reverence to take it with their mouthes.

Answer 1 : There is no such Clowne in Christianity as he who will bee more mannerly than God will have him : It is most reverence for us to doe as God commands us. *Abaz* tempted God in saying he *would not tempt him*, when God bid him *aske a signe*, *Esay* 7. 12. Those do little better who more nife then wise straine courtesie not to take Christs body in their hands, when hee reaches it.

2. Take it strictly, and our mouthes are as unworthy as our hands to receive Christs body. No more sanctity in the one than in the other, being both made of the same lump of flesh : But seeing it is Christs pleasure to come under the rooffe of our mouth, let him also passe through the porch of

our hands. The rather because it seemeth that wee entertaine Christs body in more state and with more observance towards it, when the more servants attend it, the more members of our body, using their service in receiving it.

3. Lastly, the Romish custome in putting it into their mouthes looseth the expression and significancie of the hand of faith. The taking Christs body in our hands mindeth us spiritually by faith to apprehend and lay hold on his mercies and merits.

T[homas] C[artwright's] needlesse cavill. And here let us take notice of the needlesse cavill of such as snarle at the practise of our English Church. Because whereas Christ said in a generality, once for all to his Disciples, *Take and eate*; our Church speaketh it to every particular person.

Wee answer, this is no considerable variation from Christs form; for first, it appeares not in the Text to the contrary but that Christ might speake these words severally to each Apostle, though it be not expressed, because Histories trusse up things in bundles, and omitting particulars set downe only the totall summe. Secondly, God hath intrusted the Ministers of his Church to spin out his universall Precepts and promises into particulars. Thus *Mat. 28. 19*, Christ saith, *Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, &c.* Which the Priest by the consent of all Churches applyeth to each Infant, *I baptize thee, &c.*

This is my body.] That is, that which signifies, signes, and presents my body, and sacramentally is my body, and which received with faith seales to thee all the benefits of my death and passion, not transubstantiated into my body, according to the Popish opinion, whereof briefly.

The Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was first occasioned by the unwary speeches of *Damascen* and *Theophylact*. These seeing no present, and foreseeing no future errors about the Sacraments, were too transcendent and hyperbolicall in their expressions about the reall presence of Christ in the Sacrament: Thus as oftentimes *Lasclivia calami*, the dashes and flourishes

of a Scrivener over-active with his pen, have afterwards beene mistaken to bee Letters really intended: So the witty extravagancies and Rhetoricall phrases of these Fathers were afterward interpreted to be their distilled doctrinall positions: so dangerous it is for any to wanton it with their wits in mysteries of Religion. But *Transubstantiation* was never made an Article of faith till the [fourth] Councell of Lateran [A.D. 1215]; no penalty imposed on the Maintainers of the contrary, till the Councell of Trent [1545-63]. But let us heare some of their Arguments.

Argument 1: The Text saith, *this is my body*, and therefore it is so plainly to bee understood. For Scripture admits of a figurative sense as its *Refuge*, not as its *Choyce*; onely *se defendere*, to shield and shelter it selfe from non-sense and contradictions; otherwise the literall sense is to bee embraced. And therefore the Holy Spirit is so here to be understood, this is truly my body.

Answer: From the literall understanding of these words flow many absurdities, and therefore wee are forced to fly to a figurative meaning. Philosophy brings in an Army of Impossibilities; as that the same body at the same time should be in severall places; that accidents should subsist without a substance; &c. To wave these, the Antiquity of faith excepts against it, it destroyes the nature of a Sacrament; the same thing cannot bee the signe and seale of Christs body, and the very body in substance.

Argument 2: Wee are not to measure Gods Arme by our eye, his power by our understanding; Wherefore, *non obstante* all pretended impossibility, God doth turne the bread into his sonnes body; for nothing is impossible unto him.

Answer: Were it expressed in Scripture, that it were Gods will to turne the Bread into Christs flesh, wee would worke our selves to beleeve it, and make Reason strike fayle to Faith: So it is not Gods power wee question, but his will and pleasure.

Argument 3: But he saith, *totidem verbis, this is my body*; and dying men use to speak most plainly; with them figures are out of date, the flowers of Rhetoricke fade; especially they write without welt or Guard in their wils and Testaments.

Answer : A familiar Trope or Figure is as plain as no figure : Even a child in age is man enough to understand, *Coolle the Pot, Drinke off that Cup.* Yea, many speake figures, who know not what figures meane : Besides, Christ at his death spake no other language then what his tongue and his Disciples eares were used to in his life time : *I am the Vine, I am the Way, I am the Doore.* Hee who is so fottish as to conceive that Christ was a materiall Doore sheweth himselfe to be a Post indeed.

Whicb is broken for you.] The flesh of Christ was afterwards on the Crosse literally broken ; there was *solutio continui*, with the nayles in his hands and feet : As for his bones, *Jobn 19.36, Not a bone of him was broken* in the literall sence. But virtually and eminently, in the same meaning wherein it is said a *Broken Heart, all his bones were broken*, that is, contrited and grinded with grieve and sorrow.

Doe this.] In Latine, *boc facite*, which the Papists expound sacrifice : this according to ¹*Virgils* verse:—

Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus ipse venito.

So much is the Church of Rome beholding to this Poet, both for the sacrifice of the Masse out of his Eclogs, and *Limbus Patrum* out of the first [sixth] booke of his *Æneads*. But seeing this action, *Doe this*, is injoynd as wel to the people as the Priest ; and seeing none but the Priest could offer *Proprij nominis sacrificium* ; it plainly appeares this cannot here be a proper sacrifice.

In Remembrance.] Doctrine: Wherein this Doctrine is intimated : *Men are prone to forget Gods favours unto them, except they be minded of them.* The Israelites had not this great goodnesse in remembrance ; but *were disobedient at the Sea, even at the Red-sea, Psalme 106. 7.* Who would have thought that the deliverance at the Red-sea would so soon have beene drowned in a deeper Sea of Oblivion ?

[¹ *Bucolica, Ecloga, iii. 77. See also Iliad, i. 444.*]

Reasons of our Forgetfulnesse. Reason 1: The Devils malice, who whilst we sleep in Idlenesse, and negligence, steal-eth into the memory, the Muniment house of the soul, and embezileth and purloyneth from thence the Records of most moment and importance.

2. But not to play the Devill with the Devill, not to accuse him falsely, hee is not the principall cause of our forgetfulnesse, which floweth chiefly from the corruption of our nature; which like a Bolter lets all the floore [flour] passe, and keeps only the bean behind.

But here wee must not understand the bare naked and empty *Remembrance* of Christs death, the calling to mind the History of his passion; (which the Devils can doe, and the worst of men;) thus to remember Christ were but to forget him: But a remembrance *cum effectu*, the relying on his death with a lively faith, and applying his merits to our soules. Whereof more largely hereafter.

Of mee] Incarnated; *of me* borne, *of me* circumcised, *of me* baptized, *of me* tempted, *of me* scourged; but especially *of me* crucified, and also *of me* ascended and now glorified.

Verse 25: *After the same manner also hee tooke the Cup, when hee had supped, saying, This Cup is the new Testament in my blood, this doe yee, as oft as yee drinke it, in remembrance of me.*

FOLLOWETH now the other part of the Sacrament instituted in the Wine. He doubleth the elements to shew that in Christ is not only necessary and sufficient, but also plentifull and abundant, with assured Redemption.

Too too blame then the Church of Rome, whose Levites are guilty of that fault whereof *Benjamin* was taxed: they have stolne away the Cup. If to steale the Chalice be the phrase whereby men expresse the highest sin, what sacriledge is it to steale the *Wine* of the Chalice, from whom it belongeth? But it is a wonder if old Theeves be taken without an excuse; let us heare what these Romanists plead for themselves.

Objection 1 : Nature hath so put flesh and blood in a joynt Patent, that they goe always together. Where there is one, there are both ; and where not both, neither. It is superfluous therefore to give the Laity the blood the second time, who by concomitancie had received it before.

Answer 1 : Indeed flesh and blood like loving Playmates were together in Christs body, till torments forced them to part afunder : Now we are to receive Christs blood *Shed*, not as it was at home, housed in heaviness ; but as payne banished it abroad and powred it out. Wherefore what God hath put afunder to bee taken severally and distinctly, let no man joyne together.

Objection 2 : But there be many Inconveniencies, yea, mischiefs, attend the Layeties receiving of the Wine, as its sticking in their beards, spilling of it, &c.

Answer 2 : *Non debemus esse sapientiores legibus*. God in the Omniscieny of his wisdom surveyed the latitude of all occurrences ; yet beholding all future Inconveniencies present, hee appoynted the Laity to drinke of the cup. Wine was then as subject to spilling ; it hath not since gotten a more liquid or diffusive quality.

Objection 3 : But in severall places of Scripture no mention is made of wine, but of bread onely, as *Acts 2. 42*, and the *46* : *Continued breaking of bread from house to house. Acts 20. 7* : *Met together to breake bread*.

Answer 3 : Either bread by a Synecdoche is here put for Bread and Wine, or else that phrase importeth their ordinary meetings and civill feasts. But a Cart-load of these exceptions, *Tekel*, are weighed in the ballance, and found too light to outpoyse Christs Institution. The wise Shunamite woman, *2 Kings 4. 30*, was not content with the company of *Elisha's* staffe and servant ; but, as *the Lord liveth* (saith she) and as *thy soule liveth, I will not leave thee* ; she would not leane on the staffe, but on the staffs Master, and would have him with her : So let us not be so foolish to depart from Gods written Word in the Sacrament, concerning giving the Laity the Cup, for the company of humane Arguments on our side ; but let us stick close to our Commission, and then wee need not feare a *Premunire*, so long as wee have the Letter of Gods Law on our side.

When hee had supped.] Christ did therefore institute this Sacrament after Supper, to shew that herein hee chiefly aymed not at the feeding of our bodies, but the refreshing of our soules. We are not to bring our devotion in our guts, and to come to the Communion for Belly-cheare; like those that followed our Saviour, *John 6. 26, Because they had eaten of the Loaves, and were filled.* No, wee are to come with more refined thoughts, and as for matter of bodily meat, containe ourselves as after Supper.

This Cup is the New Testament in my blood.] *This Cup*, that is, the wine in *this Cup*. Wee cannot scarce stirre a pace in Scripture, without meeting with a figure, even in these Testamentary Expressions of our Saviour. Why then doe the Papists make such newes, yea, wonders at Figures, then which nothing is more common? *Is the New Testament in my blood;* that is, the wine therein contained signeth unto you the New Covenant of Grace, which is ratified and confirmed in my blood; that is, by my death. For indeed it is the death of the Testator that giveth life to the Testament; and the will, though sealed, is not sealed in effect till the Maker of the same be dead.

But why is it called the New Testament, seeing it is an old one and the same which was made to *Adam*, (*The seed of the Woman shall breake the Serpents head,*) often reiterated and confirmed to *Abraham*, *David*, and others?

Indeed it was old in the Promise, new in the Performance; old *quoad substantiam et materiam fœderis*, new *quoad modum clarioris manifestationis*. It is said of those that live within a mile or two of *Olympus*, that they are under a constant and continued shade, which the height of the Mountaine casteth upon them: So the Jews and al the Church of God before Christs comming lived in constant umbrages, and shadows, of Types, Figures, Ceremonies, and Representations; al which were taken away when our Saviour, *the Sun of Righteousnes*, did appear. Therefore it is said in *My Blood*, as in opposition to the blood of Kids, Calves, Goats, sacrificed in the Temple.

Other parts of the verse are expounded in the former.

Verse 26 : *For as often as yee eate of this Bread, and drinke this Cup, yee doe shew the Lords body [death] till hee come.*



VNDER *as often*, is often included ; whence we gather, *Wee must frequently celebrate the Lords Supper.* In the ¹ Primitive Church it was done every day ; and fit it was the *Aqua Vitæ* bottle should ever be at their nostrils, who were founding every moment ; and they needed constant cordials, who ever and anon had the Qualmes of temptation in the time of Persecution. This frequencie soone abated when peace came into the Church ; which makes Saint ² *Ambrose* reprove the negligence of the Easterne Churches, who received it but once a yeare : At this day our Mother-Church of England, seeing her childrens backwardnesse herein, by canon compelleth them to receive at the least thrice a yeare ; such is the necessity to force them by Law to come to a Feast, and to make a statute for hungry men to eate, and sicke folke to take Physicke. But heare the Arguments of some to the contrary ; that it is to be but seldome received.

Objection 1 : The Passeover was celebrated but once a yeare, in whose place (for Sacraments never dye without heirs) the Lords Supper succeeds.

Answer 1 : The Passeover by God was stinted to bee used no oftner ; in the Lords Supper we are left to our own liberty. Finding therefore our continuall sinning, and therefore need thereof to strengthen us in our grace, we may, yea, must oftner use it, especially seeing all services of God under the Gospel ought to bee more plentifull and abundant than under the Law.

Objection 2 : Things done often are seldome done solemnely. Manna, if rayned every day, is not dainty. The frequent doing of it will make men perfunctory and negligent therein.

Answer 2 : Necessary duties are not to be left undone for the Inconveniencies, which, *per accidens*, through humane cor-

¹ Eusebius, lib. 1, *Demonst. Evan.*, cap. 10 [Ed. Paris, 1628, p. 34].

² Lib 5, *De Sacramentis*, cap. 4 [Ed. Paris, 1690, ii. 376].

ruption may follow thereon: Then Sermons should be as seldome as *Apolloes* smiles, *semel in anno*; and prayers should not be presented to God every day, lest the commonnesse of the duty should bring it into contempt. Rather Ministers are to instruct their people to come with reverence; notwithstanding their frequent repaying thereunto.

Objection 3: But long preparation is requisite to this Action; and therefore this Sacrament cannot often be received.

Answer 3: After the first *Grand Preparation*, where by faith and repentance wee are first estated in Gods favour, other preparations are not so difficult in doing, or tedious in time, as being but the reiterating of the same againe. The good Huswife which scoureth her Plate once a weeke hath lesse worke than she that doth it but once in Twelve-moneth. Often preparing makes the worke easie, and fits men the sooner for the Sacrament: though I am not altogether of Saint ¹*Ambrose* his opinion, that *Qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur post annum accipere*.

Question: Whether is it of absolute necessity that a man on his Death-bed should receive the Sacrament?

Answer: Hee is as weake in Iudgement as the dying man in body, who conceives it so. It is not the bare Absence, but the neglect and contempt of the Sacrament, which is dangerous. Besides, that surely is not by God made absolutely necessary to salvation, which in some cases is impossible to bee had. As in sudden death, when the sicke man is gone before the Priest can come; in infectious diseases, when the Priest cannot bring Christs blood without the hazarding of his owne; not to speake of the Inconveniencie of giving it to those who goe out of the world for pain to bring others into it.

Yea, of such persons who desire the Sacrament, I find three sorts. Some doe it out of meere fancy, who desire it because they desire it; (like *Davids* longing for the water of the Well of *Betblem*;) can give no account of their humour therein. A second sort, out of superstition. A third, out of a true faith, and feeling of their infirmity. Now *Charity thinketh no ill; hopeth all things*. We Ministers beleeve all

¹ Loco prius citato.

to be of the later sort, and will not think much of our paines to tender our service unto them when sent for : But be it betwixt God and their consciences ; let them take heed how they abuse Gods Ambassadors, and cause us to come on foolish occasions to feed their owne fancies.

You doe shew forth the Lords body.] Doctrine: The Sacrament solemnly celebrated doth represent and set forth the death and Passion of Christ. This is the meaning of Saint Paul, Galat. 3. 1 : O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth ; before whose eyes Iesus Christ hath beene evidently set forth, crucified among you ? That is, Christ was so powerfully and pathetically preached unto them in the word, his Death so done to the life in the solemne, decent, and expressive Administration of the Sacrament, that the tragedy of Christs death nigh Ierusalem was re-acted before them.

Use : Say not then in thine heart, how shall I get to Ierusalem, to see the place of Christs suffering ? See, Faith can remove Mountaines ; Mount *Calvary* is brought home to thee ; and though there be μέγα χάσμα, a great Gulfe, or distance of ground, betwixt England and Palestine, yet if thou beest a faithfull Receiver, behold Christ Sacramentally crucified on the Communion-Table. Say not in thine heart, how shall I remember Christs Passion ; it was *Time out of mind*, sixteen hundred yeares ago ? Christ here teacheth thee the art of Memory ; what so long was past is now made present at the instant of thy worthy receiving. Stay, Pilgrims, stay ! (would your voyages to the Holy Land had beene as farre from superstition as hitherto from successe !) go not you thither, but bring Palestine hither, by bringing pure hearts with you when you come to receive the Sacrament, for there *the Lords body is shewed forth*, as on the Crosse.

Till I come.] Observation : God till the Worlds end, when hee commeth to judgement, will have a Church on Earth, wherein Pastors shall administer, and people receive the Sacrament. Witnesse his promise before his death, Mat. 16. 18, And the Gates of hell shall not prevaile against it ; and another after his Resurrection, Mat. 28. 20, And loe, I am with you alway unto

the end of the world; with you in your selves and successours, persons and posterity. Indeed the Church may want things of Lustre, never of Essence: It may want a glorious being, never a being; *Deus non deerit in necessarijs*: The Church is like the sunne, which may be clouded and eclipsed, yet still remaineth, *Psal. 89. 37, A faithfull witnesse*. Besides, Churches may fall away, but the Church cannot; the setting of the Gospel in one place will bee the rising of it in another: This is meant, *Rev. 2. 5: I will remove thy Candlesticke out of his place*; not I will quench, or put out thy Candle, but I will remove it, so that it shal still remaine in one place or other, *Till I come*. And then Sacraments shall be celebrated no more, but types shall give place to the truth, and shadowes shall yeeld to the substance: Then all the weeke shall be one constant Sabbath, and yet therein no Sermons preached, nor prayers made, but all our Lyturgie shall be praising of God. And now what remaineth, but that we cry from our hearts with the Saints, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly?*

Verse 27: *Wherefore whosoever shall eat this Bread and drinke this Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.*

WHERE, these words present us with two principall parts:
1. The sinne. 2. The sinfulness of the sinne.

[1.] The sinne is the unworthy eating and drinking of the Bread and Wine of the Lord.

Question: Is any man so wel stored with grace that he can eate these Sacraments worthily?

Answer: *Three-fold worthinesse*. One may doe an action worthily in a three-fold respect.

[1.] First, worthily, *Dignitate equalitatis*, as the Labourer is worthy of his hire, *Luke 10. 7*. This exact worthinesse may claim and challenge a reward due unto it, and the Denier or Detayner doth this worthy party wrong and injury: Now no Saint can receive with this Gods justice-prooffe worthinesse, as appeares by their humble confessions, not out of complement,

but conscioufnesse of their faults : *Iacob, Gen. 32. 10 ; Iohn Baptist, Mat. 3. 11.* Yea, this worthinesse is waved by our Church Liturgy, at the Communion, both (as I may say) in our Grace before meat : *Wee be not worthy so much as to gather up the crums under thy Table ;* and in our Grace after meat : *and though wee bee unworthy through our manifold sins to offer unto thee, &c.*

2. The second is, worthily *Dignitate convenientiæ, aptitudinis, or decentiæ* ; which consists, though not in a perfect and exact proportion, yet in some fitnessse, meetnesse, and likenesse unto that which is required ; such phrases are frequent in Scripture. *Mat. 3. 8 : Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of Repentance ;* that is, such as bear no open repugnancy and contradiction to the repentance you professe, but in some sort meet and agreeing thereunto. So, *Walke worthy of the Lord, Col. 1. 10 ; worthy your calling, Epbes. 4. 1 ; worthy the Gospel, Phil. 1. 27.* That is, let not your life shame your beliefe, break not the Commandements against the Creed ; let not your practice bee *ἀσυστάτος* with your profession. And wee must know, that *Peccata surreptitia*, sinnes of infirmity (not through their want of wickednesse, but Gods store of mercy) may stand and subsist with this worthinesse of conveniencie. In this acception wee understand in my Text to eat worthily ; that is, so fitted and prepared as may beare some resemblance and agreement to the solemnity of the worke wee goe about.

3. There remayneth a third kind of Worthinesse, which is *Dignitas dignationis*, the worthinesse of acceptance, when God for Christs sake is pleased to take our actions in good worth. That is well spoken which is well taken, and that man is worthy who by God is accepted so to bee. Indeed if base and ignorant people should cry one up to bee worthy, and prize pebles to bee pearles, hee is no whit the better for the over-valuing of him ; but if God pleaseth to esteeme men worthy, things are as they are accounted by him ; his valuing of them puts worth into them : *I have blessed him ;* (saith *Isaac* of *Iacob, Gen. 27. 33 ;*) *Yea, and hee shall be blessed :* God hath accounted them worthy ; yea, and they shall be worthy, as it is *Rev. 3. 4, They shall walke with me in white ; for they are worthy.* Let us when wee come to the Sacrament bring with

us the worthinesse of fitnessse, and convenience; and God of his goodnesse will be pleased to reward us with the worthinesse of acceptance.

Two sorts of people, then, doe eate and drinke unworthily. First, the Vnregenerate, those which, as it is *Heb. 6. 1*, *Have not as yet laid the Foundation of Repentance from dead workes, and faith in Christ*, but remaine still in their pure, impure naturals, not ingrafted into Christ. Without this foundation, the faire side-wals of a good nature, and the proud roofof all morall performances, will both totter and tumble to the ground. Secondly, the Regenerate, but guilty of some finnes unrepented of, who eate unworthily till they have sued out a speciall pardon out of the Court of Heaven.

[II.] Come wee now to the sinfulnessse of the sin: *shall bee guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*; that is, they are offenders in the same forme with *Judas* and the *Iewes*, guilty of shedding the blood and wounding the body of Christ: For as those that deface the stamp, or abuse the Seale of a King, are entituled to be traytors; so the unworthy receivers of these elements, which personate and represent Christs body, are interpreted to sin against the body of Christ it selfe. Some Protestants have by Gods Providence escaped in their persons, and yet the papists to manifest their spite have burned their pictures at a stake: Christs person is shot-free from any mans malice, out of the reach of your cruelty, sitting at the right hand of God in Heaven; as for his Picture, it is with us in the Sacraments; and unworthy Receivers shew to the shaddow what they would doe to the substance if it were in their power; they push as farre as their short hornes will give them leave.

Objection: But may one say; Grant unworthy Receiving bee a grievous sinne, yet me thinkes too heavy an accent is put upon it to equalize it with the murthering of Christ. *Jonathan* said, *1 Sam. 14. 43*, *I did but taste a little honey with the end of my Rod, and loe, I must dye*; but more justly and grievously may the wicked Communicant complaine; I did but eate a morsell of Bread and dranke a Draught of wine, and loe, I must dye here, hereafter, temporally, and eternally;

yea, my finne is heighthned to be even with the finne of *Iudas* and the Iewes, who wilfully embrued their hands in Christs blood.

Answer: However humane corruption may bee the Advocate to plead herein, yet wee must count finnes to be so great as God esteemes them to be. *Hee seeth not as man seeth*, nor judgeth he as man judgeth : Hee will judge that to be pride which wee count to be good carriage ; that lust, which wee count love ; that drunkennesse, which wee [call] good fellowship ; and unworthy receiving, which we perchance esteeme a fault, but not of the first magnitude, hee judgeth it the highest of any pardonable finne, even guiltinesse of Christ blood it selfe. Learne wee from hence to measure and survey a sin in the true heighth, length, and bredth thereof. Hearken not to the partiality of thine owne flesh, which wil make thine offences in number lesse, in nature lighter ; listen not to the suggestions of Satan, which will never suffer us to see our finnes truly, but is alwayes in the excesse or defect : When wee goe on in a sinfull course, hee beares us in hand that our finnes are small ; and when we are toucht in conscience he seeks to perswade us that they are too great, Mountaines too big to bee drowned in the Ocean of Gods mercy ; but let us measure them by the square of Gods Word, an infallible rule that will not deceive us.

To conclude, men generally hate *Pilate* and *Iudas* : if wee see them but in Pictures our blood riseth at them, we could scratch them out with our nayles ; being more angry with them then *David* with the rich man that tooke away the poore mans Ewe Lambe ; whereas in some sence it may bee said of many of us, *Tbou art the man*. Yet as for those which hitherto have not taken notice of the haynousnesse of this finne, and through the want of consideration, have beene guilty of *the body of Christ* ; let mee say to them what Saint *Peter* doth, *Acts* 3. 17, 19, *And now brethren, I wot that through Ignorance you did it : Repent therefore, and bee converted, that your finnes may bee blotted out*. And let us all pray with *David*, *Psalme* 51. 14, *Deliver us from blood-guiltinesse, O God*, but especially from being guilty of the body and blood of thy Sonne.

Verse 28 : *But let a man examine himselfe, and so let him eate of this Bread and drinke of this Cup.*

LET us know that some make these words (*Let a man examine*) to be a bare permission and concession, that if they wil they may doe it. Others make it a counsell or advice, that according to the rule of Prudence or discretion they should doe it. A third sort, and that the truest, make it a mandate or command, that wee must doe it; and the seeming indifferency in the English tongue is necessitated in the Greeke, *δοκιμαζέτω*.

Reasons of the necessity. 1. The first is taken from the Majesty of that God to whose presence wee approach. Lord, what prodigious state did *Abasbuerosb*, an earthly Prince, stand upon, *Esther* 1. 12! The woman that was thought fit to bee his wife, must bee purified twelve moneths before, six moneths with the oyle of myrrhe, and six moneths with sweet odours: *Behold, a greater than Abasbuerosb is here*; and therefore those that come to his Table must seriously examine and prepare themselves before.

2. From the great profit which we receive thereby, if we come prepared.

3. From the grievousnesse of the punishments, if we be unworthy Receivers: The Sacrament is not like to those harmlesse Receits, (as innocent as the Prescribers are simple,) which some good old women give sick people, which, if they doe no good, do no harme; but this is a true maxim, *To him to whom the Sacrament is not Heaven, it is hell*: If it brings not profit and spirituall grace, it drawes great plagues and punishments on us.

Examine himselfe.] A Christians eyes ought to be turned inward, and chiefly reflected on himselfe: yet how many are there whose home is to be alwayes abroad! It is a tale of the wandring Iew, but it is too much truth of many wandring Christians, whose thoughts are never resident on their own souls, but ever searching and examining of others: These say not with the souldiers, *Luke* 3. 14, *And what shall we do?*

but are questioning alwayes, as S. Peter is of *Iohn*, *Iob.* 21. 21, *And what shal this man do?*

Yet a mans examining of himselfe excludes not his examination of those who are committed to his care and charge; as Pastors examining such young people as according to the orders of the Church they are to catechise. As for that Father who trieth his wife and children, he still examineth himselfe.

Two sorts of people are unfit to receive. 1. Those that wilfully wil not examine themselves. 2. Those that cannot by reason of their want of age, or some other impotency.

Yea, children which are old enough to conceive the words of a Minister, yet as yet not of age to partake of the Sacrament: Thinke not that the Church maketh cyphers of you, and esteemeth you of no account; you are heires apparent to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; none can hinder you from it; yet during your minority the Church is your Guardian, and carefully keepes that treasure for you till you come of age, provided you carefully learne your Catechisme, to be able to answer your Minister. But I will turne my Precepts to you into prayers for you, and so *wish you good successe in the name of the Lord.*

In examining of this word *Examine*, learned men run in three severall streames. Some prosecute the Metaphor of a Gold-smith, searching the purity of his gold, *Δοκιμάζειν* being a proper word to them in their myserie: 1 Pet. 1. 7, "*ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολὺ τιμιώτερον χρυσίου, That the tryall of your faith, being much more precious then of gold that perisheth, though it be tryed with fire, might bee found unto praise, &c.*" Others, because bread and wine to bee taken in the Sacrament are both food and physick, please themselves best to insist on the similitude of a Physician, giving preparatives to his patients before he receives the physicke. A third sort make *Examine* here to bee *Verbum forense et juridicum*, as Magistrates question offenders; and therefore chuse to follow that resemblance: *David* was in a great strait, betwixt three evils; I am in a straight betwixt three goods, not knowing which to chuse: however, wee will follow the latter as most consonant to the Apostles sense.

A man in examining himselfe must personate three, and act three severall parts. 1. The part of the Offender. 2. Of the Accuser. 3. Of the Iudge. The part of the Accuser may be wel performed by that faculty of the soule which is called *Conscience*; for, besides her office to be the Register and Recorder of the soule, and Remembrancer of the acts thereof, it is also the *Attorney Generall* of the King of Heaven in our hearts, to press the evidence against us after the inditement. As for our reason and judgement, that must supply the office of a Iudge, *Et secundum allegata et probata*, acquit or condemne us.

But here it is to be feared, men will be partiall to themselves in two respects. 1. First, in not giving their conscience fair play: they will not give it that liberty *Agrippa* granted to S. Paul, *Acts* 26. 1, *Thou art permitted to speak for thy selfe*; but what in whol they cannot silence, they wil in part disturb and interrupt. 2. It is to be feared our judgement wil not be upright; but as S. Peter said to our Saviour, *Ἰλεώς σοι Κύριε, Master, spare thy selfe, Propitius tibi sit, Mat. 16. 22*: So our judgement will be partiall and favourable to us, as foundred feet will never tread hard.

Wherefore because of this double suspition of partiality, this is a sound and safe Rule: Let us account our selves to be worse than upon examination wee find our selves to be: Thus did Saint Paul, *1. Cor. 4. 4*: *For I know nothing by my selfe; yet am I not bereby justified; but he that judges mee is the Lord*. That is, since his conversion, his conscience accused him of no great sinne unrepented; and yet hereupon he durst not pronounce himselfe to be innocent, for *God judgeth not as man judgeth, neither seeth as man seeth*; but those who are acquitted by themselves, may be condemned by him.

Seeing thus, as it is said, a man is to act three parts, by the way wee may observe:

Doctrine: A Christian, though alone may make company for himselfe. *Psalm* 4. 4: *Commune with your hearts in your Chamber, and be still*. *Psal. 43. 5*: *Why art thou so heavy O my soule? why art thou, &c.* One, (as wee have said,) may make himselfe three, Offender, Accuser, Iudge; so that hee should never be lesse alone then when alone, being alwayes

in the company of heavenly Discourfers in himselfe: Had men the art of these selfe-examinations and Soliloquies, they need not (to put away melancholly, as they pretend, and to avoid solitarinesse) repaire to the schools of drunkenesse, there to seeke for bad company, that there (to use their owne expreffion) they may drive away the time. Fools! to drive away that which is winged, and which though they should strive to stay, they cannot.

Now the Interrogatories, wherupon every man is to be examined, are these.

1. Whether dost thou repaire to receive the Sacrament with a competent measure of knowledge?

2. Whether dost thou come with unfained Repentance for thy finnes past? which Repentance consisteth not so much in outward sorrow (for their faces may be flints, whose hearts may bee Fountaines; their soules may drop blood, whose eyes cannot shed teares) as in the inward contrition and hatred of sinne, and shunning of it in the sequell of our lives.

3. Whether dost thou come with a lively faith, relying upon God in Christ for the pardon of thy finnes?

4. Whether dost thou come with love undissembled, freely from thy heart to forgive all injuries committed against thee? Some when they are to partake of the Sacrament say to their malice, as *Abraham* did to his two servants, *Gen. 22. 5, Abide you here, and I will goe yonder and worship, and come againe to you.* They leave their injuries at the Church doore, till they have received the Lords Supper, and then returning make a resumption of them againe: But let us not onely lop the bowes, but grub up even the roots of our malice; not only suspend the act, but depose the habit of our hatred.

And here as God said to the Iewes, *Ezek. 18. 3,* that they should have no occasion any more to use that Proverbe in Israel, *The Fathers have eaten sower Grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge;* in like manner I could wish no occasion that the English by-word be any more used, *I forgive him, but I will not forget him.* Such people, I dare say, neither forgive nor forget; like fluts, they sweepe the house of their heart, but leave all the dust stil behind the doore; but let us not only breake the teeth of our malice in forgiving, but also

pluck out the sting, which is still behind in the tayle, and labour fully to forget.

To these Interrogatories, some have added these additional which virtually are contained in the former: Whether dost thou come with an earnest desire and longing to be made partaker of these heavenly mysteries? Whether dost thou come with thankfulnes to the God of heaven for this his great blessing?

Hereon let every one examine himselfe. I dare boldly say, none can decline the answering to these interrogatories; not that common evasion, *Non tenetur respondere*, as if they were not absolutely pertinent to the matter in hand; but it concerns every one of us to make a punctuall and direct answer thereunto.

Vpon examination all will confesse themselves guilty, except a dumbe Devill or a Pharisaicall spirit hath possessed any. Yet are there degrees of guiltinesse: Some are guilty that they have not these graces at all, but the opposite vices in stead of them; in stead of knowledge ignorance. All the reason *Laban* could render *Iacob* in cozening him with the elder sister for the younger, was but pleading the custome of the countrey, *Gen. 29. 26.* And this is the best account some can give why they receive the Sacrament: It is an old ceremony, a fashion of their Fore-fathers, a custome of the Church, that young men and maidens at such an age use to receive. And so of the rest: in stead of repentance, obstinacy in sin; in lieu of faith, unbeliefe; in place of charity, malice; an indifferency for desire, and ingratitude for thankfulnesse. These in no case must presume to receive, but tarry till these vices are amended, and graces in some degree begotten in them.

Others are guilty, that though they have them in sincerity, yet they have them not in perfection. These are bound to come to Gods table; his dainties are provided properly for such guests; and by his blessing these holy mysteries may worke in them what is wanting, and strengthen what is weak. And, to conclude, as the father of the lunatick child cryed out, *Mark 9. 24, Lord, I beleeeve, help my unbeliefe*; so may the best of us all, when we come to communicate, call out with teares, Lord, I come with knowledge; helpe my want of

knowledge : Lord, I come with repentance ; help my want of repentance : Lord, I come with faith ; helpe my want of faith : Lord, I come with love ; help my want of love : Lord, I come, &c.

Verse 30 : *For this cause many are weake and sicke among you, and many sleepe.*

RIGHT at this time, there raged and raigned in the Church of Corinth an Epidemicall disease ; and my Apostle in my Text tels them the Fountaine from which it flowed, namely from the unprepared and unreverent receiving of the Sacrament. The words containe the punishment, and the cause thereof. I must confesse, in the Heraldry of nature, the cause is to be handled before the effect ; but because the punishment, being the effect, discovered it selfe first, while the cause was yet unknown, we will first treat thereof. The punishment containes three steps to the Grave : 1. Weaknesse. 2. Sicknesse. 3. Temporal death called *sleep*.

Learne, *God inflicteth not the same punishment for all, but hath variety of correction.* In his Quiver some Arrowes are blunt, some sharpe ; and of these some he drawes halfe way, some to the head. And the Reason is, because there are divers degrees of mens finnes : some sinne out of Ignorance, others out of Knowledge ; some out of Infirmitie, others of Presumption ; some once, others often ; some at the seducing of others, others seduce others. God therefore doth not like the unskilfull Empiricks, who prescribe the same quantity of the same receit at all times, to all ages, tempers and diseases ; but wisely he varieth his physick, *few stripes* to those that knew not his will, and *many stripes* for them who knew his wil, and did it not. Sometimes hee shooteth halfe canon, weaknesse ; sometime full canon, sicknesse ; sometimes murthering Peeces, death it selfe.

Vse 1 : Let us endeavour to amend when God layeth his least judgement upon us ; let us humble our selves with true Repentance under his hand, when hee layeth his *little finger* upon us, lest we cause him to lay his *loynes* on us : let us be

bettered when he *scourgeth us with rods*, lest we give him occasion to *Sting us with Scorpions*, for light punishments neglected wil draw heavier upon us.

Vse 2: Let Magistrates and men in authority mitigate or increase the punishment, according to the nature of the offence. Let there be as well the stocks for the Drunkard, the house of correction for the idle Drone; the whip for the petty Lasser, as the brand for the felon, and the Gallows for the Murtherer. Let mercy improve it selfe to obtaine, if not a pardon, yet a lighter punishment for those in whose faces are read the performance of present sorrow, and promise of future amendment. Let severity lay load on their backs which are old and incorrigable sinners, so that there is more feare of their perverting others than hope of their converting. Then shal the gods in earth be like to the God in Heaven, and Magistrates here imitate the patterne which God setteth in my Text. For probable it is, that those Corinthians who are least offenders in the irreverent receiving of the Sacrament, were punished with weaknesse; the greater with sicknesse; the greatest of all with death temporall, called *Sleepe* in my Text.

The death of the Godly, in Scripture language, is often stiled *sleepe*. And indeed sleepe and death are two twins: sleepe is the elder brother, for *Adam* slept in Paradise; but death liveth longest, for *the last enemy that shall bee destroyed is death*. But some will object, Was Saint *Paul* so charitably opinioned to these Corinthians, as to thinke that they, some whereof were drunken at the receiving of the Sacrament, that they *slept*; that is, dyed and went to Heaven? me thinkes so strong a charity argues too weake a judgement. I answer, the Apostle had perceived in these mens lives the strength of unfained piety; and though God suffered them to fall into a sin of so high a nature as this must be confest to be, yet Saint *Paul* did Christianly beleeve that this sinne, by Repentance and faith in Christ, was pardoned, and their soules eternally saved. Let us measure the estates of men after death by the rule of their lives; and though wee see some commit grievous finnes, yea, such finnes for which they are brought to exemplary death (perchance by the orderly proceeding of the

Law), yet withall, if wee had knowne that the drift and scope of their lives had beene to fear God, we may and must charitably conceive of their finall estate, and that, with the Corinthians in my Text, they are fallen asleepe.

So much for the punishment : wee come now to the cause. *For this cause many are weake.*

All sicknesses of the body proceed from the sinne of the soule : I am not ignorant that the Lethurgy ariseth from the coldnesse of the braine; that the dropsie floweth from waterish blood in an ill affected Liver; that the spleen is caused from melancholly wind, gathered in the mindriffe; but the cause of all these causes, the Fountaine of all these Fountaines, is the sinne of the soule. And not onely the finnes, which wee have lately committed and still lye fresh bleeding on our consciences, but even those which wee have committed long agoe, and which proceffe of time hath since scarred over : *Iob* 13. 26, *For thou writest bitter things against me, and makest me possesse the finnes of my youth.* So that *Iob* being gray is punished for *Iob* being greene; *Job* in the autumn of his age smarts for what he hath done in the spring of his age : and as those which have beene given to violent exercises in their youth, when they are old, reade the admonitions of their former folly in the aches of their bones; so they who have prodigally ryoted their youth out in vitious courses, in their old age find the smart of it in their weak and diseased bodies. Doe wee then desire to lead our old age in health? know, no better preservative or dyet drinke can bee prescribed then in our youth to keepe our soules from sin; for now wee sow the seeds of health or sickness, which perchance wee shall reape twenty yeares after.

Question : But how came Saint *Paul* to know that this sickness of the Corinthians proceeded from the irreverent receiving of the Sacrament, especially sithence there were for [four] other grand finnes which then rained in their Church, each whereof upon hew and cry might be taken as suspicious to be the cause of this disease? 1. Factious affecting of one Minister above another, to the disgrace of God and the Gospel : 1 *Corinthians*, 1. 12, *Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, I am of Cephas,*

and I am of Christ. 2. Suffering an *incestuous person*, husband to his mother, and sonne to his wife, to live amongst them without publike penance and punishment: For though this incest, as it was committed but by one man, was but a particular and personall sin, yet as it was connived at and not punished, it began gangreen-like to spread, and leaving its nature of personality, it intituled it selfe to be a publike generall Church-sin of the Corinthians. 3. Going to law one with another under heathen Iudges: 1 *Cor.* 6. 1, *Dare any of you, having busines against another, be judged by the unjust, and not by the Saints?* 4. Denying the Resurrection of the body: 1 *Cor.* 15. 12, *How say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the dead?* Sithence therefore at the same time the Corinthians were guilty of factious affecting of their Ministers, going to law under Pagan Iudges, suffering an incestuous person to live amongst them unpunished, denying of the Resurrection of the body; why might not Saint *Paul* thinke that any one or all of these might be the cause of this disease in the Church of Corinth, as well as the irreverent receiving of the Sacrament?

Answer 1: Because this sinne was the sinne paramount, like *Saul*, *higher then his fellowes, from the shoulders upwards.* The other for [four] sinnes were felony, robbing God of his glory; but the irreverent receiving of the Sacrament was high treason against the person of Christ, and so against God himselfe. The other for sins were Tetrarchs raigning over the Corinthians; but this was as *Augustus* the Emperour over the Tetrarchs, more conspicuous then any of the rest. Learn we then, that though God of his goodnesse may be pleased graciously to pardon and passe by sins of an inferior nature and meaner alloy, yet he wil not hold them guiltles and let them escape unpunished, who irreverently receive the body and blood of his Sonne. This stentor sin shouts in Gods ears for revenge. Saint *Anselme* saith, that many diseases that raigne in the summer (though Physicians may impute them to other second causes) proceed from peoples irreverent receiving the Sacrament at Easter.

Answer 2: Because the Apostle perceived some resemblance betwixt the sin committed and the punishment in-

licted. For as a Physician when he comes to his Patient and finds him strangely affected, so that the disease puzzles all his rules of art to reduce it to some naturall cause, then he will be ready to suspect that his Patient hath eaten some poyson which hath strangely invenomed the estate of his body ; so Saint *Paul*, seeing the Corinthians to be punished with a strange and unusuall sicknesse (some conceive it was the plague), presently suspected that they had eaten some poysonous thing, and on inquiry he finds that it was the Sacrament irreverently received : It being just with God to turne that which was appoynted to bee preservative for the soule, to prove poyson to the body, being not received with due preparation.

And here I may adventure upon a profitable discourse, how a man in his sicknesse may come to know the very particular sin for which God hath inflicted that sicknesse upon him. It is not a meer curiosity, which will afford the ground work of much good meditation ; nor an impossibility, though a difficulty to arrive at the knowledge of it : Wherefore let a man in such a case summon all his great sins to make a personall appearance in his memory, and not onely those of the last edition, but even those whose impression is almost out of the date of his memory, such as were committed long agoe in his youth : This done, all the matter will bee to find out which is the veriest sinne for which God punisheth him at that time ; and here I must confesse my candels to be but dim, but I will light the more of them.

Reason 1 : First, see to which sin the punishment thou sufferest bears the most proportion of resemblance ; for God commonly punisheth like with the like. Thus one may see Gods hand in the cutting of one of *Adonibezacks* fingers, he being served, as hee had served seventy-two Kings. And thus King *Ioram*, who had cruelly slaughtered his brethren on a stone [with the sword, 2 Chron. xxi. 4], was troubled with an incurable disease, that his bowels fell out ; and just it was that he should have no bowels, that had no compassion.

2. See if thou canst not find some proportion in the disproportion, and likenesse in the unlikenesse of some sin to this punishment ; God oft times punishing by the contrary.

Thus those who out of nicenesse and curiosity have tooke more then comes to the share of a corrupt creature, are commonly sent to their graves by some nasty and loathsome disease; as for proud *Herod*, whom the wormes, impatient to stay so long till death had dished him for their palate, devoured him alive.

3. Something may be gathered from the place or part wherein the disease lieth. For, if it be in eyes, it is probable its inflicted for the shooting out of lustfull and lascivious glances, or looking with envious and covetous sight on the means of others; if in the eares, for giving audience to wanton sonnets, or for being over credulous in the hearing ill reports of others; if in the tongue, for lying, swearing, &c.

4. See whether Chronology, or the time wherein the sickness seizeth upon thee, will not something advantage thee for the discovering the cause thereof. Thus, as one observes, the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded at London, that very selfe-same day twelve-moneth, yea the same houre, and if curiosity may goe further, the same minute, wherein he had conspired the death of the Queenes kinred at Pomfret Castle.

5. Consider what sinne it is, for the committing whereof thou hast conceived the least sorrow. For though wee can never bee condignly sorry for our least sinne, yet we may be more penitent for one sinne than for another; and that sinne which hath cost us the slightest and shallowest Repentance, is most likely to be the cause of our present sickness.

6. Harken chiefly to the Inditement of thy conscience. For when wee hunt after that sin which causeth our disease, and wee find our selves to be either at a losse, or at a cold sent, if once our conscience begin to spend her open mouth, wee may certainly conclude that the game went that way, and that that is the very sin for which at that time wee are punished. Thus the Patriarks, *Gen. 42. 21*, said one to another, *We have verely sinned against our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soule, when hee besought us, and wee would not beare; therefore is this evill fallen upon us.* *Reuben* did not impute it to the defiling of his Fathers bed, nor *Judas* to his Incest, nor *Simeon* and *Levi* to their murthering of the Shechemites; for these were but personall finnes; but all joyntly agreed

that it was for their cruelty to their Brother, a sin wherein all were equally engaged, as they were equally inwrapt in the punishment.

If by these or any other meanes we attaine to the knowledge of that particular sinne for which wee are punished, let us drown that sin in penitent teares, and in the blood of our Saviour; but if we cannot find it out, let us imitate the example of *Herod*, *Mat. 2. 16*, who, that he might make sure work to kil our Saviour, slew all the children in Bethelhem, and the countrey about it, from two years old and under; a plot probable to have taken effect, if heaven had not beene too wise for hell. In like manner, let us indifferently and impartially repent for all our sins in generall: if wee know not which was the Bee that stung us, let us throw downe the whole Hive; if wee know not which was the thorne that prickt us, let us cut downe the whole ¹ hedge, and so wee shall bee sure that sinne shall not escape, which hath caused our present sicknesse.

Now whereas God might have tumbled the Corinthians down into hell-fire for their irreverent receiving of the Sacrament, and yet was pleased to inflict on them bodily weaknesse and sicknesse, and death, we learn,

God oftentimes with his Saints commuteth eternall torments into temporall punishments. Hee is therefore angry in this world, that hee might not be angry in the world to come, *Et misericorditer adhibet temporalem pœnam, ne iuste inferat æternam ultionem*. If any object, But why will God pardon talents, and not tokens; pounds, but not pence; and for Christs sake forgive, and strike off eternall torment, and yet not crosse the score of temporall punishment? I answer, 1. To make us take notice that wee have beene offenders. 2. That by feeling the smart of what hee inflicteth on us, wee may bee the more sensible of his favour, how much paine he hath forgiven us. 3. To make us more wary and watchfull in time to come. But farre bee it from us to conceive that there is any satisfactory or expiatory power in the afflictions which wee suffer. Satisfaction for sinne could not be but

[¹ *Edge*, in other copies.]

once; and once was fully made when Christ offered himselfe upon the Crosse.

Vse: Let us therefore learne patience under Gods afflicting hand, when hee layeth any sicknesse upon us. *Solomon* said to *Abiathar*, 1 Kings 2. 26, *Get thee to Anatboth, to thine owne fields; for thou art wortby of death; but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou barest the Arke of my Lord God before David my Father:* Thus God dealeth with us, when hee might justly deprive us of our life, yea, of our eternall life; yet if wee have borne his Arke, if wee can plead any true reference or relation to Christ our Saviour, God will be graciously pleased, not to take away our lives, but onely to send us to our *Anatboth*, to confine us to our beds, to keepe us his close Prisoners, and onely to deprive us of our health, pleasure, and delight. Let us therefore patiently endure the aking of the teeth; wee have all deserved the gnashing of the teeth. Let us patiently endure a burning Fever; for wee have all deserved Hell-fire. Let us patiently endure a bodily Consumption; for wee have deserved to bee consumed, and brought to nothing.



[The Eight Sermons which follow formed the last portion of *Issep's*
Party-coloured Coat.]

[EIGHT SERMONS, 1640.]

[1] Growth in Grace.

2 P E T. 3. 18.

But grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ.

PHILOSOPHERS make a double growth. One, *per aggregationem materiae*, by gayning of more matter: Thus Rivers grow by the accession of tributary Brooks; heaps of Corne waxe greater by the addition of more graine; and thus stones grow, as some would have it, though this more properly bee termed an augmentation or increase then a growth. The other, *per intro-receptionem nutrimenti*, by receiving of nourishment within, as plants, beasts, and men grow. Of the latter growth wee understand the Apostle in the Text, and will prosecute the Metaphor of the growth of vegetables, as that which the Holy Spirit seemes most to favour and intend in these expressions.

2. Here is one thing presupposed in the text and laid down for a foundation; namely, that those to whom S. Peter writes were already rooted in grace and goodness. There must be an Vnit at least, before any multiplication; a Basis, before any building upon it: no doubt they were such as to whom S. Paul writes, *Eph. 3. 18* [of the Textus Receptus], *ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι*, *Being rooted and grounded in love* [ver. 17]; such as the *Colossians* were, *Col. 2. 7*, *Rooted in Christ, and established in faith*. And such I trust you are to whom my discourse is directed; or else it were in vaine for me, or any, to give you instructions for *Growth in Grace*.

3. *Objection*: But why is it said in the Text, first in

Grace, and then *in Knowledge*? This seemes to be an ὕστερον πρότερον. The Lanthorne is to go first; Knowledge is to be the Viser of Grace: information in the understanding must goe before reformation in the will and affections.

Answer : I could answer, the holy Spirit is no whit curious in marshalling these graces, which he putteth first; they need no herauld to shew their pedigree, which wil not fal out for precedency. But to the point: there is a two-fold knowledge; one precedent grace, as disposing one therto, and making capable therof; the other subsequent, and is an effect therof, and a reward of it through Gods mercy. These that have gracious hearts do daily better and improve their knowledge in matters of salvation; and some herein arrive at a great heighth, as *David, Psa. 119. 99, I have more understanding than al my teachers, for thy testimonies are my meditation.*

4. However, see, the Apostle puts grace and Knowledge together: *What God hath joyned, let no man put asunder.* We must grow according to both demensions, both in heighth, in knowledge, and in bredth, in piety; both in head and in heart; both in speculation and practise; we must not all run up in heighth, like an Hop-pole, but also burnish, and spread in bredth: then shall we be wel proportioned and compleat. And indeed practise without knowledge is blind, and knowledge without practise is lame.

5. Three things are required to make a plant to grow. First, that it hath life within it. Thus the Christian must have in his soul a quickning vivifying faith. Secondly, it must be watered in a man with the dew of Gods Word: *Isa. 55. 10, 11, For as the rain commeth down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; so shal my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth, &c.* And the same allegory is followed by *Moses: Deut. 32. 2, My doctrine shal drop as the rain; my speech shal distil as the dew, as the smal rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass.* Thirdly, the blessing of God is requisite, without which both the former are nothing worth: *Paul may plant, and Apollo may water, but*

God giveth the increase. It was observed of Master *Greenbam*, that painefull and zealous Preacher of Gods Word, that though hee was very industrious in his calling, yet his people still remayned most ignorant ; and, as one saith,

Greenbam had Pastures green,
But sheepe full leane.

So true it is, that Gods blessing is the Key of the worke, without which all is but labour in vaine.

6. Now wee may take notice of two remarkeables in the growth of a Christian. First, plants have their ἀκμή, their bounds, both in heighth and bredth set by nature ; (*Hitber shalt thou come and no further ;*) to which when they have attayned they grow down-ward and waxe lesse ; yea, all sub-lunary things, *Habent suos terminos, quo cum venerint sistunt retrocedunt ruunt.* But growth in grace admits of no such period, but still there is *Plus ultra* : What Saint *Paul* saith, *Pray continually ; reioyce evermore, 1 Thess. 5. 17, 16,* is as true of spirituall growth : grow continually, encrease evermore, never stop nor stay in grace till thou comest to glory. Secondly, trees dote as well as men in their old age ; yea, then they are barren, and bring forth little or no fruit ; whereas Christians, on the contrary, *Psal. 92. 13, 14, That bee planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the Court of our God ; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age : They shall be fat and flourishing.* Like wine, they are best when they are oldest ; like *Caleb*, able and active men, even at four-score years of age.

7. Come wee now to set downe those things which doe either in part hinder or in whole destroy mens growth in Grace. For the first, let us take heed of *Suckers* in our soule ; such superfluous excrementall sprigs, which, like so many theeves, steale away the nourishment which should maintaine the tree. By these *Suckers* we may understand those felonious avocations of worldly employments, which, either out of season or out of measure, busie our soules in earthly things, when they should bee employed in heavenly matters. The onely way to prevent this mischief is to prune and cut off these *Suckers*, and speedily to stop up these

Emiffaries by out-lets and private fluces, left they drain dry the very main channell of grace in our hearts.

8. As for destroyers of grace, it is two-fold. First, the blighting or blasting of a conscience-wasting sinne. Thus drunkennesse and Incest destroyed grace in *Lot* for that very instant, till hee recovered himselfe againe by unfained repentance. Secondly, the drowth and scorching heat of persecution. How promising a Plant! what a shoot in Goodnesse did he give on a sudden, who said to our Saviour, *Master, I will follow thee whether soever thou goest!* But how quickly was he withered with one scorching beame, when Christ told him how hard service he must undergoe!

9. Observe by the way: There is a double rooting in Grace; the one a sound and sure one, the other but shallow and superficiall: The former rooting belongs to the Saints of God; and these, though they may bee blighted with sinne, or scorched with persecution, yet still, as I may say, there is a secret sprig of life in the root, though in outward appearance the leaves and bowes may seeme quite dead; and in Gods due time they grow out of their sins by repentance, out of their afflictions by patience. Let us therefore take heed of being too tyrannicall, in passing sentence of condemnation upon them before the time. ¹*Scotus*, that famous Schoole-man, being in a strong fit of an Apoplexy, was by the cruell kindnesse of his over officious friends buried before he was dead. Many, over hasty in their uncharitable censures, seeing one fallen into a sinne, bury him alive in their judgements, counting him a Cast-away and Reprobate, when by Gods mercy and his owne repentance he may recover againe, as still retaining in his heart some sparkes of spirituall life. As for the wicked, which have onely a superficiall hold in grace, rather sticked than rooted in it; wee see what our Saviour saith of them, *Mat. 13. 5, 6: And forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepenesse of earth; and when the sunne was up they were scorched, and because they had not root they withered away.* They were quite dried up, and here made fuell for hell, never recovering themselves any more; whereas the godly, though they seeme dead in the winter, they may grow againe next spring.

¹ Cambd[en's] *Brit[tania]*, in *Northumberland* [Holland's ed., 1610, p. 814.]

10. *Vse* 1: This Doctrine, if applyed, serves to confute many: First, those that grow backward in grace, and are worse now then they were seven yeares before; like the Galatians, *You have run well; who hindred you?* Secondly, those who stand still in goodnesse; like those women whereof the Apostle complayneth that they were *Ever learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth.* Thirdly, those that grow, but not proportionably to the long time wherein they have beene planted, the fat soyle wherein they have been set. [*a*] The long time wherein they have beene planted, *Heb. 5. 12: For when for the time yee ought to bee teachers, you have need that one teach you againe which be the first principles of the Oracles of God, and are become such as have need of milke, and not of strong meat.* [*β*] The fatnesse of the soyle wherin they have beene set, and plenty of water powred on them; and herein no countrey comes neere to ours; and therefore wee are most unexcusable if wee grow not in grace. Out-landish men call our Iland the Rainy Iland, because wee have such plenty therof, arising of the store of vapours, from the vicinity of the sea. They call it also the Ringing Iland, because it hath bells so many and so tuneable. I am sure without flattering it may be thus called in an higher sense: the dew of Gods Word is no where powred more plentifully; and we have (God increase their number) many and melodious bells, tuneable amongst themselves, and loud-founding the Word of God to others: Most heavie therefore will be our account if wee yeeld not some proportionable growth in grace to these great means God affords us.

11. Now, in examining themselves, I find three sorts of men to be deceived. Some account themselves to be growne in grace when they are not: others esteeme themselves to be not growne, when they are. Of the former some account themselves to bee improved in goodnesse, when God takes from them the ability to commit sinne they had formerly. An old man faith, I thanke God I am growne in grace. Well, how shall this appeare? Thus, faith the old man: Twenty yeares agoe I was given to lust and wantonnesse; now I have left it. Alas! hee puts a fallacy on his owne soule; for the sinne hath left him, his moysture is spent, his heate abated,

and hee disabled from performing the taske of wickednesse. So the Prodigall who hath spent his estate hugs himselfe in his owne happinesse, that now hee is growne in grace, because hee hath left Vanity in clothes, Curiosity in dyet, Excessivenesse in gaming ; when, alas ! needs must the fire goe out when the fuell is taken away ; he is not growne in grace, but decreased in estate. Others construe it to be growth of grace in themselves, when only God takes away from them the temptations to sinne. Hee that living in a populous place was given to drunkennesse, who now, being retyred to a private Village, takes himselfe to bee turned very sober, Alas ! it is not hee that is altered, but his place : he wanteth now (a want with gain) a crue of bad good fellows to solícite him to the taverne ; but, had he the same temptation, let him examine himselfe whether he would not be as bad as ever hee was before. A third sort count themselves growne in grace, when they have not left, but onely exchanged their sin ; and perchance a lesse for a greater : *Thou that abborrest Idols, committest thou sacriledge ? Rom. 2. 22.* Some thinke themselves improved in piety, because they left prodigality, and reele into Covetousnesse ; left Profanenesse, and fallen into spirituall Pride, or peevish affecting of out-side holinesse. Thus, like the Sea, what they loose in one place, they gaine in another, and are no whit growne in Grace.

12. Others conceive themselves not to bee growne in grace when they are growne ; and that in these foure [five] cases. First, sometimes they thinke that they have lesse grace now than they had seven yeares agoe ; because they are more sensible of their badnesse. They daily see and grieve to see how spirituall the Law of God is, and how carnall they are ; how they sinne both against Gods will and their owne, and sorrow after their sinne, and sinne after their sorrow. This makes many mistake themselves to be worse than they have beene formerly ; whereas, indeed, the sick-man begins to amend, when hee begins to feele his paine.

13. [Second,] Many thinke themselves to have lesse saving Knowledge now than they had at their first conversion ; both because (as we said before of Grace) they are now more sensible of their ignorance ; and because their knowledge at

their first conversion seemed a great deale, which since seemeth not increast, because increast insensibly and by unappearing degrees. One that hath lived all his life time in a most darke Dungeon, and at last is brought out but into the twi-light, more admires at the clearnesse and brightnesse thereof than hee will wonder a moneth after at the sun at noonday. So a Christian newly regenerated, and brought out of the darke state of nature into the life of grace, is more apprehensive, at the first illumination, of the knowledge hee receives, than of farre greater degrees of knowledge which hee receiveth afterwards.

14. [Third,] Some thinke they have lesse grace now than they had some yeares since, because a great measure of grace seemes but little to him that desires more. As, in worldly wealth,

¹Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit ;

So is there an holy, heavenly, and laudable covetousnesse of grace, which deceives the eye of the soule, and makes a great deale of goodnesse seeme but a little.

15. [Fourth,] Many thinke they are growne lesse and weaker in grace, when indeed they are assaulted with stronger temptations. One saith, Seven years since I vanquished such temptations as at this day foyle me ; therefore surely I am decreased in grace. *Non sequitur* ; for, though it be the same temptation in kind, it may not be the same in degree and strength ; thou mayest still be as valiant, yet thy enemies may conquer thee, as assaulting thee with more force and fury : when thou wert newly converted, God proportioned the weight to the weaknesse of thy shoulders, bound up the Devill, that hee should set upon thee with no more force than thou couldest resist and subdue. Now thou hast gotten a greater stock of grace, God suffers the devil to buffet thee with greater blows.

16. [Fifth,] Some thinke grace is lesse in them now than it was at their first conversion, because they find not in their souls such violent flashes, such strong, impetuous, (I had almost

[¹ Juvenal, *Satira* xiv. 139. Modern editors give *crevit* for the last word.]

ſaid furious,) raptures of goodneſſe, and ſaſhes of grace and heavenly illumination : But let them ſeriously conſider that theſe raptures which they then had, and now complaine they want, were but fits ſhort and ſudden, *Nimbus erat, cito præterijt*, not ſetled and conſtant, but ſuch as quickly ſpent themſelves with their own violence: Whereas grace in them now may bee more ſolid, reduced, digeſted, and concocted: *Bos laſſus fortius figit pedem*; more ſlow, but more ſure; leſſe violent, but more conſtant. Though grace be not ſo thicke at one time, yet now it is beaten and hammered out to bee broader and longer; yea, I might adde alſo, it is more pure and refined : This we may ſee in Saint *Peter* : when hee was a young man, in a bravery, he would walk on the water; yea and ſo daring was hee in his promiſes : *Though all forſake thee, yet will not I*: But afterwards in his old age hee was not ſo bold and daring; experience had not only corrected the rankneſſe of his Spirit, but alſo in ſome fort quenched, ſurely tempered, the ſaſhes of his zeale for the adventurouſneſſe of it; yet was he never a whit the worſe, but the better Chriſtian; though he was not ſo quick to run into danger, yet hee would answer the ſpur when need required, and not flinch for perſecution, when juſt occaſion was offered; as at laſt hee ſuffered martyrdom gloriously for Chriſt.

17. To conclude: Grace in the good Thiefe on the Croſſe, like *Ionah's* Gourd, grew up preſently; for hee was an extraordinary example; but in us it is like the growth of an Oak, ſlow and inſenſible; ſo that wee may ſooner find it *creviſſe* then *creſcere*: it muſt therefore bee our daily taſke all the dayes of our lives; to which end let us remember to pray to God for his bleſſing on us. Our Saviour ſaith, *Matth. 6. 27, Which of you by taking care is able to adde one cubit unto his ſtature* in the corporall growth? Much leſſe able are wee in the ſpiritual growth to adde one inch or haires bredth to the heighth of our ſoules. Then what was pride in the Builders of Babel will be piety in us, to mount and raiſe our ſoules ſo high, till the top of them ſhall reach to Heaven. Amen.

[II] How Far Examples are to be followed



RUTH. I. 15.

*And Naomi said, Behold thy sister in Law is gone backe unto
her people, and unto her gods; returne thou after thy sister
in Law.*

IN these words *Naomi* seekes to perswade *Ruth* to
returne, alleaging the example of *Orpah*, who as
she saith was *gone back to her people, and to her
gods*; where, first, wee find that all the Heathen,
and the Moabites amongst the rest, did not acknowledge one
true God, but were the Worshippers of many gods; for they
made every attribute of God to be a distinct Deity. Thus,
in stead of that attribute, the wisdom of God, they fained
Apollo the God of wisdom; in stead of the power of God,
they made *Mars* the God of power; in stead of that admir-
able beauty of God, they had *Venus* the Goddesse of beauty:
But no one attribute was so much abused as Gods Providence.
For the Heathen supposing that the whole world and all the
creatures therein was too great a Diocese to bee daily visited
by one and the same Deity, they therefore assigned sundry
gods to severall creatures. Thus Gods Providence in ruling
the raging of the seas was counted *Neptune*; in stilling the
roaring wind, *Æolus*; in commanding the powers of Hell,
Pluto; yea, sheep had their *Pan*, and Gardens their *Pomona*;
the Heathens then being as fruitfull in faining of gods as
the Papists since in making of Saints.

Now because *Naomi* used the example of *Orpah* as a
motive to worke upon *Ruth* to returne, wee gather from
thence: Examples of others set before our eyes are very

potent and prevalent Arguments to make us follow and imitate them, whether they be good examples, so the forwardnesse of the Corinthians to releve the Iewes, provoked many; or whether they be bad, so the dissembling of *Peter* at *Antioch* drew *Barnabas* and others into the same fault: But those examples of all others are most forcible with us which are set by such who are neer to us by kindred, or gracious with us in friendship, or great over us in power.

Let men in eminent places, as Magistrates, Ministers, Fathers, Masters, (so that others love to dance after their Pipe, to sing after their Musick, to tread after their tract,) endeavour to propound themselves examples of piety and religion to those that be under them.

When wee see any good example propounded unto us, let us strive with all possible speed to imitate it. What a deale of stirre is there in the world for civill precedency and priority! Every one desires to march in the Fore-front, and thinkes it a shame to come laging in the Rear-ward. Oh that there were such an holy ambition and heavenly emulation in our hearts, that as *Peter* and *Iohn* ran a race, who should come first to the grave of our Saviour, so men would contend, who should first attain to true mortification! And when we see a good example set before us, let us imitate it, though it be in one which in outward respects is far our inferior. Shal not our Masters be ashamed to see that their men, whose place on earth is to come behind them, in piety towards Heaven to goe before them? Shall not the Husband blush to see his Wife, which is the weaker vessell in nature, the stronger vessell in grace? Shall not the elder Brother dye his cheeks with the colour of vertue, to see his younger Brother, who was last borne, first reborne by faith and the Holy Ghost? yet let him not therefore envie his Brother, as *Cain* did *Abel*; let him not be angry with his Brother because hee is better than himselfe, but let him be angry with himselfe because hee is worse than his brother; let him turne all his malice into imitation, all his fretting at him into following of him. Say unto him, as *Gebazi* did of *Naaman*, *As the Lord liveth I will run after him*: and although thou canst not over-run him, nor as yet over-looke him; yet give not over to run

with him ; follow him, though not as *Azael* did *Abner*, hard at the heeles ; yet as *Peter* did our Saviour, *a farre off* ; that though the more slowly, yet as surely thou mayest come to Heaven ; and though thou wert short of him while hee lived, in the race, yet thou shalt be even with him when thou art dead, at the marke.

When any bad example is presented unto us, let us decline and detest it, though the men be never so many or so deare unto us. Imitate *Micaiah*, 1 *Kings* 22. 13, 14, to whom when the Messenger sent to fetch him said, *Behold now, the words of the Prophets declare good unto the King with one mouth ; let thy Word therefore, I pray thee, be like to one of them ;* *Micaiah* answered, *As the Lord liveth, whatsoever the Lord saith unto me, that will I speake.* If they be never so deare unto us, wee must not follow their bad practise : so must the sonne please him that begot him, that hee doth not displease him that created him ; so must the wife follow him that married her, that she doth not offend him that made her. Wherefore as *Samson*, though bound with new cords, snapt them asunder as tow when it feeleth the fire ; so rather then we should be led by the lewd examples of those that be neere and deare unto us, let us breake in peeces all their engagements, relations whatsoever.

Now here it will be a labour worthy discourse to consider how farre the examples even of good men in the Bible are to bee followed. For as all examples have a great influence on the practise of the Beholders, so especially the deeds of good men registred in the Scripture (the Kalender of Eternity) are most attractive of imitation.

Wee find in Holy Writ nine severall kinds of examples.

First kind of examples. *Actions extraordinary*, the doers whereof had peculiar strength and dispensation from God to doe them. Thus *Phineas* in an heavenly fury killed *Cozbi* and *Zimri* ; *Samson* slew himselfe and the Philistims in the Temple of Dagon ; *Elias* caused fire to descend on the two Captains of fifties ; *Elisha* cursed the children, the children of Bethel.

Use of them : These are written for our instruction, not for our imitation. If with *Elisha* thou canst make a Bridge over Iordan with thy cloake; if with him thou canst raise dead children; then it is lawfull for thee with *Elisha* to curse thy enemies. If thou canst not imitate him in the one, pretend not to follow him in the other.

Abuse of them : When men propound such examples for their practise, what is said is imputed to *Phineas* for righteousness will bee imputed to us for Iniquity, if being private men, by a Commission of our own penning, wee usurpe the Sword of Iustice to punish Malefactors.

Second sort. *Actions founded in the ceremoniall Law ;* as *Abrabams* circumcising of *Isaac*, *Hezekiabs* eating the Passeever, *Solomons* offering of sacrifices, &c.

Use of them : We are to be thankful to God, that these shadowes in Christ the substance are taken away. Let us not therefore superstitiously faine that the ghosts of these Ceremonies may stil walk, which long since were buried in Christs grave.

Abuse of them : By those who still retaine them. Excellently ¹*Ignatius, Epistola ad Magnesios, ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουδαϊσμός.* Yea, wee must forfeit the name of Christians if we still retaine such old Rites. Let those who are admitted in the Colledge of grace disdaine any longer to goe to the schoole of the Ceremoniall Law, which truly may bee called the Schoole of *Tyrannus*.

Third sort. *Actions which are founded in the Iudiciall Law ;* as punishing theft with foure-fold Restitution, putting of Adulterers to death, and raising up seed to the Brother, &c.

Use of them : These oblige men to observe them so farre as they have in them any taste or tincture of a Morall Law; and as they beare proportion with those Statutes by which every particular Countrey is governed. For the Iudiciall Law was by God calculated alone for the elevation of the Iewish Common-wealth. It suted onely with the body of their state, and will not fit any other Common-wealth, except

it be equall to Iudea in all Dimensions. I meane in climate, nature of the soyle, disposition of the people, quality of the bordering Neighbours, and many other particulars, amongst which the very least is considerable.

Abuse of them: When men out of an over Imitativenesse of Holy Presidents, seeke to conforme all Countries to Iewish Lawes. That must needs breake, which is stretched further than God intended it. They may sooner make *Sauls* Armour fit *David*, and *Davids* Sling and Scrip become *Saul*, then the particular Statutes of one Countrey adequately to comply with another.

Fourth sort. *Actions founded in no Law at all, but onely in an ancient Custome* by God winked and connived at, yea, tolerated, at the least wise not openly forbidden in precept or punished in practise. As *Poligamy*, in the Patriarkes having many wives. Indeed when God first made the large volume of the world, and all creatures therein, and set it forth, *Cum regali privilegio*, Behold all things therein were very good, hee made one *Eve* for one *Adam*. *Poligamy* is an *Erratum* and needs an *Index expurgatorius*, being crept in, being more than what was in the maiden cobby: It was the Creature of *Lamech*, no worke of God.

Use: We are herein to wonder at and praise the goodnesse of God, who was pleased herein to winke at the faults of his deare Saints, and to passe by their frailty herein, because they lived in a darke age wherein his pleasure was not so plainly manifested.

Abuse of them: If any in this bright sun-shine of the Gospel pretend as a plea for their lust to follow their example.

Fifth sort. *Doubtfull examples*, which may so be termed because it is difficult to decide whether the Actors of them therein did offend or no: so that should a Iury of learned Writers be empannelled to passe their verdict upon them, they would bee puzzled whether to condemn or acquit them, and at last be forced to find it an *Ignoramus*. As, whether *David* did well to dissemble himselfe frantick, thereby to escape the cruelty of *Achish*, King of Gath; whether *Hushai* did well in

counterfeiting with *Absolom*, or whether therein hee did not make Heaven to bow too much to earth, I meane Policie to entrench upon Pietie; and so in this act was so good a Statesman that hee was a bad man.

Vse of them: Let us not meddle with imitation of these actions that are so full of difficulty and danger that our judgments therein may easily bee deceived: *The sonnes of Barzillai*, Ezra 2. 62, 63, *because their Genealogies were doubtfull and uncertaine, were put by the Priest-hood, till a Priest should rise up with Vrim and Thummim*; by which wee may understand some especiall man amongst them, who by Gods Spirit might be able to decide the controversies which were questioned in their pedigrees. So let us refraine from following these doubtfull examples, till (which in this world is not likely to bee) there arise an infallible Iudge which can determine in these particulars whether these actions were well done or no.

Abuse of them: By such who thought they have roome enough besides, yet delight to walke on a narrow Banke neere the Sea, and have an itch to imitate these doubtfull Examples, wherein there is great danger of miscarrying.

Sixth sort. *Mixt examples*, which containe in them a double action, the one good, and the other bad, so closely couched together that it is a very hard thing to sever them. Thus in the unjust Steward, there was his wisedome to provide for himselfe, which God doth commend; and his wickednesse to purloine from his Master, which God cannot but condemne. Thus in the *Hebrew Midwives*, *Exod.* 1. 19, when they told the lye, there was in them *Fides mentis, et fallacia mentientis*, the faithfulnessse of their love to their Countreymen, and the falsenesse of their lying to *Pharaob*.

Vse of them: Behold, here is wisedome, and let the man that hath understanding, discreetly divide betwixt the Gold and the Drosse, the Wheat and the Chaffe; what hee is to follow and imitate, and what to shun and avoyd. In the first yeare of the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* the students of Christ-Church in Oxford buried the bones of *Peter Martyrs* wife in the same Coffin with the ashes of *Fridswick* a Popish Saint; to this intent, that if Popery (which God forbid) should ever

after over spread this land, Papists should bee puzzled to part the ashes of a supposed Heretike from one of their canonized Saints. Thus in some actions of Gods Saints in the Bible, which are of a mixt nature, wickednesse doth so insensibly unite and incorporate it selfe with that that is good that it is very difficult to sever and divide them without a sound and well advised Iudgement.

Abuse of them : In such as leave what is good, take what is bad, follow what is to bee shunned, shunne what is to bee followed.

Seventh fort. *Actions absolutely bad*, so that no charitable Comment can bee fastned upon them, except wee will incurre the Prophets curse and woe, *To call good evill, and evill good* : such were the Drunkenesse of *Noah*, the Incest of *Lot*, the lying of *Abraham*, the swearing of *Ioseph*, the Adultery of *David*, the Deniall of *Peter*.

Use of them : Let us reade in them, first, a Lecture of our owne Infirmitie : who dare warrant his Armour for prooffe when *Dauids* was shot through ? Secondly, let us admire and laud Gods mercy, who pardoned and restored these men on their unfained Repentance. Lastly, let us not despaire of pardon our selves, if through Infirmitie over taken, God in like manner is mercifull to forgive us.

Abuse of them : When men either make these their patterns, by which they sin, or after their finning alledge them for their excuse and defence. Thus *Iuditb* did, *Iuditb* 9. 2: For whereas that murder which *Simeon* and *Levi* did commit upon the Shechemites, *Gen.* 34. 25, was cursed by *Iacob*, as a most hainous and horrible finne ; yet shee propounds it as an heroicke act, and the unworthy President for her imitation : O Lord God of my Father *Simeon*, to whom thou gavest the Sword to take vengeance on the strangers, which opened the wombe of a Maid, and defiled her, &c. Well, if the Arme of *Iuditb* had beene as weake as her judgement was herein, I should scarce beleeve that shee ever cut off the head of *Holopbernes*.

Eighth fort. *Actions which are onely good as they are qualified with such a circumstance*, as *Dauids* eating the Shew-bread

in a case of absolute necessity ; which otherwise was *provided* for the Priests alone. Such are the doing of servile workes on the Lords day, when in case of necessity they leave off to bee *Opera servilia*, and become *opera misericordiae*.

Use of them : Let us be sure, in imitating of these, to have the same qualifying circumstance, without which otherwise the deed is impious and damnable.

Abuse of them : In those which imitate the example without any heeding, that they are so qualified, as the action requires.

Ninth fort. The ninth and last fort remaines; and such are those which are eminently good; as the Faith of *Abrabam*, the Meeknesse of *Moses*, the Valour of *Ioshua*, the Sincerity of *Samuel*, the plaine Dealing of *Nathaniel*, &c. Follow not then the Infidelity of *Thomas*, but the Faith of *Abrabam*; the Testinesse of *Ionab*, but the Patience of *Iob*; the Adultery of *David*, but the Chastity of *Ioseph*; not the Apostasie of *Orpa*, but the Perseverance of *Ruth* here in my Text.

[Note that the substance of this Sermon is found in the *Comment on Ruth*, antea, pages 47—51.]



[III] An Ill Match Wel Broken Off.



1 JOHN 2. 15.

Love not the world.

THE Stoicks said to their affections, as *Abimelech* spake to *Isaac*, Gen. 26. 16, *Get you out from amongst us; for you are too strong for us:* Because they were too strong for them to master, they therefore would have them totally banisht out of their soules, and labour to becalm themselves with an Apathy. But farre be it from us, after their example, to root out such good herbes (in stead of weeds) out of the Garden of our nature; whereas affections if well used are excellent, if they mistake not their true object, nor exceed in their due measure. *Iosbua* killed not the Gibeonites, but condemned them to bee *Hewers of wood and Drawers of water for the Sanctuary*. Wee need not expell passions out of us, if wee could conquer them, and make Griefe draw water-Buckets of teares for our sinnes, and Anger kindle fires of zeale and indignation when wee see God dishonoured. But as that must needs be a deformed face, wherein there is a transposition of the colours, the blewnesse of the vines being set in the lips, the rednesse which should be in the cheeks, in the nose; so, alas! most mishapen is our soule, since *Adams* fall, whereby our affections are so inverted, Ioy stands where Griefe should, Griefe in the place of Ioy. Wee are bold where wee should feare, feare where we should be bold; love what wee should hate, hate what wee should love. This gave occasion to the blessed Apostle in my Text to disswade men from loving that whereon too many dote. *Love not the World.*

For the better understanding of which words, know that the Devill goes about to make an unfitting match, betwixt the soule of a Christian, on the one party, and this world on the other. A match too likely to goe on, if wee consider the simplicity and folly of many Christians (because of the remnants of corruption) easily to be seduced and inveagled, or the bewitching, entising, alluring nature of this world : But God by Saint *Iohn* in my Text forbiddeth the banes : *Love not the world.*

In prosecuting whereof, wee will first shew the worthinesse of a Christian soule, then wee will consider the worthlesnesse of the world ; and from the comparing of these two, this Doctrine will result, that

It is utterly unfitting for a Christian to place his affections on worldly things.

[1.] Let us take notice of a Christians Possessions, and of his Possibilities ; what he hath in hand, and what he holdeth in hope. In possession he hath the favour of God, the Spirit of Adoption crying in him, *Abba, father*, and many excellent graces of sanctification in some measure in his heart. In hope and expectance he hath the reversion of Heaven and happiness, (a reversion not to be got after anothers death, but his owne,) and those happinesses which eye cannot see, nor eare heare, neither it can enter into the heart of man to conceive.

[2.] Now see the worthlesnesse of the World. Three Load-stones commonly attract mens affections, and make them to love ; *Beauty, Wit, and Wealth.* [a] Beauty the world hath none at all. I dare boldly say, the world put on her Holy-day Apparell, when shee was presented by the Devill to our Saviour, *Matth. 4. 9.* She never looked so smug and smooth before or since ; and had there beene any reall beauty therein, the Eagle-sight of our Saviour would have seene it ; yet when all the glory of the world was proffered unto him at the price of Idolatry, hee refused it. Yet as old *Iezabel*, when shee wanted true beauty, stopt up the leakes of age with adulterated complexion, and painted her face ; so the world in default of true beauty decks her selfe with a false appearing fairnesse, which serves to allure amorous fooles, and

(to give the world, as well as the Devill, her due) shee^r hath for the time a kind of a pleasing fashionablenesse: But what saith Saint *Paul*? 1 *Corinth.* 7. 31: *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, the fashion of this World passeth away.* [β] The wit of the World is as little as her beauty, how ever it may bee cryed up by some of her fond Admirers; yet as it is, 1 *Cor.* 3. 19, *The wisdom of this World is foolishnesse with God*; and *Cuilibet artificii credendum est in sua arte*; what wisdom it selfe counts foolishnes, is folly to purpose. [γ] Her wealth is as small as either: what the world calls Substance, is most subject to Accidents, uncertaine, unconstant; even lands themselves in this respect are moveables. *Riches make themselves wings, and fly away*; they may leave us whilst wee live; but wee must leave them when wee dye.

[3.] Seeing then the World hath so little, and the Christian soule so much, let us learne a Lesson of Holy Pride, to practise heavenly Ambition. Descend not so farre, O Christian, beneath thy selfe; remember what thou art, and what thou hast; loose not thy selfe in lavishing thy affections on so disproportioned a Mate. There is a double Disparity betwixt thy soule and the world: first, that of Age. Perchance the world might make a fit mate for thy old Man, thy Vnregenerate halfe, thy Reliques of sinne; but to match the old, rotten, withered, worme-eaten World to thy new Man, thy new Creature, the regenerated and renewed part of thy soule, gray to green, is rather a torture then a marriage, altogether disproportionable. Secondly, that of quality or condition. Thou art Gods Free-man: *If I have freed you,* (saith Christ) *then are you free indeed*; the world is, or ought to be thy slave, thy vassaile. 1 *Iohn* 5. 4: *For whosoever is borne of God overcometh the world; and this is the victory that overcometh the World, even our faith.* Bee not then so base as to make thy vassall thy mate. *Alexander* denyed to marry *Darius* his Daughter, though proffered unto him; scorning to bee conquered by her beauty, whose Father hee had conquered by his valour. Let us not make the world our Mistresse, whereof wee ought to be the Master, nor prostitute our affections to a slave we have conquered.

Objection: Yea, may some say, this is good counsell, if it

came in due season. Alas ! now it commeth too late, after I have not only long doted, but am even wedded to this world. Infant affection may be easily crusht, but who can tame an old and rooted love ? Thinke you that I have my affection in my hand, as Hunters their dogs, to let slip or rate off at pleasure ? How then shall I unlove the world, which hath been my bosome Darling so long ?

Answer : Art thou wedded to the World ? then instantly send her a Bill of Divorce. It need never trouble thy conscience ; that match may be lawfully broken off, which was first most unlawfully made : Yea, thou wert long before contracted to God in thy Baptisme, wherein thou didst solemnely promise thou wouldst *For sake the Devill and all his workes, the vaine pompe and glory of this World.* Let the first contract stand ; and because it is difficult for those who have long doted on the world to unlove her, wee will give some rules, how it may bee done by degrees. For indeed it is not to bee done on a sudden, (matters of moment cannot bee done in a moment,) but it is the taske of a mans whole life, til the day of his death.

Rules how to unlove the World.

1. Looke not with the eyes of covetousnesse or admiration on the things of the world. The eye is the principall *Cinqueport* of the soule, wherein love first arrives, *Vt vidi, ut perij.* Now thou mayest looke on the things of the world, *Vt in transitu*, as in passage (otherwise wee should be forced to shut our eyes); and wee may behold them with a slighting, neglectfull, fastidious looke ; but take heed to looke [against looking] on them with a covetous eye, as *Eve* on the forbidden fruit, and *Achan* on the wedge of Gold. Take heed to looke on them with the eye of Admiration, as the Disciples looked on the Buildings of the Temple, *Matth. 24. 1*, wondring at the Eternity of the structure, and conceiving the Arch of this World would fall as soone as such stones riveted to immortality might bee dissolved. Wherefore our Saviour checketh them, *Verely I say unto you, there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not bee cast downe.* Excellently *Iob, chap. 31. 1*, *I have made a Covenant with*

mine eyes, that I should not behold a woman. A Covenant? But what was the forfeiture *Jobs* eyes were to pay in case hee brake it? It is not exprest on the band; but surely the penalty is employed [implied, viz.] many brackish teares, which his eyes in repentance must certainly pay if they observed not the Covenant.

2. Silence, that Spokesman in thy bosome; I meane the allurements of the flesh and Devill, who improveth his utmost power to advance a match betwixt thy soule and the world. And when any breach happens betweene thee and the world, so that thou art ready to cast her off, the flesh in thy bosome pleads her cause: Why wilt thou (saith it) deprive thyselfe of those contentments which the World would afford thee? Why dost thou torment thy selfe before thy time? Ruffle thy selfe in the filkes of security; it will be time enough to put on the Sack-cloath of Repentance when thou lyest on thy Death-bed. Harken not to the Flesh, her Inchantments; but as *Pharaoh* charged *Moses* to get him out of his presence, he should *see his face no more*, *Exodus* 10. 28; so strive as much as in thee lyeth to expell these fleshly suggestions from thy presence, to banish them out of thy soule; at leastwise to silence them; though the mischief is, it will bee muttering, and though it dare not hallow, it will still be whispering unto thee, in behalfe of the world, its old friend, to make a Reconciliation betwixt you.

3. Send back againe to the world, the Love-tokens she hath bestowed upon thee; I meane those ill gotten goods, which thou hast gotten by indirect and unwarrantable meanes. As for those goods which thy parents left thee, friends have given thee, or thou hast procured by Heavens Providence on thy lawfull endeavours, these are no Love-tokens of the world, but Gods gifts; keepe them, use them, enjoy them to his glory. But goods gotten by Wrong and Robbery, Extortion and Bribery, Force and Fraud, these restore and send back: For the world knoweth that shee hath a kind of tye and engagement upon thee, so long as thou keepest her tokens; and in a manner thou art obliged in honour, as long as thou detainest the gifts that were hers. Imitate *Zacheus*: see how he casts backe what the world gave him: *Luke* 19. 8,

Behold, Lord, the halfe of my goods I give to the poore ; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him foure-fold.

4. Set thy affections on the God of Heaven. The best wedge to drive out an old love is to take in a new :

¹*Postquam nos Amaryllis habet, Galatæa reliquit.*

Yea, God deserves our love first, because *God loved us first*, ¹ *John* 4. 19. It is enough indeed to blunt the sharpest affection, to be returned with scorne and neglect ; but it is enough to turne Ice into Ashes, to bee first beloved by one that so well deserves love. Secondly, his is a lasting love: *Iohn* 13. 1, *Having loved his owne that were in the world, he loved them to the end.* Some mens affection spends it selfe with its violence, hot at hand, but cold at length ; God's not so, it is continuing. It is recorded in the honour of our ²King *Henry* the seventh ; that hee never discomposed favorite, one only excepted, which was *William*, Lord *Stanly* ; a rare matter, since many Princes change their Favorites, as well as their clothes, before they are old : But the observation is true of the Lord of Heaven without any exception : those who are once estated in his favour, he continues loving unto them to the end.

Hearke then how hee woes us, *Esay* 55. 1, *Hoe, every one that thirsteth, come yee to the waters, and he that hath no money, come, &c.* How he woes us, *Mat.* 11. 28, *Come unto me all yee that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Love his Love-letter, his Word ; his Love-tokens, his Sacraments ; his Spokes-men, his Ministers, which labour to further the match betwixt him and thy foule. But beware of two things.

1. Take heed of that dangerous conceit, that at the same time thou mayest keepe both God and the World, and love these outward delights, as a Concubine to thy foule. Nay, God he is a *jealous God* ; hee will have all or none at all. There is a Citie in Germany, pertaining halfe to the Bishop

[¹ Virgil, *Ecloga* i. 31.]

² Look Lord Bacon in his *Life* [Ed. 1622, page 242].

thereof, and halfe to the Duke of Saxony, who named the Citie Myndyn, that is, mine and thine; because it was theirs *Communi jure*, and at this day by corruption it is called ¹*Minden*. But God will admit of no such divisions; hee will hold nothing in Coparceny; hee will not share or part stakes with any; but hee will have all entire to himselfe alone.

2. Take heed thou dost not onely fall out with the world, to fall in with it againe, according to that

²*Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est:*

For even as some furious Gamesters, when they have a bad game, throw their cards out of their hands, and vow to play no more; (not so much out of mislike of gaming as of their present game;) but when the cards run on their side, they are reconciled to them againe; so many men, when the world frownes on them and crosses them, and they misse some preferment they desire, then a qualme of piety comes over their hearts; they are mortified on a sudden, and disavow to have any further dealing with worldly contentments. But when the world smiles on them againe, favours and prospers them, they then return to their former love, and doting upon it. Thus *Demas*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10, would needs have another farewell embrace of the world, even after his solemne conversion to Christianity, *Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present World*. But when we are once at variance with the world, let us continue at deadly eternall feuds with it; and as it is said of *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* 13. 15, that *the hatred wherewith hee hated his sister Tamar, was greater then the love wherewith he loved her*: so, (what was cruelty in him, will bee Christianity in us,) once fallen out with the world, let the joynt bee never set again, that it may bee the stronger; but let our hatred bee immortall, and so much the stronger by how much our love was before.

¹ Munsters *Cosmog[rappia]*: *De Germ[ania]*, iii. lib., pag. 143 [lib. iii. cap. 450, pag. 894, Ed. Basle, 1572.

[² Terrence, *Andria*, iii. iii. 24.]

[IV] Good from Bad Friends.

2 SAM. 15. 31.

*And one told David, saying, Achitophel is among the
Conspirators with Absalom.*

THIS Text is a Glasse, wherein Gods Iustice is plainly to be seen. *David* had formerly falsely forsaken *Vriab*, and now God suffers *Achitophel* to forsake *David*. *Vriab* neither in loyaltie nor valour, though placed the last in the List, of the List of *David*s Worthies, was any whit inferiour to any of *David*s subjects. How did hee sympathize with Gods Arke, and his fellow souldiers, stayed still in the Campe, though hee was in the Kings Court, in that hee would not embrace those delights the Marriage-bed did afford him! No, though they practised upon him to make him drunke, yet in his drunkenesse, hee was so sober that all their wine washed not from him his first resolution, but hee remayned still constant. But how falsely did *David* forsake him, sending him with that Snake in his bosome which was to sting him to death; I meane the Letter, which was *Vriabs* Passport to his own Grave! Well, *Vriab* placed much confidence in the love of *David*, who deceives him; *David* with no lesse trust relies on the loyaltie of *Achitophel*, and see what my Text saith: *And one told David, saying, Achitophel is also among the Conspirators with Absalom.*

Observation 1: Before we goe farther, let us learne, *when our friends forsake us, to enter into a serious scrutinie of our owne soules:* Hast thou never played foule or false with thy friend; if not in action, yet in intention? Dost thou not mean to prove base, if put to the tryall, and if occasion be offered, to deceive him? If so, know thy false friend hath only got the start of thee, and playd the fore-game, doing

what thou meanest to doe. Rayle not, then, on the times, nor speak Satyres against the faithlesnesse of men; but, laying thy hand on thy mouth, confesse God hath justly found thee out, and dealt with thee as hee did with *David*.

Observation 2: Secondly, hence we may observe: *The most politicke heads have not alwayes the faithfullest hearts.* *Achitophel* was the Iewish Nestor, or their *Salomon* before *Salomon*, and like *the Oracle of God for his wisdom*, but like the Oracle of the devill for his deceitfulnesse; for whilst *David* swaied the scepter, who more loial to him than *Achitophel*? and once when *David* is in banishment, he fals first to *Absalom*; he loved to worship the sun rising; yea, whils *David* the true sun was but over-cast with a cloud, he fals adoring that blazing star, that Comet only fed with the evaporations of pride and ambition, which shined for a while, and then went out in a stink.

Reasons why the most politick are not alwayes the most faithfull. 1. Because that cement which conglutinates hearts, and makes true friends indeed, is grace and Goodnes, wherof many politick heads are utterly devoid: 1 Cor. 1. 26, *For ye see your calling, Brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called.* 2. Politick men make their owne profit the rule and square of their loves; they steere their course by the pole-star of their own good; and as in their actions, so in their affections, have an invisible end to themselves, which beginneth where that end endeth, which is apparent to others.

Use: Do not, then, undervalue and despise the love of those who are of meane and inferior parts: wise men have made use of such servants, and found them more manageable and more profitable; though their judgements were weaker, their affections might be stronger, than wiser men.

Observation 3: Thirdly, observe; *False friends will forsake [us] in time of adversity.* Hee that beleeveth that all those who smile on him and promise faire in time of prosperity will performe it in time of his want, may as well beleieve that all the leeves that bee on trees at Mid-summer will hang there as fresh and as faire on New-years day.

Come wee now to consider what good uses one may make to himselfe from the unfaithfulnesse of friends when they forsake us.

1. First, consider with thy selfe whether thou hast not beene faulty in entertaining Tale-bearers, and lending a listning eare unto them : *Solomon* saith, *Prov.* 16. 28, *A whisperer separateth chiefe friends.* Whethersoever hee commeth, he bringeth with him the fire, fuel, and bellowes of contention.

2. If herein thy conscience accuse thee not, examine thy selfe whether there was not a *Læsum principium* in the first initiation of your love : How came you acquainted ? whereout grew your amitie ? whereon was your intimacie grounded ? Didst thou not first purchase his favour with the price of a sinne ? for know, friends unjustly gotten are not long comfortably enjoyed. Thus *Abshalom* by sordid flattery stole the hearts of the Israelites, descending too much beneath himselfe, *2 Sam.* 15. 5 ; as alwayes ambitious spirits, when they would personate Humility, over-act their part, and play basenesse : Wee see King *Hezekiah*, who procured *Senacharibs* love by his sacriledge, enjoyed not that purchase which he made God and his Temple pay for, *2 Kings* 18. 16. For *Senacharib* no sooner received his money, but *hoc non obstante*, persisted in his former enmity and hostility against the Iewes, and, as it followeth in the very next verse, sent up his Captaines to besiege Ierusalem.

3. If there be no fault in the inchoation, Examine, hath there beene none in the continuance of your friendship ? hast thou not committed many sinnes, to hold in with him ? If so, then it is just with God hee should forsake thee : Thus Tyrants often times cut off those staires by which they climbe up to their Throne : Yea, good Princes have often times justly sacrificed those their Favorites to the fury of the people, who formerly have been the active Instruments to oppresse the people, though to the enriching of their Princes. Hast thou not flattered him in his faults, or at least wise by thy silence consented to him ? If so, God hath now opened thy friends eyes, he sees thy false dealing with him, and hath just cause to cast thee out of his favour.

When *Amnon* had defiled his sister *Tbamar*, the Text saith, 2 Sam. 13. 15, that *the hatred wherewith hee hated her, was greater than the love wherewith he loved her*. Poore Lady, shee was in no fault; not the cause, but onely the object and the occasion of her brothers sinne; and that against her will, by his violence. Now to reason, *A minore ad majus*: If *Amnon* in cold blood viewing the hainousnesse of his offence so hated *Tbamar*, which onely concurred passively in his transgression, how may our friends justly hate us, if haply we have beene the Caufers, Movers, and Procurers of their badnesse! If wee have added fewell to the flame of their ryot, played the Pandors to their lusts, and spurred them on in the full speed of their wantonnesse, deserve wee not (when their eyes are opened to see what foes we have been unto them under pretended Friendship) to bee spit in the face, kik't out of their company, and to bee used with all contumely and disgrace?

4. Hast thou not idolatrized to thy friend? hath he not totally monopolized thy soule, so that thou hast solely depended on him, without looking higher, or further? *Tu patronus, si deseris tu, perimus*. Thus too many wives anchor all their hopes for outward matters on their husbands, and too many children leane all their weight on their Fathers shoulders; so that it is just with God to suffer these their wooden Pillars to breake, on whom they lay too much heft.

5. Hast thou not undervalued thy friend, and set too meane a rate and low an estimate on his love? If so, God hath now taught thee the worth of a Pearle, by loosing it. And this comes often to passe, though not in our friends voluntary deserting us, as *Achitophel* did *David*, yet in their leaving us against their wils, when God taketh them from us by death.

Question: But here this question may be demanded: whether is one ever againe to receive him for his friend, and to restore him to the old state of his favour, who once hath deceived and dealt falsely with him?

Answer: Many circumstances are herein well to bee weighed. First, did hee forsake thee out of frailty and infirmity, or out of meer spight and maliciousnesse? Secondly, hath he since

shewed any tokens and evidences of unfained sorrow? hath hee humbled himselfe unto thee, and beg Gods and thy pardon? If hee hath offended mischievously, and persists in it obstinately, O let not the strength of thy supposed charity so betray thy judgement, as to place confidence in him! *Samson* was blind before hee was blind; the lust of *Dalilab* deprived him of his eyes before the Philistims bored them out, in that, once and againe being deceived by *Dalilab*, hee still relyed on her word. But if hee hath shewed him selfe such a Penitent, and thou art verely perswaded of his Repentance, receive him againe into thy favour. Thus dealt our Saviour with Saint *Peter*, *Marke* 16. 7: *But goe your way, tell his Disciples, and Peter, Peter especially; Peter that hath sinned, and Peter that had sorrowed; Peter that had denyed his Master; but Peter that went out and wept bitterly.*

6. Sixthly, and lastly, it may bee God suffers thy friends to prove unfaithfull to thee, to make thee sticke more closely to himselfe. Excellent to this purpose is that place, *Micah* 7. 5, 6, *Trust yee not in a friend, put yee no confidence in a Guide; keepe the doors of thy mouth from her that lyeth in thy bosome: For the Son dishonoureth the Father; the Daughter riseth up against the Mother; the Daughter in law against her Mother in law; a mans enemies are the men of his own house.* But now marke what followes: *Therefore will I looke unto the Lord; I will wayte for the God of my salvation.* As if hee had said, Is the world at this bad hand? is it come to this bad passe that one must bee farre from trusting their neere friends? It is well, then, I have one fast Friend on whom I may relye, the God of Heaven. I must confesse these words of the Prophet are principally meant of the time of Persecution, and so are applyed by our Saviour, *Mat.* 10. 21. However they containe an eternall truth, whereof good use may bee made at any time. Let us therefore, when our friends forsake us, principally relye on God, who hath these two excellent properties of a friend: first, he is neere to us: so saith the Psalmist, *Thy name is neere, and this doth thy excellent workes declare.* They have a speedy way of conveying Letters from *Aleppo* to *Babylon*, sending them by a winged Messenger, tyed to the legs of a Dove; but wee have a shorter cut to send our

prayers to God, by sending our prayers by the wings of the Holy Spirit, that heavenly Dove, whereby they instantly arrive in Heaven. As God is neere to us, so hee is ever willing and able to helpe us : On him therefore let us ever relye ; and when other Reeds bow or break, or run into our hands, let us make him to bee our staffe, whereon wee may leane our selves.



[v] A Glasse for Gluttons.

ROM. 13. 13.

Not in Gluttony [μὴ νόμους].

THESE words are a parcell of that Scripture that converted Saint *Augustine*. He (as hee¹ confesseth of himselfe) at the first was both erroneous in his Tenets and vicious in his life. When running on in full carreare in wickednesse, God stopt him with his voyce from Heaven, *Tolle et lege*, take up thy Book, and reade; and the first place which God directed his eye to was these words in my Text; and after this time, being reclaymed, hee proved a worthy Instrument of Gods glory and the Churches good. Now as those receipts in Physicke are best, which are confirmed under the Broad Seale of Experience, and set forth with the priviledge of *Probatum est*; so my Text may challenge a priority before other places of Scripture, because upon Record it hath been the occasion to convert so famous a Christian. Neither thinke that the vertue of these words are extracted by doing of this one Cure, or that my Text, with *Isaac*, hath onely one blessing for him that came first; no, by Gods blessing it may be cordial, for the saving of our soules. To day therefore part of *Samsons* Riddel shall be fulfilled in your ears: *Out of the Devourer came meat: Gluttony*, that vice which consumeth and devoureth food. The discourse thereof by Gods assistance shall feed us at this time. *Not in Gluttony*.

Doctrine: *Gluttony is a dangerous sin for any Christian to be guilty of.*

Reason 1: *Because humane Laws hath provided no penalty for it.* Men will be afraid to commit petty Laffony, for feare of

[¹ *Confessions*, Bk. viii. chap. xii.]

whipping; Fellony, for feare of branding; Murther, for feare of hanging; worse fins, for feare of having a Grave whilst living. But it is too likely that men will take leave and liberty to themselves to be Gluttons, presuming upon hope of Impunity, because mans Laws have ordered no punishment for it; yet as those offences are accounted the greatest, which cannot be punished by a Constable, a Iustice, or Iudge of Assize; but are reserved immediatly to be punished by the King himselfe; so Gluttons must needs be Sinners in an high degree, who are not censureable by any earthly King, but are referred to be judged at Gods Tribunal alone.

Reason 2: Because it is so hard and difficult to discern. Like to the Hecktick fever, it steales on a man unawares. Some fins come with observation, and are either ushered with a noyse, or, like a snaile, leave a slime behind them, whereby they may be traced, and tracted, as Drunkenesse. The Ephramites were differenced from the rest of the Israelites by their lisping: they could not pronounce *H*, which then was a heavie aspiration unto them when it cost the lives of so many thousands. Thus Drunkards are distinguish't from the Kings sober subjects by clipping the coyn of the tongue. But there are not such signes and Symptomes of *Gluttony*. This sinne doth so insensibly unite and incorporate it selfe with our naturall appetite, to eate for the Preservation of our lives, that, as Saint ¹Gregory saith, *It is a hard thing to discern, Quid necessitas petat, et quid voluptas suppetat, quia per esum voluptas necessitati miscetur*, what is the full charge of food which nature requires for our sustenance, and what is that sure charge which is heaped by superfluity.

Reason 3: Because of the sundry dangers it brings; first, to the soule: Luke 21. 34, Take heed lest your hearts bee oppressed with surfetting: And indeed the soule must needs bee unfitting to serve God, being so incumbred. That man hath but an uncomfortable life, who is confined to live in a smoaky house. The braine is one of these places of the residence of the soule; and when that is filled with streames, and vapours arising from unconcocted crudities in the stomacke, the soule

¹ Lib. 30. *Moral[ia in Expos. Iob]*, cap. 39. ver. 7], cap. 28. *ante medium* [¶ 62].

must needs *malè habitare*, dwell uncheerfully, ill accommodated in so smoaky a mansion. And as hereby it is unapt for the performance of good, so it is ready for most evill; for uncleanness, scurility, ill speaking; this being the reason, saith Saint ¹ *Gregory*, why *Dives* his tongue was so tormented in Hell, because hee, being a Glutton, with his tongue had most dishonoured God.

Secondly, this sinne empaires the health of the body: the out-landish Proverbe saith, *That the Glutton digs his Grave with his owne teeth, hastens his death by his intemperance*; For if there were a conflict in *Rebeckaes* body, when two Twins were in her wombe, must there not bee a Battell and Infurrection in his stomach, wherein there is meat, hot, cold, sod, rost, flesh, fish? and which side soever wins, nature and health will bee overcome, whenas a mans body is like unto the Arke of *Noah*, containing all Beasts cleane and uncleane; but hee the most uncleane Beast, that containes them. Our Law interprets it to bee murther, when one is killed with a knife. Let us take heed wee bee not all condemned by God for being Fellons *de se*; for wilfull murdering our owne lives with our knives by our superstitious eating.

Thirdly, it wrongs the creatures that hereby are abused. Indeed they willingly serve man, so long as hee is a King over them; but they are loath to doe it when he turnes Tyrant: So if when the Drunkard sings, the drinke sighes; when the Glutton laughs, the Meate grieves to bee so vainely mispent by him. God saith, *Hosea* 2. 9, *That hee will recover his Flaxe and his Wooll* from the Idolatrous Jewes; *Vindicabo*, I will rescue and recover them, as from slavery and subjection, wherein they were detayned against their will; and in such like tyrannie are the creatures, as Bread, Wine, and Meat, tortured under the Glutton.

Lastly, it wrongeth the poore; for it is the over-much Feasting of *Dives* which of necessity maketh the Fasting of *Lazarus*; and might not the superfluous Meat of the Rich bee sold for many a pound, and given to the poore?

[¹ *Moralia in Expos. Iob*, cap. i. ver. 5.]

Come we now to confider wherein *Gluttony* doth confift. I am not ignorant of that verfe in ¹*Thomas* [*Aquin*] :

Præproperè lautè, nimis ardentè, studiofè :

But I will not march in *Sauls* heavie Armour, or confine my felfe to follow the Schooles directions herein ; I will goe againft this *Goliab* of Gluttony with my owne Sling and Stone, and use a private and plaine Method. This finne therefore confifteth, either in the quantity of the meate, or in the quality, or in the manner of eating.

I. In the quantity : And here it is hard to define the Omer of Manna for every mans belly ; the proportion of meate for every mans stomacke : that quantity of raine will make a claye ground drunke, which will scarce quench the thirst of a sandy Countrey. It is thus also in men ; that proportion of meat surfetteth and furchargeth the stomacks of some, which is not enough to fatisfie the hunger of others, especially of those who being young have hot and quick digestion ; of those who living in a cold clymate, and thereby have the heat of there stomacks intended ; of those whose stomacks are strong, by reason of their labour and travell. And not to speake of the disease called *Boulamya*, mens natures being thus diverse, by what standard shall I measure them ? Let this be the rule : hee shall be arraigned and condemned before God for *Gluttony* in the quantity of meat, who hath eaten so much as thereby hee is disabled, either in part, or wholly, to serve God in his generall or particular calling, be his age, clymate, or temper whatsoever.

II. In quality ; and that foure ways :

1. When the meat is too young : *Exod.* 23. 19, *Thou shalt not seeth a Kid in his Mothers milke* ; that is, thou shalt not eat it before it hath age, to bee just and firme flesh. Circumcision was deferred till the eighth day ; one reason rendred by Divines is, because a Child before that time is not *Caro consolidata* ; and sure there is a time before which Beasts and Fowles are not follid, fast, and lawfull to bee eaten. I must confesse, wee are to live by the creatures death ; they being

[¹ *Summa Theologiæ*, I. ii. Quæst. 72, Art. 9, Ed. Antwerp, 1585, p. 143.]

borne are condemned to dye, for our necessity, or pleasure ; and these condemned persons desire not a pardon, but deserve a Reprive, that they may be respited and reserved so long, till they bee good and wholesome food, and not clapt into the Gluttons bowels, before they be scarce out of their Mothers belly.

Secondly, when the meat is too costly. Thus *Cleopatra* macerated an Vnion, a Pearle of an inestimable worth, and dranke it in a health to *Marke Anthony* ; a deed of hers as vaine as the other wicked, when she poysoned her selfe.

Thirdly, when the meats are onely incentives and provocations to lusts, in some kind thereof. I could instance were I not afraid to teach sin, by confuting it. Why is the Furnace made seven times hotter then ever it was before ? Is not the Devill of himselfe sufficiently mischievous ? Is not our owne corruption of it selfe sufficiently forward, yea, head-long to evill, but also wee must advantage them by our owne folly ? Have wee vowed in our Baptisme to fight against, and doe wee our selves send Armour and Munition to our Enemy ? Yea, many set their owne houses on fire, and then complaine they burne :

¹*Labor est inhibere volantes,
Parce, puer, stimulis ; et fortius utere loris.*

Lastly, when the Meat is such as is onely to increase Appetite ; when one before is plentifully fed. Such is the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, that when they have brought a man to the doore of death, they will not let him goe in ; when by exquisite tortures they have almost killed him, then by comfortable Cordials they doe again revive him : And whereas of God it is appoynted for all men once to dye, these mens cruelty makes men to dye often. Thus men, when they have stabbed and killed hunger with plentifull eating, with fauce and salt meats of purpose they restore it againe to life ; and for severall times, according to their owne pleasures, kill and recall, stab and revive their appetites.

III. In the manner of eating.

1. Greedily, without giving thanks to God : Like Hogs, eating up the Maske, not looking up to the hand that shaketh

[¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 128, 127.]

it downe. It is said of the Israelites, *Exod.* 32. 6, *The people sate downe to eate and to drinke*; there is no mention of Grace before Meate; *and rose up to play*; there is no mention of Grace after.

Secondly, Constantly. *Dives* fared deliciously every day; there was no Friday in his weeke, nor Fast in his Almanack, nor Lent in his yeare: whereas the Moone is not alwayes in the full, but hath as well a wayning as a waxing; the Sea is not alwayes in a Spring-tide, but hath as well an Ebbing as a Flowing; and surely the very Rule of Health will dictate thus much to a man, not alwayes to hold a constant tenure of Feasting, but sometimes to abate in their dyets.

Lastly, when they eat their meats studiously, resolving all the powers of their mind upon meat, singing *Requiems* in their soul, with the Glutton in the Gospel, *Soule take thine ease, &c.* And whereas we are to eat to live, these only live to eat.

Let us therefore beware of the sin of *Gluttony*, and that for these Motives.

Motive 1: Because it is the sin of *England*; for though, without Vsurpation, we may intitle our selves to the pride of the Spanish, Jealousie of the Italian, Wantonneffe of the French, Drunkennes of the Dutch, and Lazinesse of the Irish; and though these out-landish sins have of late bin naturalized and made free Denisons of *England*; yet our ancientest Carte is for the sinne of *Gluttony*.

Motive 2: It is the sinne of our age. Our Saviour saith, *Mat.* 24. 37, 38, *But as it was in the dayes of Noah, so likewise shall the comming of the Sonne of Man be. They did eate and drinke, &c.* That is, excessively; for otherwise they did eate in all ages. It is said of old men, that they are twise children: the same is true of this old doting World; it doth now revert and relapse into the same sinnes whereof it was guilty in the Infancy: wee, on whom the ends of the World are come, are given to the sinnes of *Gluttony*, as in the dayes of *Noah*.

Motive 3: The third Motive is from the time. *These seven full Eares, these seven fat Kine*; these seven weekes of Feasting betweene Christmas and Shrovetide are past; these

seven leane Eares, these seven leane Kine, the seven Fasting Weeks in Lent, are now begun: Practise therefore the counsell which *Salomon* gives, *Prou. 23. 1, 2, When thou fittest to eate with a Ruler, consider diligently what is before thee; and put thy knife to thy throat, if thou beest a man given to thy appetite.* This is thy throat, that narrow passage of Importance; guard it with thy knife, as with a Halbert, that no superfluous meat passe that way to betray thy soule to *Gluttony*. But it is to be feared that wee will rather turne the backs of our knives then the edges; I meane, we will use little violence to repress and restraine our own Greedinesse. That our knives may therefore bee the sharper, let these Whet-stones set an edge on them.

1. Consider the Bread that thou eatest is the Bread that perisheth: And our Saviour saith, *Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that which endureth to everlasting life:* Biscate is but perishing Bread, though it may laste two yeares; for what is two yeares to Eternity?

2. We shall perish that eate the meat, but God shall destroy both it and that: And then the Glutton which hath playd the Epicure on meat whilst he lived, the wormes shall play the Epicures on him when he is dead; and whilst the temperate Man shall give them but ordinary commons, the larded Glutton shal afford them plentifull exceedings.

To conclude this point: wary was the practise of *Job, Iob 1. 5, Who after the dayes of his sons feasting were gone about, offered burnt Offerings to God for them; for he said, It may be my sonnes have sinned, and cursed God in their hearts.*

So, sith *Gluttony* is so subtile a sinne, and so hard to be discerned; when we have beene at a great Feast in the day, let us sacrifice our prayers to God, and sue out a Pardon from him, lest peradventure in the heart of our mirth, without our knowledge, and against our will, we have inseverably been overtaken with the sin of *Gluttony*.



[VI] How Farre Grace can be Entailed.



2 TIM. 1. 5.

When I call to remembrance the unfained faith which is in thee which dwelt first in thy Grand-mother Lois, and thy Mother Eunice; and I am perswaded that it is in thee also.

WHEN I call to remembrance.] *Observation 1.* It is good to feed our soules on the memories of pious persons: Partly that we may be moved to prayse God in and for his Graces given to his Saints; and partly that we may bee incited to imitate the vertues of the deceased. *Abaz* was so taken with the Altar at Damascus, 2 Kings 16. 10, that hee would needs have one at Ierusalem, made according to all the worke-manship thereof. When we call to mind the vertues of the deceased, and cannot but be delighted with their Goodnesse, let us labour to fashion our selves after their frame, and to erect the like vertues in our owne soules.

Observation 2: Godly Children occasion their Parents to bee called to memory. Saint Paul beholding *Timothies* Goodnesse, is minded thereby to remember his Mother and Grand-mother, *Eunice* and *Lois*; they can never bee dead, whiles hee is alive. Good children are the most lasting monument, to perpetuate their Parents, and make them survive after death. Dost thou desire to have thy memory continued? Art thou ambitious to be revenged of death, and to out-last her spight? It matters not for building great houses, and calling them after thy name; give thy children godly education, and the sight of their goodnesse will furbish up thy memory in the mouthes and minds of others, that it never rusts in oblivion.

Which dwelt first.] That is, which was an Inhabitant in their hearts: Faith in temporary Believers is as a Guest; comes for a night, and is gone; at the best is but as a Sojourner, lodges there for a time; but it dwelleth, maketh her constant residence and abroad in the Saints and servants of God.

Grand-mother Lois, and Mother Eunice.] *Question:* Why doth not Saint *Paul* mention the Father of *Timothy*, but as it were blanch him over with silence?

Answer 1: First, it is probable that Saint *Paul* had not any speciall notice of him, or that hee was dead before the Apostles acquaintance in that Family.

2. Likely it is, he was not so eminent and appearing in Piety. The weaker vessell may sometimes be a stronger vessell of honour: yea, the Text, *Acts 16. 1*, intimateth as much: *Behold, a certaine Disciple was there, named Timotheus, the sonne of a certaine woman which was a Jewesse, and beleevd; but his Father was a Greeke.* Let women labour in an holy Emulation to excell their husbands in Goodnesse; it is no trespasse of their modesty, nor breach of the obedience they vowed to their husbands in marriage, to strive to bee Superiours and above them in Piety.

3. *Eunice* and *Lois*, the Mother and Grand-mother, are onely particularly mentioned, because deserving most commendation for instructing *Timothy* in his youth; as it is in the *Chap. 3. [Epist. 2] ver. 14, 15: Knowing of whom thou hast learned them, and that from a Child thou hast knowne the Holy Scriptures.* For the same reason the names of the Mothers of the Kings of *Judah* are so precisely recorded for their credit or disgrace, according to the goodnesse or badnesse of their sonnes. Let Mothers drop instruction into their children with their milke, and teach them to pray when they beginne to prattle.

Though *Grace* bee not entayled from Parent to Child; yet the Children of godly Parents have a great advantage to Religion; yea, that five-fold.

1. The advantage of the promise; yea, though they come but of the halfe blood, (much more if true borne on both

fides,) if one of their Parents bee godly. 1 *Corinth.* 7. 14 : *For the unbelieving Husband is sanctified by the (believing) Wife; and the unbelieving Wife is sanctified by the Husband; else were your Children uncleane; but now they are holy.*

2. Of good Precepts, some taught them in their Infancy; so that they can easier remember what they learned then when they learned it. *Gen.* 18. 19 : *For I know Abraham, that hee will command his children, and his Household after him, to feare the Lord.*

3. Of good Presidents. *Habent domi unde discant* : whereas the children of evill Parents see daily what they ought to shun and avoyd, these behold what they should follow and imitate.

4. Of Correction, which though untoothsome to the palat to taste, is not unwholsome to the stomacke to digest.

5. Of many a good prayer, and some no doubt steeped in teares, made for them before some of them were made. *Filius tantarum lacrymarum non peribit*, said Saint ¹*Ambrose* to *Monica*, of Saint *Augustine* her son. Disdane thou, then, out of an holy pride, to bee the vitious sonne to a vertuous Father; to bee the prophane Daughter of a pious Mother; but labour to succeed as well to the lives as to the Livings, the Goodnesse as the Goods of the Parents.

Objection : Yea, but, may the Children of bad Parents say, this is but cold comfort for us; and they may take up the words of the Souldiers, *Luke* 3. 14, *And what shall wee doe?*

Answer : First, if thy Parents be living, conceive not that their badnesse dispenceth with thy duty unto them, thou hast the same cause, though not the same comfort, with good children to obey thy Parents; this doe labour, to gaine them with thy conversation. It was Incest, and a fowle sinne in *Lot*, to bee Husband to his Daughters, and beget children on them; but it would bee no spirituall Incest in thee, to be Father to thy Father, to beget him in grace who begat thee in nature; and by the Piety and Amiableness of thy carriage, to be the occasion, by Gods blessing, of his Regeneration; and what *Samuel* said to the people of Israel, 1 *Sam.* 12. 23,

[¹ Not attributed to S. Ambrose in *Confessions*, bk. iii. chap. xii.]

God forbid that I should sinne against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for you; so God forbid thou shouldest ever leave off to have thy knees bended, and thy hands lifted up, for the conversion of thy bad Father. Moreover, labour more especially to shun and avoyd those sinnes to which thy Father was addicted; and chiefly such sinnes, the Inclination whereto may depend from the temper and constitution of the body; so that a pronenesse thereto may in some sort seem to be intayled to Posterity. Was thy Father notorious for wantonnesse? strive then to be noted for chastity. Was hee infamous for Pride? labour thou to be famous for Humility. And though thou must not be dejected with griefe at the consideration of the badnesse of thy Parents; yet mayest thou make a Sovereaigne use thereof, to bee a just cause of Humiliation to thy selfe.

If thy Parents bee dead, and if thou canst speake little good of them, speake little of them. What Sullenesse did in *Absolon*, 2 *Sam.* 13. 22, *Hee spake to his Brother Amnon, neither good nor bad; let Discretion do in thee: seale up thy lips in silence; say nothing of thy Parents.* He is either a Foole, or a mad man, who being in much company, and not being urged thereunto, by any occasion will tell others, *My Father lyes in the Fleet; my Father lyes in Prison, in the Counter.* More witleffe is hee who will speake both words Vncharitable and Vnnaturall concerning the finall estate of his Father, in an eternall bad condition.

And I am perswaded, there is a three-fold kind of Perswasion, whereby one may be perswaded of good in another man.

1. The perswasion of Infallibility; and this onely God hath. *Acts* 15. 18: *Knowne unto God are all his workes from the beginning of the World. Hee alone searcheth and tryeth the hearts and reines.* And they also have it to whom God immediately reveales it. Thus *Ananias* knew that *Paul* was a true servant of God, after it was revealed to him, *Acts* 9. 15: *For hee is a chosen Vessell unto me, to beare my name, before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the children of Israel.* And in this sence of infallible perswasion we may understand Saint *Paul* in the Text, because it is said, 1 *Tim.* 1. 18, *This Commandement write I unto thee, sonne Timotheus, according to the prophecies*

which went before upon thee, that thou by them shouldst fight a good fight.

2. The perswasion of Charity; and this I must confesse is but weake, and rather a presumption than a perswasion. *Charity, 1 Corintb. 13. 5, 7, Thinketh no evill; it beleevetb all things, hopeth all things;* and in this kind of Perswasion wee conceive that all men have faith dwelling in them, of whom wee know no just reason to conceive the contrary.

3. The Perswasion of a well and strong grounded opinion; to make which, these three things must concur. First, the party that conceives this opinion must have a good judgement and discerning Spirit, well to dive and pierce into the natures and dispositions of men. Secondly, He must be long acquainted with that person, of whom hee hath such an opinion, that faith dwelleth in him. Too bold are these men, who upon a superficial knowledge and short conversing with any, dare peremptorily pronounce, that such an one hath saving grace and sanctity in him. These are Professors of spirituall Palmestry, who thinke that upon small experience they can see the Life line (the Line of Eternall life in the hands of mens souls); whereas for all their skil they often mistake the hands of *Esau* for the hands of *Iacob*. Lastly, they must have intimate familiarity with them, and be not onely their acquaintance [at] large, but in Ordinary:

¹ *Te intus et in cute novi.*

Put all these three together, that one hath a discerning Spirit, long and intimate acquaintance with one; and hee may arrive at Saint *Pauls* perswasion in my Text, to be perswaded of faith dwelling in him, with whom hee hath beene thus long and intimately acquainted. And in this sense (though it may bee of the infallible Perswasion by Revelation) understand wee that 2 *Kings* 4. 1: *Now there cryed a certaine Woman of the Wives of the sonnes of the Prophets unto Elisha, saying, Thy Servant my Husband is dead; and thou knowest that thy Servant did feare the Lord.*

Yet for all this wee may set this downe for a true Position;

that the wisest of men easily may and sometimes are deceived in counting them good which are very counterfeits; and especially in these cases.

1. First, in close natured men, such as lye in at a close Guard, and offer no play; whose Well is deepe, and men generally want Buckets to measure them; so that one may live twenty yeares with them, and bee never a whit the wiser in knowing their disposition.

2. In various and inconstant men, which like *Proteus* never appeare twise in the same shape, but differ as much from themselves as from other men, and are onely certaine in uncertainty; so that one can build no certaine Conclusion on such floting, flitting Sands; and even know not what to make of them.

3. In men of an excellent nature, such as *Titus Vespasian*, [who] was called *Deliciæ humani generis*. This *Euphuia* presents it selfe in all outward signes and Symptomes; So like to Grace that it is often mistaken for it. Whereas, on the other side, men of a rugged, unbrusht nature, such as were never lickt, hewen, or polisht, may bee slandered in many mens judgements, to bee altogether devoyd of Piety.

4. In affected Dissemblers, Hypocrisie is as like Piety as Hemlocke to Parsley; and many one hath beene deceived therein.

To conclude: if wee desire to passe a rationall Judgement on Faith in others, and Piety in their hearts, let us first labour to have true Sanctity in our owne. One complayned to a Philosopher that it was an hard thing to find a wise man. It is true, said hee; for hee must first bee a wise man that seekes him, and knowes when hee hath found him: So that, on the matter, it is not one wise man, but two wise men, must meete together. So it is an hard thing to know true Sanctity in another man; because hee must have true Piety in himselfe that knowes it, or else hee is an Incompetent Iudge to passe a Verdict on another. Let us therefore labour first to have true Grace in our hearts, that so with Saint *Paul* we may bee perswaded of Grace that dwels in another.

[vii] A Christning Sermon.



2 KINGS 5. 14.

Then went hee downe and dipped himselfe seven times in Iordan, according to the saying of the man of God; and his flesh came againe, like to the flesh of a little child; and he was cleane.

IN this Chapter, *Naaman* the Syrian comes hurrying with his Horses, and ratling with his Chariot to the doore of the Prophet *Elisba*, to be cured of his Leprosie. Now hee said in his heart, (I could not have told his thoughts, except first hee had told them mee,) He will surely come out to mee, and stand and call on the name of the Lord his God, and strike his hand over the place, and recover the Leper: Thus hee thought that the very noyse of the wheels of his Chariot should call *Elisba* to come to him; because hee was Captaine of the Hoast of Syria, hee thought to be Commander of Gods Prophet; and hee expected a great deale of service from him. And truly hee might expect it: For the Prophet beate him at his owne weapon, outshot him in his owne bow, out-stated him in statelineffe it selfe.

1. *Called him not in, but let him stand at doore.*
2. *Came not to him in his person, but by a Proxie.*
3. *Sent him a plaine and cold answer: Wash seven times in Iordan.*

By the way, I dare boldly say, *Elisba* in himselfe was not proud at other times; hee could fare hardly on Barley Loaves, and feed hungerly on plaine pottage; but at this time his affecting of state was both lawfull and necessary.

First, it was the sight of *Naamans* shoe, which made *Elisha* so high in the Instep ; with the stately, hee would be stately ; the rather because hee did perceive that *Naaman* must bee humbled before hee could bee healed, and the proud flesh first taken out of his heart, ere the putrid flesh could bee cured in his body. Secondly, *Naaman*, though hee was a Prince, yet hee was but a Pagan ; and in this respect the lowest Hebrew was higher than hee. *Elisha* therefore would teach him to learne himselfe ; that hee was not proper to receive so great favours, as being but a Goat, and no lost sheepe of the Fold of Israel. Lastly, *Elisha* was an extraordinary man : hee might well stand upon termes of double distance, who had a double portion of *Elijah's* Spirit.

You, my Brethren of the Ministry, let us know that wee succeed to the office, but not to the Eminencies, to the place, but not to the personall perfections of the Prophet *Elisha*. And let us know that Humility is our Honour and Crowne ; so that except wee be forced unto it against our wils, *Se defendendo*, to maintaine the Honour of God and our office, to stand upon our points, let us leaving the Patterne of *Elisha's* statelineffe rather follow the president of Saint *Pauls* Humility : *I was made all things to all men, that by all meanes I might gaine some.*

To returne to *Naaman* : The mention of the water put him into a fire ; hee burneth with Choler and Passion : Are not *Abanab* and *Pbarpar*, Rivers of *Damascus*, better than all the waters of Israel ? May I not wash in them, and be cleane ? So he turned and went away in a rage. Well, his servants come to him, to perswade him, and bring with them good Logick and Ethicks, good Arguments and good manners. Good Logick : reasoning *a minori ad majus* : *If the Prophet had bid thee doe some great thing, wouldest thou have not done it ? How much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash and be cleane ?* Good Ethicks : *my Father. My ;* All speaking in one person, so unanimously they consented in one opinion. *Father ;* as if they had said, Wee confesse thou art wiser then wee are, of more age, of more honour ; yet you are neere unto us, you are deare unto us, wee wish your weale and welfare : O what a deale did they speake in a little, and how

many sentences are comprised in this one word, Father ! These words so wrought on *Naaman*, that the Lyon became a Lambe ; hee that formerly had conquered his foes, now subdues himselfe ; down came he in his stomacke, and downe comes hee in his person.

Then went hee downe, &c.] These words containe a Cure most strange, most true ; wherein observe :

1. *The time wherein it was wrought, Then.*
2. *The sick man, or, if you please, since his servants have perswaded him, the Patient.*
3. *The Disease, Leprosie.*
4. *The Physitian, the Man of God, Elisha.*
5. *The Physicke,* { *Quid, Washing in Iordan ;*
 Quoties, seven times.
6. *The Effect and Operation thereof : And his flesh came againe, like the flesh of a little Childe, and he was cleane.*

But as *Gideon* had too great an Army for his use, and therefore sent most of his Souldiers away ; so the time commands me, to dismisse most of these points, and onely to retaine such with me as are most pertinent to the present occasion. I begin with the time wherein the Cure was wrought : *Then.*

Then : When ? After his servants had perswaded him : Whence observe,

Wise men must sometimes follow the counsell of their Inferiours, as Naaman did of his servants. The reason is, that wise men may bee deceived in those actions wherein they themselves are parties and interested. It is possible that Passion, Prejudice, and Partiality, one or all of these, like so many Pearles, may blind the eyes of your Iudgement. Whereas such as looke on may see more then those that play the game ; and though in other respects their judgements be farre inferiour, yet herein they may be more cleare, because lesse ingaged. Yea, *Salomon* himselfe, though the wisest of Kings, had a Counsell of aged men, that stood before him. And though this might seeme but the lighting of so many Candles to the Sun, yet no doubt

hee knew wisely to make use of them, who in wisedome were farre beneath him. I have seene a dull Whet-stone set an edge on a Knife: yea, the wisest of men need not thinke scorne to learne of the worst of men, when we may be taught not to take carking care by the Lillies, and yet providently to provide from the Pismire.

But then especially are wee to listen to the counsell of Inferiours, whose advise we know proceeds from a loving heart, and is aymed and levelled at our good; especially if they be such that our credit and profit is imbarcked in the same bottome with theirs; together they sinke, and together they swim; so that wee cannot suspect, dare not deny, and must confesse, that their advise lookes straight forward at our good, and squints not aside at any sinister respect. Wherefore, sometimes let *Abraham* hearken to *Sarab* his wife; *Moses* the Jew, to *Ietbro* the Gentile; *David* the Soveraigne, to *Ioab* the subject; yea, let not *Apollo*, though eloquent and mighty in Scripture, thinke scorne to learne his Christ-crosse from *Aquila* and *Priscilla*.

Yet when Inferiours presume to commend their counsell to their Superiours, let it be qualified with these cautions.

1. Let them doe it seasonably, in a fit opportunity. Now opportunity is the Spirits of time extracted, or the quintessence of time at large, distilled; and such an opportunity must he waite for, who hopes to doe any good by his advise to his betters. *Abigail* was excellent hereat, 1 *Sam.* 25. 36: *Shee told her Husband Nabal nothing, lesse or more, untill the Morning light*: Either because shee would not cast the pearle of her good counsell before a Swine, wallowing in Drunkenesse; or because shee thought her physicke would worke the better with him, if shee gave it him fasting.

2. It must be done secretly. An open reproofe of our betters is little better than a Libell. True it is, wee Ministers may publikely (when occasion is offered us) reprove the vices of those who in outward respects are far our Superiours; yet we must doe it Publikely, Secretly; publikely for the place, secretly for the manner. We are not to make in the Pulpit such an Hue and Cry after the Offender, that the capacity of the meanest may take him on suspition whom we meane.

No ; let us deliver our doctrine in common, and let the guilty conscience inclose it to it selfe.

3. They must doe it with all reverence and humility, as the servants of *Naaman* in my Text. A Wool-packe doth conquer the strength of an Ordnance, by yeilding unto it: so there may be many natures which will be led, but may not be drawne, or dragged; and these may be broken with faire usage, that cannot be bowed with forcible dealing.

4. Let them pray to him, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand: like the Rivers of water, hee turneth them whether he pleaseth: that he would be pleased to prepare, and mollifie their hearts, to whom they are to addresse their counsell; that he would bow their eares to heare, their heads to conceive, and their hearts to practise, that advise which shall be commended to them for their good. And so much for the time.

Come we next, in the second place, to the Physick prescribed, Water of *Jordan*. Whence observe,

God appoints weake meanes, by the vertue of his Institution, to accomplish great matters. Take a survey of all the parts of Gods service, and we shall find this true. Begin at the Font: there is plaine water of *Jordan*; yet, by the vertue of Gods Ordinance, it washeth away originall sin. Passe from the Font to the Ministers Pue: there is still plain water of *Jordan*, the weaknesse of the Word, and the folly of Preaching; yet Gods wisdom and power, to make the Goat a Sheep, the Lyon a Lamb, the Wanton chaste, the Passionate patient; yea, to revive such as are dead in trespasses and sins. Looke on the Minister: here is still plaine water of *Jordan*, earthen vessels, men loaden with infirmities, like the rest of their Brethren; yet are they Dispensers of the mysteries of God. Proceed to the Communion-Table: there is still plaine water of *Jordan*, a morsell of Bread and a Draught of Wine; yet these worthily received signe and seale unto us the body of Christ, and the benefits of his Passion.

Use: Let us take heed, that wee take not exception at the simplicity of Gods Ordinance. A Spanish *Don* having heard much of the fame of *Calvin*, travelled to Geneva to see him;

where finding him both plaine in person and poore in apparell, hee repented himselfe of his paines ; and whom his eare did admire at distance, his eye did contemne, when present. Just such Valuers are carnal men of Gods Ordinances ; they guesse the Jewell by the Case, and thinke nothing can be good which is not gawdy. But surely were our eyes anointed with that Eye-salve, mentioned *Revel. 3. 18*, then (as Heraulds account the plainest Coats the most ancient, better then those of a later Edition, which are so full of filling that they are empty of honour) wee should see the inward state in the outward simplicity, and inward Majesty in the outward meannesse of Gods Ordinance. When one of his Courtiers shewed the Great Turke the Sword of *Scanderbeg* : I see, said he, no such miracles in this sword rather then in any other, that it should atchieve such victories : Yea, but, said one that stood by, if you had seene also *Scanderbegs* Arme, with what a mighty force hee wielded this Sword, you then would change your resolution. So, many say, they can see nothing in the water of Baptisme more then in ordinary well water ; they can see nothing in the world in the Bread and Wine in the Communion [more] then in that in the Bakers panniers, or Vintners Cellar ; no more in a Sermon than in a civill Oration in a Guild-hall of the same length. But if they saw the Arme of God, with what a mighty strength hee enforceth these Ordinances, and how his invisable Grace attendeth them, they would be of another mind. Gaze then no longer on *Ebuds* hand, for that was lame ; or on his Dagger, for that was short ; but looke on Gods finger in *Ebuds* hand, and that can worke wonders. Looke not on the Ordinance, but on the Ordainer ; [not] on the meanes, but on the Meanes-maker ; neither be offended at the meannesse of the one, but admire the Majesty of the other.

Use : It confutes the Papists, who displeased, as it were, at the simplicity of the Sacraments, as God hath instituted them, seeke to better and amend them by their owne additions : Thus they account plaine water in Baptisme too meane ; and therefore they mingle it with Creame, Oyle, Spittle, and other Ingredients, which I as little know what they be as they know why they use them. Yea, all their service of God

is not onely made sweet, but luscious to the palate of flesh; and they plainely shew by their baits what fish they angle to catch; namely, rather to get mens senses then their soules, and their eyes then their judgements. Not that I am displeased with neatnesse, or plead for nastinesse in Gods service. Surely God would have the Church, his Spouse, as not an Harlot, so not a slut; and indeed outward Decencie in the Church is an Harbinger to provide a lodging for inward devotion to follow after. But wee would not have Religion so bedaubed with lace, that one cannot see the cloath; and Ceremonies which should adorne, obscure the substance of the Sacraments, and Gods worship. And let us labour to be men in Christianity, and not only like little children to goe to Schoole, to looke on the guilt and gaudy Babies of our Bookes, and to be allured to Gods service by the outward pomp and splendor of it. But let us love religion, not for her clothes, but for her face; and then shall wee affect it, if shee should chance (as God forbid) to bee either naked through poverty, or ragged through persecution. In a word, if God hath appointed it, let us love the plainenesse of his Ordinance, though therein there be neither warm water, nor strong water, nor sweet water, but plaine water of Iordan.

Come we now to the *Quoties*, how often? He dipped himselfe seven times; that is, hee went in, and washed himselfe, and came out againe; and went in, and washed himselfe, and came out againe; and so till the seventh time. Thou, therefore, whosoever thou art, who art afflicted in body or mind, or any other way, doe not grudge against God, and grieve in thy selfe, if thy paine be not eased in an instant, if thy malady bee not removed in a moment: O tarry the Lords leisure; (the Lords pleasure is the Lords leisure;) waite and attend his time: Thinke not that thou shalt not be cured at all, because thou art not all cured at once. *Naaman* himselfe was not compleatly cleansed at the first entrance into *Jordan*, but it cost him seven times washing.

The number of seven is most remarkeable in Holy Writ, and passeth for the Emblem of perfection, or compleatnesse; as well it may, consisting of an Vnity in the middle, guarded

and attended with a Trinity on either side. Once, I must confesse, I find this number of seven to be defective, and too little; and yet the correction and supplying thereof still runs on a septinary number: *Shall I forgive my Brother seven times? Yea, said our Saviour, seventy seven times.* If any aske, why God pitched on this number, and imposed [it] on *Naaman*; the best answer I can make shall be in the words of our Saviour, *Matth. 11. 26: Even so, Father, because it pleased thee well.* *Naaman* was bid to wash seven times, and hee did wash seven times: Hence observe,

Doctrin: We must observe Gods Commandements, both in matter and manner, both in substance and circumstance. But some will say, Had *Naaman* washed once more or lesse, under or over seven times, would so small a matter have broken any squares? and would God have imposed any penalty on so sleight a forfeiture? I answer, Things that are small in themselves swell great, when they are either forbidden or commanded by God: Looke upon *Lots* Wife, looking backe with carnall eyes, and it will seeme a small offence: O how flesh and blood could easily be her Advocate, to plead for her! What if she did look back? Shee did no more, and could doe no lesse, and be a Mother: Would you have her to bee a Pillar of stone, before shee was a Pillar of salt? I meane, so hard, so remorselesse, as not to send one farewell glance to that unfortunate Citie, wherein shee had so much kindred and acquaintance? Well, however, we must know, the Offence was most hainous, by the heavinesse of the punishment inflicted upon her.

And as it is thus in small things forbidden, so is it in small things commanded. They must bee precisely observed. In those generall Maps of the world which are usually made in a sheet of paper, the least prick or poynt which can bee made with a pen, extends to five mile at the least: But I say, the smallest Deviation and Declination, the least imaginable Deflection, from the commanded will of God, is an infinite distance from it, as breaking the command of an infinite God, and deserveth infinite punishment. Observe, therefore, not onely all things considerable, but all things in Gods will: For indeed all things therein are considerable; not onely every

Syllable, but every *Iota*, the least Letter ; yea, every Prick, Comma, and Accent, hath his Emphasis, and must bee pronounced in our practise. As *Moses* therefore in making the Tabernacle, made it in all things alike to the Patterne hee saw in the Mount ; not a Knop, or a Bole, or an Almond, in the Candlestick, under or over ; not a Bell, or a Pomegranate in *Aarons* Coat, more or lesse ; but *Concordat Copia cum Originali*, the transcript agreed with the Originall in all things : so let us precisely follow the instructions God giveth us ; let us not willingly bee *Hetroclites* from his will ; either Defectiues, to doe too little, or Redundants, to doe too much ; but let us bee truely regular ; not washing more than seven times with the superstitious man ; nor lesse then seven times with the prophane man ; but with *Naaman* in my Text, just seven times.

When I compare our present occasion with this History wee have treated of, I find a great Resemblance betwixt them. Here is a little Child to bee cured of a Leprosie : For so may Originall Corruption fitly bee called : First, for the Hereditarienesse of it ; it is a successive disease, entayled from Father to Child, ever since the fall of our first Parent *Adam*. Secondly, from the over-spreading nature thereof ; the Infection defiling all the powers of our soules and parts of our bodies. Here also is the water of *Jordan* to wash it away. Since Christ washed *Jordan* by being washed in it, hee hath given it a power to cleanse our Originall Corruption. Some Theeves have eat off their Irons and fretted off their Fetters with Mercury water ; but there is no way to worke off the Chaines of our Naturall Corruption, whereby our feet are hurt in the Stocks, the Irons have entred into our soules ; but onely by the Water in Baptisme. Onely the Maiden-head and Virginitie of the water, in the Poole of *Betbesda*, was medicinall to cure Diseases : hee that came first was cured ; the second got no profit. But in our *Jordan*, our Water in the Font, the vertue thereof is not lessened in the using ; the Child that is last baptized shall receive as much benefit as that which is first washed therein.

But herein, I must confesse there is a difference on the

cure of *Naaman*, and this Child: he was totally and perfectly cleansed from his Leprosie; but this Child is wash't but in part, so farre as is Gods pleasure. The condemning power of Originall Corruption is drowned in the Font; but though the bane be removed, the blot doth remaine; the guilt is remitted, the blemish is retayned; the sting is gone, the staine doth stay; which if not consented to, cannot damne this Infant, though it may hereafter defile it. Secondly, the finall peaceable-commanding power is washed away in the Laver of Regeneration; though afterwards it may dwell in us, it shall not domineere over us; it may remaine there as a slave, not as a Sovereigne, sure not as a lawfull one, be he ever resisted, often subdued, though never expelled.

These things deserve larger Prosecution; but this is none of *Ioshua's* day, wherein the Sunne standeth still; and therefore I must conclude with the time.



[viii] Faction Confvted.

I COR. I. 12.

Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollo, and I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ.

SVCH is the subtilty of Satan, and such is the frailty of the flesh, though things be ordered never so wel, they wil quickly decline. *Luther* was wont to say, hee never knew a good order last above fiftene yeares: This speedy decaying of goodnesse you may see in the Church of *Corinth*, from which *S. Paul* was no sooner departed, but they departed from his Doctrine. Some, more carried by fancy then ruled by reason, or more swayed by carnall Reason then governed by Grace, made choyse of some particular Pastor, whom they extoll'd, to the great disgrace of his fellow Ministers, and greater dishonour of God himselfe. Now Saint *Paul*, not willing to make these Ministers a publike Example, concealeth their persons, yet discovereth the fault; and, making bold with his Brethren, *Apollo* and *Cephas*, applyeth to them and himselfe what the Corinthians spake of their fancied Preachers. *Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollo, and I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ.*

Objection: But the Apostle herein hath made no good choyce, to mention *Cephas*: for hee was onely knowne to the *Corinthians* by his fame, not by his person, seeing it appeares not, either in Scripture or Ecclesiasticall Story, that ever *Cephas* (that is, Saint *Peter*) was ever at *Corinth*.

Answer: This hinders not the Application of the Apostle, granting Saint *Peter* was never there; for many Ministers are most admired at distance, ¹*Major è longinquo reverentia*: Like

¹ Tacitus. [*Annales*, i 47.]

some kind of stufte, they have the best Gloffe a good way off, more then a *Prophet in his owne Countrey*. Thus the good esteeme which Forrainers have conceived of the Piety and Learning of the *Geneva* Ministers, hath been the best stake in the hedge of that *State*.

I need not divide the words, which in themselves are nothing else but division, and containe foure sorts of people, like the foure sorts of Seed, *Mat. 13*. The three first bad, the last only, (*I am of Christ*,) being good and commendable.

I am of Paul; as if they had said, There is a Preacher called *Paul*; his matter is so powerful, his Methods so pleasing, his Doctrine so sound, his Life so sincere; his Preaching I affect, or his person I preferre; *I am of Paul*. Tush, saith another, what talke you of *Paul*? *Indeed his Epistles are powerfull and strong, but his bodily presence is weake, and his speeche of none effect*. There is one *Apollo*, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures; hee stands highest in my esteeme; *I am of Apollo*. Fie, saith a third, why name you *Apollo*, one that learnt the best part of his Divinity from *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, a Lay-man and a weake woman? There is one *Cephas*, that caught three hundred foules at the preaching of one Sermon; that is the man for my money: I will say of him, as *Gebazi* did of *Naaman*, *As the Lord liveth I will run after him*. *I am of Cephas*. Well, saith a fourth, *Paul* I know, and *Apollo* I know, and *Cephas* I know; men endowed with great Grace, and eminent Instruments of Gods glory; I acknowledge them as the Channell, but on God alone as the Fountaine of Faith and Conversion, and doe attend on him alone in these his Instruments; *I am of Christ*.

Doctrine: The Staple Doctrine herein to be observed is this: *The factious affecting one Pastor above another is very dangerous*. Indeed wee may and must give a famous part of Reverence, and a *Benjamins Portion* of respect, to those who (*Data paritate in ceteris*) excell in age, paines, Parts and Piety. 1. In Age: for hee is a Traytor against the Crowne of old Age, who payeth not the Allegiance of respect due thereunto. Such Reverence the hoary haire of *Gousartius* did deserve, when for more than fifty yeares hee had beene a Preacher in

Geneva. 2. In Paines: being such as have borne the heate of the day; so that the stresse of the Ministry hath layen heaviest on their shoulders. Such an *Elder is worthy of double honour.* 3. In Parts: being stars of the first Magnitude, brightly shining with their rich endowments. 4. In Piety: which setteth a lustre on all the former. But the factious affecting of Ministers, lavishing *by whole sale* all honour on one, and scarce *Retaliating* out any respect to the other; raising high Rampires to the prayse of the one, by digging deepe Ditches to discredit and disgrace an other, is that which Saint *Paul* doth reprove in my Text, and wee must confute at this time.

Four great mischiefs will arise from this practise.

Mischief 1: First, it will set enmity and dissension betwixt the Ministers of Gods Word.

I confesse, wee that either have or intend to take on us the high calling and holy Function of the Clergy, ought to endeavour by Gods Grace so to qualifie our selves that our affections never mistake the true object nor exceed their due measure. But alas! such is our misery (rather to bee be-moaned then amended; the perfect removing whereof is more to be desired then hoped for) that as long as wee carry Corruption about us, wee are men *subject to like Passion with others.* Hence is it come to passe, that as the Grecians, *Acts* 6. 1, murmured against the Hebrewes, *because their Widdowes were neglected in the daily Ministration:* So Ministers will find themselves agrieved, that people in the partiall dispensing of their respect passe them by unregarded. Perchance the matter may fly so high as it did betwixt *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Numb.* 12. 2: *And they said, Hath the Lord indeed spoken onely by Moses? Hath bee not spoken also by us?* It will anger not only *Saul*, a meere carnall man, but even those that have degrees of Grace: *Hee hath converted his thousands, but such a one his ten thousands.* These discords betwixt Ministers, I could as heartily wish they were false, as I doe certainly know they are too true.

Mischief 2: It will set dissention amongst people, whilst they violently engage their affections for their Pastors: The

woman that pleaded before *Salomon*, 1 *Kings* 3. 22, *The living Child is mine*, said shee, *but this dead Child is thine*: *Nay* said the other, *but thy sonne is dead, and my sonne is the living*. Thus will they fall out about their Pastors. The living Minister is mine; he that hath life, spirit, and Activity in the manner and matter of his Delivery; but the dead Minister is thine; flash in his matter, confused in his Method, dreaming in his utterance; hee commeth not to the quicke; hee toucheth not the conscience; at the most with *Ioash*, King of Israel, 2 *Kings* 13. 18, *He smites the Aramites but thrice*; leaves off reproving a vice before people bee fully reformed. *Nay*, saith the other, my Minister is the living Minister, and thine is the dead one: Thy Pastor is like the fire, 1 *Kings* 19. 12, *flashing in the flames of ill tempered and undiscree zeale*; *but the Lord was not in the fire*: or like the Earth-quake, shaking his Auditors with ill applyed terrors of the Law; *but the Lord was not in the Earth-quake*: whilest my Minister is like to a *still voyce*; *and the Lord was in the still Voyce*; stanching the Bleeding hearted Penitent, and dropping the Oyle of the Gospel into the wounded Conscience.

Mischief 3: It will give just occasion to wicked men to rejoyce at these dissentions, to whose eares our discords are the sweetest Harmony. O then let not the Herdsmen of *Abraham* and *Lot* fall out, whilst the Canaanites and Perefites are yet in the Land. Let us not dissent, whilest many Adversaries of the truth are mingled amongst us, who will make sport thereat.

Mischief 4: Lastly, it will cause great Dishonour to God himselfe; his Ordinance in the meane time being neglected. Heare is such doting on the Dish, there is no regarding the Dainties: Such looking on the Embassadour, there is no notice taken of the King that sent him. Even *Maries* Complaynt is now verified: *They have taken away the Lord, and placed him I know not where*. And as in times of Popery *Thomas Becket* dispossessed our Saviour of his Church in Canterbury (instead of Christ's Church, being called Saint *Thomas* Church): And whereas rich Oblations were made to the Shrine of that supposed Saint, *Summo Altari nil*, nothing was offered to Christ at the Communion-Table: So whilest

some Sacrifice the Reverence to this admired Preacher, and others almost adored this affected Pastor, God in his Ordinance is neglected, and the Word, being the favour of life, is had in respect of persons.

To prevent these mischiefs, both Pastors and people must lend their helping hands. I begin with the Pastors; and first with those whose Churches are crowded with the thickest audience.

Let them not pride themselves with the bubble of popular applause, often as causelessly gotten as undeservedly lost. Have wee not seene those that have preferred the Onions and Flesh-pots of Egypt before heavenly Manna, Lungs before Braynes, and sounding of a voyce before soundnesse of matter? Well, let Princes count the credit of their Kingdomes to consist in the multitude of their Subjects: Farre bee it from a Preacher to glory when his Congregation swells to a Tympany, by the Consumption of the Audience of his Neighbour Minister.

Yea, when Pastors perceive people transported with an immoderate Admiration of them, let them labour to confute them in their groundlesse humours. When Saint *Iohn* would have worshipped the Angel, *See thou dost it not* (saith hee); *worship God*. So when people post head-long in affecting their Pastors, they ought to wave and decline this popular honour, and to seeke to transmit and fasten it on the God of Heaven. Christ went into the Wildernesse when the people would have made him a King: Let us shun, yea, fly such dangerous Honour, and teare off our heads such wreathes as people would tye on them, striving rather to throw Mists and Clouds of Privacy on our selves then to affect a shining appearance. But know, whosoever thou art, who herein art an Epicure, and lovest to glut thy selfe with peoples applause, thou shalt surfet of it before thy death; it shall prove at the last pricks in thy eyes and thornes in thy side, a great affliction, if not a ruine unto thee; because sacrilegiously thou hast robbed God of his Honour.

Let them labour also to ingratiate every Pastor, who hath tolerability of desert, with his owne Congregation. It was

the boone *Saul* begg'd of *Samuel*, *Honour me before my people*: And surely it is but reason wee should seeke to grace the Shepherd in the prefence of his Flock: though perchance privately wee may reprove him, disgrace him not publikely before those that are under him.

I am come now to neglected Ministers, at whose Churches *Solitudo ante ostium*, and within them too; whilst others (perchance lesse deserving) are more frequented.

Let not such grieve in themselves, or repine at their Brethren. When Saint *Iohn Baptists* Disciples told him that all flock't to Iesus, whom hee baptized beyond *Iordan*: *I must decrease*, (answered hee,) *and hee must increase*. Never fret thy selfe or vexe out thy soule if others bee preferred before thee: they have their time; they are *Crescents* in their waxing, full Seas in their flowing: Envie not at their Prosperity. *The Starres in their course did fight against Sisera*; thy course of credit may chance to bee next; thy turne of Honour may chance to come after. One told a Grecian *Statist*, who had excellently deserved of the Citie hee lived in: That the Citie had chosen foure and twenty Officers, and yet left him out. I am glad, (saide hee,) the Citie affords twenty foure abler than my selfe. So let Ministers triumph and rejoyce in this, that the Church yeilds so many men better meriting then themselves, and be farre from taking exception thereat.

And let us practise Saint *Pauls* Precept, by Honour and Dishonour, by good Report and Disreport: Seven yeares have I served God in good esteeme, and well respected; by the time I have served God so long in disgrace and reproach, perchance the Circulation of my credit may returne, and with patience I may regaine the esteeme I have lost. And if otherwise, let him say with *David*, *Lord, here I am; doe with thy servant as thou plearest*.

By this time, mee thinkes, I heare the people saying unto mee, as the Souldiers to *Iohn Baptist*, But what shall wee doe? Now the Counsell I commend to you, is this.

Remedy 1: First, ever preserve a reverent esteeme of the Minister whom God hath placed over thee. For if a Sparrow lighteth not on the ground without Gods especiall Providence,

surely no Minister is bestowed in any Parish without a more immediate and peculiar disposing of God; and surely their owne Pastor is best acquainted with their diseases, and therefore best knoweth to apply spirituall Physicke thereunto. And as Gods Word hath a generall Blessing on every place, so more particularly is it sanctified and blessed there, to those Parishioners, from the mouth of their lawfull Minister. Let not therefore the Sermon of a stranger, who perchance makes a Feast of set purpose to entertaine new Guests, be preferred before the paines of thy owne Minister, who keeps a constant house and a set Table, each Lords day, feeding his owne family. Wherefore, let all the Ephesians confine themselves to their *Timothy*; Cretians to their *Titus*; every Congregation to their proper Pastor. And I hope Pastors, considering the solemne oath they tooke at their Institution, and the profit they receive from their people, and how irrationall it is to take wages and doe no worke, and the heavie account they must make at the day of Iudgement, will provide Milke in their breasts for those who must suck of them. As for those whose necessary occasions doe command their absence from their Flocks, let them be Curats of their Curats; over-see such whom they appoynt to over-see their people. *Columella* gives this counsell to Husband-men: Never keepe a horse to doe that worke which may be done by an Asse; both because Asses are of a lower price, and cheaper kept: But God forbid Ministers should observe this Rule, and so consult with their profit as to provide unworthy Substitutes, to save charges.

Remedy 2: Let them not make odious comparisons betwixt Ministers of eminent parts: It is said of *Hezechiab*, 2 Kings 18. 5, *That after him, was none like him, of all the Kings of Iudab, neither any that were before him.* It is said also of King *Iosiab*, 2 Kings 23. 25, *And like unto him, there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soule, and with all his might; neither after him rose up any like him.* The Holy Spirit prefers neither for better, but concludes both for best; and so amongst Ministers, when each differs from others, all may bee excellent in their kinds. As in comparing severall handsome persons,

one surpasseth for the beauty of a naturally painted face ; a second, for the feature of a well proportioned body ; a third, for a grace of Gesture and Comelineffe of carriage : so that Iustice it selfe may bee puzzled, and forced to suspend her Verdict, not knowing where to adjudge the Victory : So may it bee betwixt severall Pastors. Ones Excellency may consist in the unsnarling of a knowne controversie ; an other, in plaine expounding of Scripture, to make it portable in the weakest memory. One, the best *Boanarges* ; an other, the best *Barnabas*. Our Iudgements may bee best informed by one ; our Affections moved by a second ; our lives reformed by a third. I am perswaded there is no Minister in England, for his Endowments, like *Saul*, *Higber then his Brethren, from the shoulders upwards* ; but rather some hundreds like the Pillars in *Salomons House*, all of a height. But grant some in parts farre inferiour to others : was not *Abishai* a valiant and worthy Captaine, though hee attayned not to the Honour of the first three ? And may not many bee serviceable in the Church, though not to bee ranked in the first forme, for their sufficiencie ?

Let them entertaine this for a certaine truth, That the Efficacy of Gods Word depends not on the parts of the Minister, but on Gods blessing, on his Ordinance. Indeed there is a Generation of Preachers that come upon the Stage before ever they were in the Tying-house, whose backwardnesse in the Vniversity makes them so forward in the Countrey ; where what they lack in Learning, they supply in boldnesse. I could wish, that as, *Gen. 21. 19, When Hagers Bottle of Water was spent, God opened her eyes, and shee went to the Fountaine againe* ; So when these Novices have emptied their store of set Sermons they brought with them, that their Parents would remit them backe to the Vniversity, the Fountaine of Learning and Religion, to furnish themselves with a better stocke of sufficiencie. Such Ministers as these, I account as none at all ; but as for those that have the *Minimum ut sic*, the least degree of tolerability, to enable them in some measure to discharge their Office, God may bee, and often is, as effectuall in and by them as by *Rabbies* of farre greater parts.

To conclude: let us, with one mind and one mouth, advance the Glory of God, that thereby the Gospel may bee graced; wicked men amazed; some of them converted, the rest of them confounded; weake Christians confirmed, to the grieve of Devils, Ioy of Angels, Honour of God himselfe. Amen.

FINIS,





Imprimatur,
THOMAS WYKES,
May 30. 1640.



A FAST
SERMON

PREACHED

On Innocents day

BY

THOMAS FULLER, B.D.

Minister of the Savoy.

2 S A M. 2. 26.

Then Abner called to Joab, and said, Shall the sword devoure for ever? knowest thou not that it will be bitternesse in the latter end? How long shall it be then, yer thou bid the people returne from following their brethren?

LONDON,

Printed by L.N. and R.C. for JOHN WILLIAMS
at the signe of the Crowne in Saint Pauls
Church-yard, 1642.

["THE soules of these Children are charitably conceived by the Primitive Church all marched to heaven, as the *Infantry of the noble Army of Martyrs*."—*A Pisgab-Sight of Palestine*, 1652, book ii. chap. xiv. § 19.

"DEUS auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est; protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos; ut qui in defensione tua confidemus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus. Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen*."—Gelasii Sacramentarium, Muratori's *Liturgia*, vol. i. page 727; Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 1872, page 254.]

[Introduction.]



THE Sermons here beginning, and extending to 1650 (embracing, roughly speaking, the period of the Civil war), form a distinct group. They are of the highest importance by reason of the light they throw as well on the times as on the life of the preacher.

This Sermon on Peace was delivered at the Savoy Chapel, which was at that time attended by the courtiers and the nobility, whose residences were along or near the Strand. FULLER's presence at the Convocation of 1640, where he had taken part in framing some ill-advised ecclesiastical Canons, had introduced him to "most of the voyced pulpits of London," his attractive manners and earnest aims proving acceptable to his audiences. Upon his final removal to London he preached at first at the Inns of Court; but about six months before the date of the *Sermon of Reformation* (viz. 26th July, 1643), he received the appointment of Lecturer or Curate to the parish-church of St. Mary-le-Savoy at the hands of the Master, Dr. BALCANQUAL, and of the brotherhood (four in number) of the Foundation of the Savoy; "as well as earnestly desired and intreated by that small parish" (*Life*, 1661, page 14). Of the Lecturer's connection with the parishioners some important particulars will be found at page ccxci. *et seq. posted*, which in turn give value to the very interesting letter to his "Deare Parish" at page 331.

FULLER's pulpit ministrations were welcome to an audience made up for the main of moderate Royalists. He was regarded with considerable favour, and he attained to a position of influence in his own and the adjoining parishes. His biographer thus quaintly pictures his popularity (*Life*, 1661, page 15): "He had in his narrow Chappel two Audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little Church and the Sextonry so crowded as if Bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse."

In the opening paragraph of the following Sermon the conflict between the old and new authority is made manifest. On that Wednesday, 28th December, 1642, a fast and a feast "jostled together." In the Sermon, indeed, the preacher gives prominence to the former as most suitable to the exigencies of the time; but on his title-page he boldly stands by the ecclesiastical day. At least two of FULLER's Sermons were connected with these parliamentary fast-days. These fasts began in London towards the close of the year 1641, having derived their origin from the shocking massacre of the Irish Protestants, which broke out on the 23rd October, 1641. The matter of the appointment of the fast was introduced into Parliament

on the 14th December, and by ordinance dated Friday, the 17th, fast-days were fixed as follows: "*Wednesday* next for both Houses of Parliament, and *London*; *Thursday* next for the City of *Westminster*; and *Thursday* come Month for the whole Kingdom" (Nelson's *Impartial Collection*, vol. ii. page 754). To this national fast, and its origin, FULLER has made the following allusion: "Our general *Fast* was first appointed to bemoane the massacre of our Brethren in *Ireland*" (*Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, 1647; Scripture Obs., No. ix. page 72). This original intention of the fast was present in his mind when in his Sermon (§ 11) he drew attention to the distressing condition of the sister island. The Proclamation which made this special fast-day into a general fast-day, statedly kept, is dated 8th January, 1641-2. The first fast under this new arrangement was appointed for the 20th of that month. It is then added:—

"And His Maiestie doth further by this His Proclamation straitly charge and command that a Generall, Publike, and Solemn Fast be kept and holden as well by abstinence from Food as by publike Prayers, Preaching, and Hearing of the Word of God and other Sacred Duties, in all Cathedrall, Collegiate, and Parish Churches, and Chappels within this Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales* (without any exception) on the last Wednesday of the moneth of February next following the date hereof, and from thenceforth to continue on the last Wednesday of every moneth during the Troubles in the said Kingdom of *Ireland*. All which His Maiestie doth expressly charge and command shall be reverently and devoutly performed by all His loving subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid His just indignation against this Land, and upon pain of such punishments as His Maiestie can justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect so religious a Work" (Husbands' *Quarto Collections*, p. 49.)

The picture of the evils of war presented by the preacher in the earlier portion of the Sermon (§§ 6 seq.) has not been overdrawn, although he was not at this time as afterwards a spectator of the actual fighting. But already many of the sad effects of the internecine warfare were apparent. In the far north a Scotch divine, ROBERT BAILLIE, whose visit to England in 1640-1, as one of the Scottish Commissioners to London, had interested him in its politics, was watching the course of events with the eagerness of a patriotic Englishman; and early in 1643 he was acquainting a correspondent with the posture of affairs, the surprising accuracy of his information betokening the keenness of his interest in the strife.

"That countrie," he writes, "is in a most pitifull condition; no corner of it free from the evils of a cruell warre. The case is lyke the old miseries of the Guelphs and Gibelines. Everie shyre, everie citie, manie families, divided in this quarrell; much blood and universall spoyle made by both where they prevaill. Besyde the maine armies, which hes made their marches to and fro from Wales to London, there hath been in the north all this winter on foot Newcastle and Cumberland, and now King, for the King; Fairfax, Hotham, and Chomley, for the Parliament. In the In-shyres Derby for him, others for them. In Cornwall Hoptoun for him, and Stainfoord for them, betuixt which there hath been continuall

skirmishing, let be plundering and felling. Of these evils great appearance of increase with the Spring. We might have been happier instruments of accommodation, had not the willingness of both parties going about in a circle, upon their apprehension of their advantage, made them both, bot by turnes, untractable, and our own unhappie divisions made us less considerable mediators" (*Letters & Journals*, vol. ii. page 57).

In a later portion of this Sermon (§ 29) the preacher is led to contrast our Civil war with the wars that had been raging in Germany, his opinion being that if England had evinced a more practical sympathy on behalf of the Palatinate, it had not itself suffered as deeply as it had. In his proverb-like phrases, "winter fights, woeful fights;" "sabbath wars, sorrowful wars," there is particular reference to the engagement at Edge-hill, fought on Sunday, 23rd October, 1642, the evening being frosty. On that day, the first anniversary of the dreadful insurrection in Ireland, RICHARD BAXTER was preaching for his reverend friend, Mr. SAMUEL CLARK, at Alcester, a town in the neighbourhood of Kineton, Warwickshire; and during the sermon the congregation heard the cannon playing on the battle-field (*Life*, ed. 1696, I. i. 43). One of the chaplains present called the fight, in bitterness, "a goodly Sabbath-day's work." The accounts of the attacks on Gloucester, Manchester, Bradford, and elsewhere, shew that Sunday was not an exceptional day for such warfare. Upon a later Sabbath, 13th November, the King's army, after having attacked and taken Brentford, stood all day long watching the army of the Parliament, until the resolute attitude of the latter, reinforced by the train-bands under SKIPPON, caused the former to retreat and ultimately to take up quarters in Oxford. The anxiety of that day was long remembered in London. In the circumstances of the attack on Brentford an explanation is found of what FULLER alludes to (§ 25) as a "great gulf" between London and the King. "This action of the King in the time of a treaty," says WHITELOCK, "was so ill-resented by many men that they spoke very hardly of it; and the Parliament voted that they would have no accommodation" (*Memorials*, fo. ed. page 66; ed. 1853, vol. i. page 193).

It remains to show that this Sermon illustrates a certain phase in the position of affairs, and that in common with several of the succeeding discourses it has a distinct historic value. The events of December, 1642, and of the next two or three months, have been unaccountably overlooked by most of the modern historians. In spite of the disfavour with which the King was regarded on account of the affair at Brentford, a party came into notice made up of those who did not belong to the more pronounced of the Royalists, and whose humane feelings were roused at the prospect of civil strife in or near a populous city. In Parliament their representatives comprised amongst others D'EWEES, WHITELOCK, and MAYNARD. To this moderate party FULLER attached himself (§ 38). When, therefore, peace-overtures were in a short time renewed from Oxford, the moderates urged that the message should be favourably entertained, and they laboured to create a feeling that would give hopes of the desired consummation. Under the influence of the views of this party, even the city of London was moved to frame a petition for the King's return (*Lords' Journals*, vol. v.

page 511*b*) ; and an order was given to allow some of the petitioners to have access to the King. Westminster was much more zealous, its loyalty being quickened in no small degree by the injury which its trade had received in consequence of the exodus of the Court (§ 23). In the West-end parishes, accordingly, peace-petitions to the King found more favour. A petition of the inhabitants of the liberties of Westminster and the Duchy of Lancaster, urging the Parliament to a speedy accommodation with the King, is mentioned in the Journals of the House of Lords seven days before the delivery of FULLER's Sermon (*Journals*, v. 503*b*, 507*b*; *Report V. Hist. MSS. Commission*, page 61). This petition is remarkable for the absence of aristocratic signatures. Those of the clergy who were still in possession of their city livings entered into the prevailing feeling, but none, perhaps, more heartily than the author of the *Innocents-Day Sermon* (see § 25). His anonymous biographer relates that "his exhortations to peace and obedience were his constant subjects in the church ; (all his Sermons were such Liturgies ;) while his secular daies were spent in vigourously promoting the King's affairs, either by a sudden reconciliation or potent assistance" (page 16). He has himself left it upon record that in all his Sermons at the Savoy he would by leave of his text introduce a passage in the praise of peace (see page 332, *postea*.) His advice to petition for peace has an intimate relation with the peace-petition to his Majesty, which was printed in the writer's *Life of Thomas Fuller*, &c. (pages 267-9). That document is described as emanating from the City of Westminster, and from the contiguous parishes of St. Clement Danes and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. (FULLER's curacy of St. Mary-le-Savoy adjoined the parish of St. Clement Danes.) These parishes, says CLARENDON, "always underwent the imputation of being well affected to the King" (*History of the Rebellion*, book vi. page 333, ed. 1843). They unitedly expressed themselves as "oppressed with all the calamities that can be ;" that they were grieved principally at the long absence of the King (who had left Whitehall with his court on the 10th January, 1642) ; that they were "afflicted at the afflictions of our brethren," having "a fellow-feeling of their sufferings, who in the countries round about us groan under the heavy burden of a civil war, their houses plundered, their goods taken away, and their lives in daily danger ;" and that they lamented especially the decrease of business consequent upon the absence of the "families of such of the nobility and gentry as inhabited the Strand and the adjacent places." It can now be shown that the "Doctor FULLER," whose name, with three others, was attached to the printed copy of this petition (*Life of Fuller*, page 267), was the author of the following Sermon. The discourse, it has been seen, was preached on Wednesday, 28th December. On that day the petition was in active preparation, being brought before the notice of the congregation at the Savoy by the preacher, who in an apparently ironical strain, which elsewhere breaks out in this Sermon, asserted that the House, "that High and Honourable Court," expected their service to petition for peace (§ 23). The significance of the petition attracted attention ; and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the House of Lords for permission to take it to Oxford with such equipage as was fitting.

On the subsequent Monday, 2nd January, 1642-3, six gentlemen accordingly presented themselves to their Lordships. The Lords who were present on that day, and who seem to have entered into the spirit of the petition, were (according to the Minute-book of the House) the following : "E. Manchester Sp., E. Rutland, E. Exon., E. Saru', E. Holland, E. Nottingham, E. Warwick, E. Bolingbroke, E. Bedford, E. Northumb'land, E. Pembroke ; Vic. Sayelsb. ; L. Lovelace, L. Howard de Esc, L. Grey de Wot., L. Newenham, L. Brook." In the course of the proceedings of the sitting, the following entry occurs :—

"ORDERED That severall of the Inhabitants of Westm̄. and others
Westm : Peticon passe. shall have a Passe to goe to the King wth their
 Peticon. Coaches Servants Horses &c."

The applicants for the Passs were the six following gentlemen. Sir EDWARD WARDER was one of the Officers in the Exchequer, his son of the same name being Clerk of the Pells. In March or early in April Sir EDWARD abandoned his office, "to the great disservice of the Commonwealth" (*Lords' Journals*, vi. 41*b*), and betook himself to Oxford, whither his wife, by a pass from the Lords, dated 11th April, followed him (*Ibid.* v. 710). WARDER lodged at Lincoln College, where also FULLER himself was sheltered a few months later. The Knight died in 1645, and his lady in 1652 ; both being buried in All Saints' Church, hard by Lincoln College.—JOHN CASTLE, Esq. (called erroneously Sir JOHN CASTLE and in the printed petition *Dr. CASTLE*) ; and JOHN CHICHLEY, Esq., were possibly gentlemen of position in one or other of the parishes named, who had not rendered themselves obnoxious to the King.—LAWRENCE LISLE, gentleman, was originally "an honest Bookseller." In his later years he became a farmer of the revenues, the Impost on tobacco and tobacco-pipes brought into Ireland having been granted to him by the King ; but by the obstruction of this Impost he lost £12,000. In the civil war he was an adherent of the King ; and his daughter said that his large losses were due to his loyalty. His two sons were in the King's service : one, Major FRANCIS LISLE, was slain at Marston Moor ; and the other, Sir GEORGE LISLE, who had been knighted (21st December, 1645) for his bravery at the second battle of Newbury, and who had been Master of the King's household, was "cruelly sentenced and shot to death," with Sir GEORGE LUCAS, at Colchester, 28th August, 1648. LISLE referred to his father and mother just before his execution. Both parents were, however, dead when in 1660 MARY, the only survivor of the family, petitioned for a compensation of £2,000 : "her two brothers were slain fighting for the late King, and her parents died of grief for their loss." After two years' delay the sum was paid as the King's bounty. The elder LISLE left no will (*Lloyd's Worthies*, 478-9, 698 ; *Fuller's Worthies*, § Essex, 347 ; *Calendar State Papers*, Dom. Ser., 1660, page 173, 1662, pp. 259-60, 277 ; *Hist. MSS. Com. IV. Report*, pages 58, 110).—Dr. RICHARD DUCKSON was Rector of St. Clement Danes, 1634-1678. He and his Curate Mr. SMITH had been summoned, 4th July, 1642, for reading a King's declaration. When the Doctor was questioned by the Speaker of the House

of Commons on the 13th he "did most insolently prevaricate with the House; and gave nothing but shuffling Answers." For this, as well as for "laying an Aspersion on a Member of this House" he was committed to the Gate-house, whence after eight days he was released on his "humble petition" (*Commons' Journals*, ii. 650*b*, 669*b*, 683*b*; *Walker's Sufferings*, pt. i. p. 56, ii. 167; *D'Ewes's Journal*, fo. 655*a*; *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 85, 100). THOMAS FULLER, the last on the list, was the soul of the party, and admirably fitted both by his manners and his profession to be a pacificator.

The pass was promptly given. The formal entry stands thus in the original Journals (No. 25: this is not the same book as the Minute-book above-mentioned):—

Edward Warden, } ORDERED that S[this letter is erased] Edward Warder,
Sir John Castle } Kt. Jo. Castle Esq. John Chichley Esq. Laurance
Lisle gent. Richard Dickson Dr in Divinity, Tho: Fuller Batchiler in
Divinity wth 2 Coaches wth 4 horses or 6 horses for each coach and Saddles
for 8 or 10 servants shall have a passe to goe to Oxford to present a
Peticon to his Ma^{ty}."

The foregoing entry is given in the printed copy of the *Lords' Journals* in the following form (vol. v. page 523*b*), thus:—

Die Lunæ, viz., 2^o Januarij, 1642-3:—"ORDERED, That Sir *Edward Warder* Knight, *Jo. Castle* Esquire, *John Chichley* Esquire, *Laurance Lisle* Sir Edw. Warder, Sir John Gentleman, *Richard Dukefon* Doctor in Divinity, Castle, &c. a Pass to Oxford, to *Tho. Fuller* Batchelor in Divinity, with Two present a Petition to the King. Coaches, with Four Horses or Six Horses for each Coach, and Saddles for Eight or Ten Servants, shall have a Pass, to go to *Oxford*, to present a Petition to His Majesty."

The like imposing equipage was allowed when later the same month WHITELOCK and the other Parliamentary Commissioners were despatched to Oxford to negotiate peace: "The Commissioners were admitted by the lords, two with each lord in their coaches, which were with six gallant horses in every coach, and a great number of their servants on horseback to attend them. In this equipage we came to Oxford" (*Whitelock's Memorials*, fo. ed. page 67; ed. 1853, vol. i. page 195).

FULLER and his party started on their winter's journey on Wednesday, 4th of January, and all went well until they reached Uxbridge, fifteen miles from the metropolis. At the town mentioned, a well-guarded Parliamentary outpost, some officer (perhaps Sir SAMUEL LUKE; see *Lords' Journals*, v. 632), armed perhaps with secret instructions from the Commons, challenged the party, and spite of the Lords' order, detained it. The result may be gathered from the Parliamentary minutes:—

House of Commons, *Die Jovis*, viz. 5^o January, 1642-3:—"Mr. *Whittacre* is appointed to go to the Lords, to desire a Conference concerning the Stay of some Persons going to *Oxon*, by Virtue of a Pass from the Lords" (*Journals*, vol. ii. page 915*b*).

On the same day (5th) in the House of Lords the following entry stands in the original minutes :—

“ A message was brought from the H. C. by M^r Whitaker.

That they have received Informacon of 2 Coaches & 12 horses wth Men; which are stayed at Uxbridge going towards Oxford, & upon their stayeing they produced a warrant for their passage under

[Message from the H.C. about staying some Clerks of the Privy Seal who had a Pass to Oxford, on whom were found Two scandalous Books against the Parliament, and Cyphers to Lord Falkland : *Jour.v. 529b, 530a*].

the Clarkes hand of this house; And being searched there is found amongst them one D^r Dukes & some Clarkes of the Privy Signett, and there is found about them 2 scandalous bookes arraigneing the proceedings of Parliam^t, and letters wth Ciphers to Lo: Visc. Falkland, & the Lo: Spencer; The house of Comons thinke it that they should be stayed, but in regard they have, their lo^{ps} passe, they thought good to acquainte their Lo^{ps} first wth it.—ORDERED that these p^{rs}ons that are stayed, shall be sent for backe.”

The House of Commons asked by their messenger for the concurrence of their Lordships in this order, and the following answer was sent :—

“ That this house doth owne the warrant w^{ch} these p^{rs}ons have, but seing they have abused their lib^{ty}, this house concurs wth the H. C. in sending for them backe. After that this house agrees wth the H. C. in the orders now brought up ” (Original Journals, No. 25).

House of Commons, the same day :—“ Mr. *Whittacre* reports, That he had acquainted the Lords that some Gentlemen had been examined, that Stay of Persons were going to *Oxon*; and with them was found a scandalous Book intituled, *A Complaint to the Commons*, and other Letters and Matters concerning the Signet: That they had been stayed, had they not produced their Lordships Warrant: The Lords did own the Warrant; but, in regard they had abused it, they were willing to withdraw it, and that they might be sent for back.—ORDERED, That the Serjeant send a Man forthwith to stay Sir *Edward Wardour*, Dr. *Dukeson*, and the rest, notwithstanding the Lords Order ” (*Journals*, vol. ii. 915b).

House of Commons, *Die Veneris*, 6^o Januarii, 1642-3 :—“ RESOLVED, That Sir *Edward Wardour*, Dr. *Dukeson*, and the rest that were going down to *Oxon*, stayed and brought up by Order of this House, do continue in the Serjeants Custody, till the House take further Order ” (ii. 917a).

House of Commons, *Die Sabbati*, 7^o Januarii, 1642-3 :—“ ORDERED, That the Examination of the Matters concerning the Prisoners that were stayed going to *Oxon*, and now in the Serjeant's be referred to the Committee for Examinations, where Mr. *Whittacre* has the Chair: And they are to sit upon it this Afternoon ” (ii. 918b).

House of Commons, *Die Mercurii*, 11^o Januarii, 1642-3 :—“ ORDERED, That Mr. *Whittacre*'s Report be re-committed, upon Information given, That some of these Ministers did in the Churches publish a Summons, and Notice for the Parishioners to meet to subscribe the Petition ” (ii. 921a).

Unfortunately, none of these matters relating to FULLER's imprisonment are alluded to in *D'Ewes's* valuable MS. volumes of the proceedings of Parliament : otherwise the episode would have received further illustration. The silence of the industrious note-taker is explained by the following entry made at the end of the journal for 26th December : "I went out of towne vpon tuesday Dec. 27, 1642, & returned againe into the Howse vpon Friday, Jan. 13, 1643" (*Harl. MS.* 164, fol 1074b).

Parliament was more cautious in regard to other passes to Oxford. On the 10th January an application was received by the House of Lords from Mrs. USSHER who wished to go to her husband, the Archbishop of ARMAGH : and it was given with the proviso that she could "go quietly" (*Journals*, v. 542b). The Commons, on the same day, granted an order for Lady SYDENHAM to go thither "with such numbers of Servants and Horses as shall be expressed in the Warrant ; provided that they carry no Letters nor anything else that may be prejudicial to the State" (*Journals*, ii. 921a). For further security the names of servants were added in the warrants.

It does not appear how the Petition which FULLER and his friends were taking to Oxford ultimately reached the King, but that it was done secretly by one or more of the deputation immediately afterwards there cannot be a doubt. According to the printed copy of the Petition it was presented on the 7th January (Saturday), 1642-3 ; and it was printed in London and circulated there about a year afterwards. In 1659 FULLER made a distinct reference to his connection with this historic Petition. PETER HEYLYN had taunted him with coming to Oxford when he was never sent for. FULLER replied that HEYLYN had not heard of all that was done, adding : "I was *once* sent up thither from *London*, being *one* of the *Six*, who was chosen to carry a Petition of Peace to his Majesty, from the *City of Westminster* and the Liberties thereof, though in the way remanded by the Parliament" (*Appeal of Injur'd Innocence*, Part ii. pages 46-7 ; ed. 1840, page 444).

The *Innocents-Day Sermon* was not entered at Stationers' Hall ; and the date of its publication is not therefore to be obtained from that source. There is, however, in the British Museum a copy (E. 86. 16) to which the date "Jan. 26" has been added with a pen.

It was reprinted in octavo in 1654 by Will. Bently for John Williams, together with the *Inauguration Sermon* preached on the 27th March, 1643, but the latter is erroneously placed first. The *Innocents-Day Sermon* has no title-page, the register continuing from c 2 ; but the paging re-commences (1-37). A copy of the first edition of 1642 in possession of the Editor is taken as the basis of the following text ; but corrections have been made with the help of the 8vo. copy, some of the more noticeable differences in the orthography, &c., of the latter copy being placed in the foot-notes.]




A FAST SERMON

Preacht on Innocents day.



MATTH. 5. 9.

Blessed are the Peace-makers.

1.  N this day a Fast and Feast do both juttle together; and the question is, which should take place in our affections. I pray let *Solomon*, the wisest of Kings and Men, be made. Doctor of the Chaire to decide this controversie: *Eccles. 7. 2, It is better to go to the house of mourning¹ then to goe to the house of feasting: for it is the end of all men, and the living will lay it to his heart.* Let us therefore dispense with all mirth for this time, and apply our selves to lamentation.

2. Wee reade, *Ezra 3. 11, 12*, that when the foundation of the second Temple was laid by *Zerubbabel*, the young men shouted for joy: *But many of the Priests and Levites, and chiefe of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house; when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy.* Thus, what if young men be so addicted to their toyes and Christmas sports, that they will not be weaned from them: O let not old men, who are or should be wiser, and therefore more sensible of the sinnes and sorrowes of the State; let not us who are Priests, whose very profession doth date us ancient, be transported with their follies, but mourne whilest they are in their mirth. The French Proverb saith, *They that laugh on Friday, shall cry on Sunday.* And it may please God of his goodnesse so to bring it to passe that if we keep a sad Christmas, we may have a merry Lent.

¹ than, throughout the Sermon.

3. This day is called *Innocents* or *Childrens* day; a day which superstitious Papists count unluckie and unfortunate, and therefore thereupon they will begin no matter of moment, as fearing ill successe should befall them. Indeed I could willingly have sent their follies in silence to Hell, lest by being a Confuter I become a Remembrancer of their vanities, but that this fond conceit must be rooted out of the minds of the ignorant people. Why should not that day be most happy, which in the judgement of charity (charity which though not starke blind with *Bartimeus*, with *Leab* is alwaies tender eyed) sent so many Saints by *Herods* cruelty to Heaven, before they had committed any actuall sinne? Well, out of sacred opposition and pious crossing of Popish vanities, let us this day begin, and this day give good handsell of true repentance. *To the cleane all things are cleane*: To the good all dayes are good. We may say of this day as *David* of *Goliabs* sword, 1 *Sam.* 21. 9, *There is none like that; give it me.* No day like this day for us to begin our sanctified sorrow, and to hearken to Gods word, *Blessed are the Peace-makers.*

4. In this and the two next Chapters, Christ having a Mountain for his Pulpit and the whole Law for his text, seeks to clear it from those false glosses (corrupting the Text) which the Priests and Pharisees had fastened upon it; and shewes that Gods Law was not to be narrowed and confined to the outward act alone, but according to the will of the Law-giver (the Surveyour that best knew the latitude thereof) is to bee extended to the very thoughts of the heart, and takes hold of mens wicked inclinations, as breaches thereof and offences against it. We use to end our Sermons with a Blessing; Christ begins his with the Beatitudes; and of the eight my Text is neither the last nor the least: *Blessed are the Peacemakers.*

5. Observe in the words the best worke and the best wages: the best worke, *Peace-makers*; the best wages, *They are blessed.*

I begin with the worke, which shall imploy my paines and your attention this day. Now the goodnesse of peace will the better appeare if we consider the misery of warre. It is said,

Gen. 12. 11, *And it came to passe when Abraham was come neere to enter into Egypt, that hee said unto Sarai his wife, Behold, now I know that thou art a faire woman to looke upon. Why Now I know thou art a beautifull woman? Did Abraham live thus long in ignorance of his wives beauty? Did he now first begin to know her handsomnesse? Learned ¹Tremelius on the place starts and answers the objection: Now, that is, when Abraham came into Egypt; as if he had said, When I see the tawny faces and swarthy complexions of the sun-burnt Egyptians, thy face seemeth the fairer, and thy beauty the brighter in mine eyes. I must confesse, I ever prized Peace for a pearle; but we never did or could set the true estimate and value upon it till this interruption and suspension of it. Now we know, being taught by deare experience, that peace is a beautifull blessing: And therefore we will consider warre, first, in the wickednesse, then in the wofulnesse thereof.*

6. First, warre makes a Nation more wicked. Surely, swearing and Sabbath-breaking do not advance the keeping of the first Table. And as for the second Table, how hard is it in these distracted times to be practised! Yea, it is difficult to say the Lords Prayer, the Creed, or ten Commandements: The Lords Prayer for that Petition, *And forgive us our trespasses, as wee forgive them that trespassed against us*; the Creed for that Article, *The Communion of Saints*, which doth tye and ²oblige us to the performance of all Christian offices and charitable duties to those who by the same Christ seeke salvation, and professe the same true Christian Catholike faith with us; the ten Commandements for that precept, *Thou shalt not kill*: and though men in speculation and schoole distinctions may say that all these may be easily performed in the time of war; yet our corrupt nature, which is starke nought in time of peace, is likely to be far worse in warre; and if these times continue, I am afraid wee shall neither say the Lords Prayer, nor beleeve the Creed, nor practise the Commandements. And as hard it will be preparedly and profitably to receive the Sacraments, when wee shall drinke

¹ [Tremellii et Junii Test. Veteris Bib., ed. 1607, p. 16.]

² oblige.

Christs blood as on to day, and go about to shed our brothers blood as on to morrow.

7. Secondly, let us consider the wofulnesse of war, and that both in its selfe, and in its attendance. See a Map of war drawne by a holy hand, *Psal. 78. 63, 64: The fire consumed their young men, and their maidens were not given to marriage; their Priests fell by the sword, and their widowes made no lamentations. The fire consumed the young men:* Wee behold with contentment ripe fruit to drop downe to the ground; but who will not pity greene apples when they are cudgelled downe from the tree? *And the maidens were not given in marriage:* So that the fairest flowers of virginity were faine to wither on the stalke whereon they did grow, for want of hands to gather them. *The Priests were slaine with the sword. Sed quid cum Marte Prophetis?* Well then, there they were, though they were none of the best of the Priests, being lewd *Hophnee* and *Phyneas*, and there they were killed: for ought I know, if these times hold, Gods best *Samuels* must goe the same way. *And their widowes made no lamentation:* You will say, The more unnaturall women they. O no; *they made no lamentation* either because their griefe was above lamenting, such as onely could be managed with silence and amazement; or else because they were so taken up with deploring the publike calamity, they could spare no time for private persons to bemoane their particular losses.

8. But warre is not so terrible in it self as in its attendants. First, the Plague, which brings up the reare of war; the Plague, I say, which formerly used to be an extraordinary embassador in this Citie of *London*, to denounce Gods anger against it; but is of late grown a constant legier, and for these many late yeares hath never been clearly removed from us: surely some great unrepented sin lyes on this City, that this constant punishment doth visit us, which will be more terrible when it shall be extended over the whole Realme.

9. Secondly, Famine, a waiter in Ordinary on Warre. Truly it may seeme a riddle, and yet it is most true, that *Warre makes both lesse meat and fewer mouthes:* First, because in time of war none dare attend husbandry, wherewith,

Solomon saith, The King himself is maintained. Secondly, because Souldiers spoile more out of prodigality then they spend out of necessity. When our Saviour multiplied loaves and fishes, there were those appointed who tooke up the twelve baskets of fragments; but, alas! no such care is taken in souldiers festivals. Hitherto indeed wee have had plenty enough, and as yet in this City ¹are not sensible of any want. But, you know, next ²*Pbaraobs* full eares came *Pbaraobs* blasted eares; next *Pbaraobs* fat kine came *Pbaraobs* lean kine; and I pray God poor people for this years store be not next year starved.

10. Thirdly, wilde beasts. See Gods foure cardinall punishments reckoned up, *Ezechie* 14. 21: *For thus saith the Lord God, for [how] much more when I send my foure sore judgements upon Jerusalem: the sword, and the famine, and the noysome beast, and the pestilence, to cut from it man and beast?* Some perchance wil say that there is [no] more danger of wilde beasts in our ³Iland, which is invironed with water. Truly there need no other wilde beasts then our selves, who are Lions, Beares, Boares, Wolves, and Tygers one to another. And though as yet wee were never plagued with wilde beasts, yet wee know not how soone God may hisse for them over, and for our new and strange sins cause new and strange punishments. Now conceive a City as bigge as your thoughts can imagine, and fancy the Sword marching in at the East-gate, and the Plague comming in at the West-gate, and Famine entring in at the North-gate, and wilde beasts passing in at the South-gate, and all meeting together in the Market-place, and then tell me how quickly will your voluminous Citie be abridged to a poor pittance.

11. But hitherto wee have only spoken of the miseries of War in generall; but the worst is still behind, for we are afflicted with Civill war. Many warres have done wofully, but this surmounteth them all. In Civill war nothing can bee expected but a ruine and desolation. What said *Mordecai* to *Hesther*? *Hesther* 4. 13: *Think not with thy selfe that thou shalt escape in the Kings house more then all the Jewes.*

¹ we are.² *Pbaraob's* (quater).³ Island.

So let none in what house soever, in the Kings House, or House of Lords, or House of Commons, or strongest Castles, or walled Towns, or fenced Cities, flatter themselves with a fond conceit of their safety; for if Civill warres continue long, they must expect as well as others to bee devoured; yea, none can promise great Persons so much happinesse as to bee last undone: For, for ought any knowes, it may come to their turnes to be the first, as being the fairest markes to invite envy and malice against them. Meane time poore *Ireland*, which as the man in the vision cryed to Saint *Paul*, *Come over into Macedonia and helpe us*, which hath so long, so often, so earnestly intreated, implored, importuned our ¹assitants, must be lost *of course*. The Protestants there, which have ²long swom against the tide till their armes are weary, must at last of necessity even give themselves over to bee drowned: That Harpe, which when it was well tuned made so good musicke, must now and hereafter for ever *bee bung upon the willowes*, a sad and sorrowfull tree; and our distraction will hasten their finall destruction. Wee reade, *Deut.* 28. 56, That in a great Famine *the eye of the mother shall be evill towards her son and towards her daughter*; shee shall grudge every morsell of meat which goes besides her owne mouth, preferring nature before naturall affection. If these times doe continue, *London* will grudge *London-derry* her daughter; and *England*, Mother generally of *Ireland* (as a Colony deduced from it), will grieve to part with the least meat, money and munition to it.

12. But all these Mischiefes are nothing in respect of the last; namely, the scandal and dishonour which hereby will redound to the Protestant religion, whereof a true Christian ought to be more tender and sensible then of any worldly losse whatsoever: *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in Ascalon, lest the daughters of the Philistims rejoyce, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph*. O what musick doth our discord make to the Romish adversaries! We reade, *Genes.* 13. 7, 8, *And there was a strife between the beard-men of Abrams cattel, and the beard-men of Lots cattell, and the Cananite*

¹ assitants.² so long.

and the Perizite dwelled then in the Land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between my &c. Wherein observe that the *Canaanites* and *Perizites* being there in the Land, is mentioned as a motive with *Abram* to make him make the speedier accommodation with *Lot*, lest the true religion and service of God should suffer in the censure of Pagans by their discords, being Uncle and Nephew, engaged in a brawle by their servants dissention. How many *Canaanites* and *Perezites* behold our bloudy differences, and clap their hands to see us wring ours, yea, insult and rejoyce to see us sheath our swords in one anothers bowels! Wee used formerly to taske the Papiſts of cruelty to Protestants; but hereafter, as *Abner* said to *Asabel*, 2 Sam. 2. 22, *How then shall I bold up my face to Joab thy brother?* So how shall we looke in the face, from this day forwards, of our Romish adversaries? Tell them no more of their cruelty to the Protestants at *Hedleberg*, of their cruelty to Protestants of *Magdenberg*, of their cruelty to the Protestants at *Rockel*; for if these wars continue, wee are likely not onely to equall, but to outdoe these cruelties one to another; so that discharging this accusation of bloudinesse against them, it will rebound and recoile in our own faces. Put all these together; that warre makes a Land more wicked, makes a Land more wo-full, is bad in it selfe, is worſe in its traine, destroyes Christian people, and disgraces Christian profession; and then will all have juſt cause to ſay as is it in my Text, *Blessed are the Peace-makers.*

13. If any object that Peace also hath her mischiefes which attend thereupon; for it brings plenty, and plenty brings pride, and pride brings plagues upon it; peace makes men pampered, and with *Jessurun* to kick against God. War indeed brings *cleannesſe of teeth*, whileſt peace brings *fulneſſe of bread*, which is as bad and worſe, making men presumptuously to rebell against God. The answer is easie: woes may come from peace, but they muſt come from warre; miseries arise from the very use of warre, which come but from the abuse of peace, being essentiall to warre, but accidentall to peace, inherent alwaies in the one, adherent too

often to the other : in a word, in war calamities proceed from the thing it selfe, in peace from men abusing it.

14. *Objection* : But peace without truth is rather poyson then a cordiall : O let us not be like the thirsty traveller, who so long longs for water that at last he drinkes mud and water together, not only without distinction or distaste, but even with delight ! O let us not with *Sampson* so dote on the *Dalilah* of peace as to get her love to betray truth, wherein our strength lyes ! Some perchance would propound peace unto us, but on such servile conditions as *Naash* the *Ammonite* offered a truce to the men of *Jabesh-Gilead*, 1 Sam. 11. 2 : *On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may thrust out all your right eyes, and lay it for a reproach upon all Israel.* And so if we will give in truth to boot, and put out our owne eyes into the bargaine ; forfeit the true faith and knowledge of God, with the purity of his service ; then perchance a peace may be proffered us ; but as *Peter* said to *Simon Magus*, Acts 8. 20, *Thy money perish with thee* ; so let such a hellish peace perish with those that seek to promote it.

15. In the answering of this Objection, give me leave, as *Peter* said, Acts 2. 29, *Men and brethren, let me freely speake unto you of the Patriarch David* ; so let me boldly and fully speak in answer to the objection : If leave be denied mee : I know whence my commission is derived ; I am an Embassador for the God of Heaven ; if I speake what is false, I must answer for it ; if truth, it will answer for me. And what I have to say, I will divide into foure Propositions.

16. Proposition 1 : *Cursed be hee that seekes to divide Peace from Truth.* I must confesse I was never bred upon Mount Ebal, neither did ever my tongue take delight in cursing. The rather because we may observe, Deut. 27. 12, that the most eminent Tribes from which the Princely and Priestly men descended, [as] *Levi*, *Judah*, *Ephraim* [*Issachar*,] and *Benjamin*, took their station in Mount *Gerasin*, to shew that Magistrates and Ministers are principally to inure their mouths to blessing. And yet for those that seek to sever peace from truth, I cannot refrain my self, but must say, *Cursed be they in the city, and cursed be they in the field ; cursed be they in*

their basket and in their store; cursed be they in the fruit of their body, and in the fruit of their land, in the increase of their kine, and in the stock of their sheep; cursed shall they be when they come in, and cursed shall they be when they go out.

17. Proposition 2: *Before this warre began, wee had in England truth in all essentiall to salvation.* Wee had all necessary and important truths truly ¹compiled in our thirty-nine Articles. We had the word of God truly ²preacht (I could wish it had been more frequently and generally), the Sacraments duly administred; which two put together doth constitute a true Church. S. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 18, being to prove the resurrection of the dead, presseth the Corinthians with this among other Arguments, *Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished.* Putting them a most uncharitable absurdity, that in case the dead arise not againe, they must be bound to confesse that all the Saints formerly deceased were perished. And surely, such as deny that *England* before this warre began had all essentiall truth to salvation, must of necessity split themselves on the same uncharitable rocke, and passe a sentence of condemnation on all those which dyed in our Church before these two yeares last past.

18. Proposition 3: *Many errors in Doctrine and innovation in Discipline did creepe fast into our Church.* Arminian positions, Tenents, Treason to Gods grace, invaded the truth of the Word in many places. One Ceremony begat another, there being no bounds in will-worship, wherewith one may sooner be wearied then satisfied. The inventors of new Ceremonies endeavouring to supply in number what their conceits wanted in solidity; and ³God knowes before this time where they had been if they had not been stopt.

19. Proposition 4: The best and onely way to purge these errors out, is in a faire and peaceable way; for the sword cannot discerne betwixt ⁴truth and errour; it may have two edges, but hath never an eye. Let there on Gods blessing be a Synode of truely grave, pious, and learned Divines; and let them both fairely dispute and fully decide, whats true, whats false; what Ceremonies are to be retained, what to be rejected;

¹ compiled . . . truly, omitted by an error of the press.

² preach'd.

³ God omitted.

⁴ truth, error, and falsehood.

and let civill authoritie stampe their command upon it, to be generally received under what penaltie their discretion shall think fitting. But as long as Warre lasts, no hope of any such agreement: this must be a worke for Peace to performe. So then under the notion of Peace, hitherto we have and hereafter doe intend such a Peace as when it comes we hope will restore truth unto us in all the accidentall and ornamentall parts thereof; and adde it to that truth in essentials to salvation, which we enjoyed before this Warre began; and in this sence I will boldly pronounce, *Blessed be the Peace-makers.*

20. Come we now to consider what be the hindrances of Peace. These hindrances are either generall or particular. The generall hindrance is this: The many nationall finnes of our kingdome being not repented of. I say, of our kingdome, not of one Army alone. Thinke not that the Kings Army is like *Sodome*, not ten righteous men in it; (no, not if righteous *Lot* himselfe be put into the number;) and the other Army like ¹*Syon* consisting all of Saints. No; there be drunkards on both sides, and swearers on both sides, and whoremungers on both sides; pious on both sides, and prophane on both sides: like *Jeremies* figges, those that are good are very good, and those that are bad are very bad in both parties. I never knew nor heard of an Army all of Saints, *save the holy Army of Martyrs*; and those, you know, were dead first; for the last breath they sent forth proclaimed them to be Martyrs. But it is not the finnes of the Armies alone, but the finnes of the whole kingdome which breake off our hopes of Peace: our Nation is generally sinfull. The City complaines of the ambition and prodigality of the Courtiers; the Courtiers complaine of the pride and covetousnesse of the Citizens: the Laity complaine of the lazinesse and state-medling of the Clergie; the Clergie complaine of the hard dealing and sacriledge of the Laity: the Rich complaine of the murmuring and ingratitude of the Poor; the Poor complaine of the oppression and extortion of the Rich. Thus every one is more ready to throw durt in anothers face then

to washe his owne cleane. And in all these, though malice may set the varnish, sure truth doth lay the ground-worke.

21. Of particular hindrances, in the first place we may ranke the Romish Recufants. *Is not the hand of Joab with thee in all this?* was *Dauids* question, 2 *Sam.* 14. 19; but is not the hand, may we all say, of *Jesvites* in these distractions? *Many times from my youth up have they fought against me, may England now say; yea, many times from my youth up have they vexed me, but have not prevailed against me.* At last, the Popish party perceived that the strength of *England* consisted in the unity thereof; (*Sampson* is halfe conquered when it is knowne where his strength doth lye;) and that it was impossible to conquer *English* Protestants, but by *English* Protestants. Is this your spite and malice, O you *Romish* adversaries, because you could not overcome us with *Spanish* Armadoes, nor blowe us up with Gunpowder Treasons, nor undoe us with *Irish* Rebellions, to set our selves against our selves, first to divide us, then to destroy us? Well, God knowes what may come to passe. It may be when we have drunke the top of ¹this bitter cup, the dregs may be for your share; and we may all be made friends for your utter ruine and destruction.

22. Next the Papists, the Schismatickes are the hindrances of our Peace. These know their kingdome cannot be established but by Warre, as assured that the wisdom of the State is such as will blast their designs when matters are settled. I have heard (when a childe) of a *Lawlesse Church*; sure these if they might have their will, would have a *Lawlesse Church* and a *Gospellesse* too; and yet they as falsly as fondly conceive that the State gives approbation and connivance to them. We read, *Psalme* 50. 21, where Gods spirit reckons up many finnes which the wicked had committed, that God saith, *These things hast thou done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thy selfe: but I will reprove thee, and set them in order before thine eyes.* In which place of Scripture three things are considerable. First, God is said to keep silence when he doth

¹ his.

not presently and visibly punish offenders: *Psal.* 35. 22; *O Lord, keep not silence*; and so *Psal.* 83. 1, *Keepe not thou silence, O God*. God, for reasons best known to himselfe, and for some known to us, namely, to make wicked men swel and break with a Timpany of good successe for the time, does not outwardly expresse the dislike of their bad courses in inflicting a suddain and sensible punishment upon them. Secondly, observe the false Logick and bad inference of wicked men; who conceive that God is altogether such an one as themselves, yea, make accessary and confederate with them; because silent, therefore consenting: *Qui tacet satis laudat*. Thirdly, see time wil come when, in time best known to himselfe, he will publikely reprove them and shew not onely his free dissent but full displeasure. Thus Schismatickes improve themselves upon the clemency and long suffering of our State. Because they are taken up with matters of higher concernment, and are not at leasure to stoop to their punishment, as employed in businesse of more present and pressing importance, Separatists and Sectaries conceive that they favour what they doe not punish. But time will come when to the glory of God and their own honour, though slowly, surely they will visit their offences, and, as the *Psalmist* saith, *Set their sinnes in order before them*, who have beene the partiall cause of the disorder and confusion of this Kingdome.

23. Thirdly, those are enemies to Peace, whose beeing meerely consisteth by Warre and ¹discention. Indeed the truly noble English spirits desire a forraigne Foe for a marke for their Bullets; but many there be rather turbulent then valiant, *who as Demetrius by this craft they get their gaine*, desire a perpetuity of Warre for their possession. We read in ²*Plutarch* of one *Demades* who by profession was a maker of Coffins, and he was banished out of the city of *Athens* for wishing that hee might have good trading; that wise State

¹ dissention.

²[This anecdote, with the moral, has a place in *Things New and Old; Or, a Store-house of Similies*, 1658, folio, by John Spencer, of Sion College, Fuller's friend (page 107, ¶ 435a). The paragraph is headed "A meer Soldier, an Enemy to Peace," and is erroneously said to be taken from Fuller's *Holy State*. Spencer adds a reference to Plutarch's *Morals*, but does not give book or chapter.]

truly interpreting the language of his wish, as desiring some epidemick disease; his private profit being inconsistent with the publique flourishing of the Common-wealth. So those people who are undone and cannot live but by undoing of others, certainly wish no good to our Church and Kingdome, but must needs be State Barretters to keep the fore alwayes raw betwixt Prince and people.

24. Let us now come to see the meanes wherby private persons may and must endeavour the obtaining of peace. The first is prayer: *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem*: let every one in that prayer which he useth in his Family, or private devotions, build a roome more and enlarge it to pray for peace in our Israell.

25. Secondly, let us petition for peace, not only to the God in Heaven, but to the Gods on earth. First, to his Majestie; but, alas! there is a great gulfe between us and him fixed, so that they which would passe from hence to him cannot, neither *can they passe to us that would come from thence*. The sins of our Realm are amounted to such a height that we deserve this and worse punishment. Next, let us petition to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, next under God and the King the hope and help of our happinesse. Let none say it is presumption to petition them, as undertaking to tell them of what they are ignorant, or to put them in remembrance of what they may forget; for herein we apply our selfe to them in imitation of our accessse to God; and surely their greatnesse cannot, and their goodnesse will not be displeased in our compliance and conformity to such an Architype. True it is that God, *Matthew 6. 8, Our Father, knoweth what things we have need of before we aske him*; and yet it is his will and pleasure to be sought too by our prayer. And so no doubt that High and Honourable Court, though that they know full well that peace is that we stand in need of, yet they take delight in our duty, yea, expect our service herein to petition for peace, that so our begging of peace may in effect be a modest and mannerly expression of an hearty thanks for their long and constant endeavours herein. Wherefore what *Tertullus* said flatteringly to *Felix*, *Acts 24.*

2, 3, 4, we may say truly and feelingly to them, *seeing that very worthy deeds are done to this Nation by their providence, we accept alwaies, and in all places, with all thankfulness. Notwithstanding I pray you, that you of your Clemency would beare us a few words.* And let us in all Humility, not directing but beseeching them, without a tumultuous thought, most peacable and pathetically begge of them and sue unto them to continue their care in advancing a seasonable and happy accomodation, that so the blessing pronounced in my text may lie both upon them and theirs, *Blessed are the Peacemakers.*

26. Thirdly, we must be content soundly to pay for peace. We read, *Exod. 38. 8, And he made the ¹Laver of Brasse, and the foot of it of Brasse, of the Looking-glasses of the Women assembling, which assembled at the door of the Tabernacle of the congregation.* It seemeth that the back-sides of their Looking-glasses were made of brasse, which commonly with us are made of wood, and they consigned them over for Gods service; and good reason too; for formerly they had given their ear-rings for the making of a Calfe; Justly therefore now they did penance for their pride, as counting it Honour enough that that wherein they looked their owne faces, should make the foot of Gods ¹Laver. But what should not people give to buy a true peace and a peace with Truth? O how many yeeres purchase is it worth! Let us not thinke much, to give all our superfluities, but to give some of our necessaries, for the advancing and obtaining of it.

27. Fourthly, let us banish out of our mouthes all words and phrases of contempt and ²reproach, (I could instance in the word, but that it is beneath the Majesty of a Pulpit,) which the malice of men hath minted and fastned on opposite parties. O let us have no other Christian name then the name of Christians, or other surname then Christian Protestants; neither answering to, nor calling others by any term of disgrace!

28. Fifthly, let us with a speedy, serious and generall repentance, remove the crying finnes of our Kingdome, which

¹ Laver.² reproch.

as long as they last wil bane all peace amongst us. I say, speedy, least the physick come too late for the disease; serious, least the tent be too short for the wound; generall, least the plaster be too narrow for the sore. Suppose that the Sea should breake forth in this Land, as such a thing may come to passe; *The Lord is King*, saith David, *let the earth rejoyce; yea, let the multitude of the Isles be glad thereat*, Psal. 97. 1. And good reason hath the Isles to be glad, as more particularly concerned; for if the water were not countermanded by Gods Prerogative Royall, it would speedily recover its naturall place above the earth. ¹But suppose the Sea should break into the Land, it is not the endeavours of a private man can stop it. What if he goes downe with a faggot on his backe, and a mattock on his shoulder, and a spade in his hand: his desire is more commendable then his discretion, it being more likely the Sea would swallow him then he stop the mouth thereof. No; the whole Country must come in: children must bring earth in their hats, women in their aprons; men with handbarrowes, wheelbarrowes, carts, carres, waines, waggon; all must worke ²least all be destroyed. I rather instance in this expression of the irruption of the Sea, because I finde Gods anger so compared in holy writ, 1 *Cbron.* 14. 11: *David said, God hath broken in upon mine enemies like the breaking forth of waters.* So when a generall deluge and inundation of Gods anger seafeth [seizeth] upon a whole Kingdome, it cannot be stopt by the private endeavours of some few, but it must be an universall work, by a generall repentance; all must raise bankes to bound it. Till this be done, I am afraid we shall have no peace; and, to speak plainly, I am afraid we are not yet ripe for Gods mercy. As *Gideon*, Judg. 7. 4, *had too many men* for God to give victory to: so we are too proud hitherto for God to give peace to; many of us are *Humiliati*, but few of us are *Humiles*: Many by these warres brought ³loe, but few made ³loely; so that we are proud in our poverty;

¹ [This paragraph is printed, but with some variations, in John Spencer's *Things New and Old*, London, 1658, fo., page 68, ¶ 283. It is entitled "National Judgements call for National Repentance," with this marginal note: "T. FULLER, *serm. at Westm.* 1642."] ³ lo, loly.

² lett.

and, as the unjust Steward said, *to beg I am ashamed*, so we are too stout though halfe starved on the bended knees of our soules, with true repentance, to crave pardon of God for our sinnes; which till it be done, we may discourse of peace and superficially desire it, but never truely care for it, or can comfortably receive it.

29. And indeed wee may take forcible motives from our owne miseries to endeavour peace by all possible meanes; for look upon the complexion of the warre, and doth it not look of a most strange and different hue from other warres? The wars of *Germany* (which, give me leave to say, if we had pittied by the proxie of a true ¹Sympathy, we had never so soon suffered them in our owne person) were far lighter affliction then ours. [1,] In *Germany* people when hunted with warre took covert in their fenced Citties. But here in *England* we have no guard against wars blow, but lye open to plundering and destruction. [2,] *Germany* was a great Continent bearing six hundred miles square; so that whilst one part thereof was mowed downe with warre, the other, enjoying peace, might grow up in the meane time. But little *England* (great onely in her miseries, severed by the Sea from other Countries, and by divisions parted from her selfe) is a morsell which civill warre will quickly devoure. Thirdly, in *Germany* commonly they lay in Garrison in winter and fought in summer. We read, 2 Sam. 11. 1: *And it came to passe at the time when Kings goe forth to battell*. This all Comments generally expound of the spring time. But, alas! if we in our woes were *Antipodes* to all others, our miseries begin when others end, in the winter time. Pray (saith our Saviour) *that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day*: winter fights woful fights, Sabbath wars sorrowful warres; and yet such are these in our Kingdome. Lastly, in *Germany* Papists did fight against Protestants, whereas our intestine wars are against those that professe the same Religion.

30. It hath been a great curse of God upon us, to make a constant misunderstanding betwixt our King and his Parlia-

¹ Sympathy.

ment ; whilst both professe .to leuell at the same end. I cannot compare their case better than to the example of ¹*Ruben* and *Judab*, *Gen.* 37. There *Ruben* desired and endeavoured to preserve the life of his brother *Josepb*, and *Judab* desired and endeavoured to preserve the life of his brother *Josepb* ; and yet these two imbracing different meanes, did not onely crosse and thwart, but even ruine and destroy the desires of each other ; for *Ruben* moved and obtained that *Josepb* might not be killed, *verse* 22 : *And Ruben said unto them, shed no blood, but cast him into this Pit that is in the wilderness, and lay no hand upon him ; that he might rid him out of their hands, to deliver him to his Father againe.* *Judab* also desired the same ; but being not privie to *Rubens* intents, and to avoid the cruelty of the rest of his Brethren, propounded and effected that *Josepb* might be sold to the ²*Medianitish* Merchants, meerly so to preserve his life ; and thereby he did unravell all the web of *Rubens* designs, and frustrated his endeavours. Thus when God will have a people punished for their finnes, hee will not onely suffer, but cause mistakes without mending, and misprisions without rectifying, to happen betwixt brethren who ³meane and really intend the same thing ; so that they speake the same matter in effect, and yet be Barbarians one to another, as either not or not right understanding what they say each to other. Thus, the maintaining of the Protestant Religion in the purity thereof ; the vindicating of the lawfull Prerogative of the King ; the ascertaining of the just rights and priviledges of the Parliament ; the defending of the dues and properties of the Subject are pleaded and pretended on both sides as the ultimate ends they aime at. Well, as our Saviour said to the blinde man, *Mat.* 9. 29, *according to your faith be it unto you :* so, according to the sincerity and integrity of their hearts, whom God knowes means most seriously, be it unto them ; *we wish them good victory in the name of the Lord :* and yet even herein a friendly peace were as much better then victory it selfe as the end is better then the means ; for, *blessed are the Peace-makers.*

¹ *Reuben* throughout the paragraph.² *Midianitish.*³ meane and omitted.

31. *Objection* : But may some say, though we doe never so much desire peace, we shall not obtaine that blessing, which is pronounced in my text, for the Peace-makers are to be blessed. And it is to be feared, that our breaches are too wide to be cured, and Gods justice must have reparation upon us.

32. [*Answer*:] By Peace-makers, Peace-endeavourers are to be understood ; not only the Effectours of Peace, but even the Affectours of Peace shal be blessed. *Rom. 12. 18* : *If it be possible, as much as in you lyeth, live peaceably with all men.* God out of his goodnesse measures mens reward not by their succeſſe, but desires : *2 Cor. 8. 12*, *For if there be first a willing minde, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.*

33. And yet I am not out of heart, but that there is hope of Peace, and that as yet our finnes are not swel'd so high, but that there is mercy with God for our nation. First, my hope is founded on the multitude of good people in this land, which assault and batter Heaven with the importunity of their prayers. We ¹read of *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, King of *Egipt*, that he caused the Bible to be translated by seventy Interpreters ; which seventy were severally disposed of in seventy severall Cels, unknown each to other ; and yet they did so well agree in their severall translations that there was no considerable difference betwixt them in rendering the text ; an argument that they were acted with one and the same spirit. Surely it comforts me when I call to minde, what shall I say ? seventy ? nay seven times seventy, yea, seventy hundred, yea, seventy thousand, which are peaceable in Israel, which on the bended knees of their souls daily pray to God for peace. These though they know not the faces, no, not the names one of another ; nay, have neither seen nor shall see one another till they meet together in happinesse in Heaven ; yet they unite their votes and centre their suffrages in the same thing, that God would restore Peace unto us, who no doubt in his due time will heare their prayers.

¹ [This paragraph is found, with a few slight alterations, in Spencer's *Things New and Old*, page 109, ¶ 440. It is entitled "Prayers of the Godly, the unanimity of them," and is said to be from "T. FULLER. *Ser. at Savoy*, 1642." Spencer has added this historical reference : "Conrad. Zuingerus, *ex citat. variarum.*"]

34. The second thing that comforts mee is, when I looke on Gods proceedings hitherto in our Kingdome, his judgements seeme to be judgements rather of exhortation then of extermination: we read, *Exod. 4. 24*, that God being angry with *Moses* for not circumcising his Sonnes, *It came to passe by the way in the Inne that the Lord met him, and sought to kill him.* Sought to kill him? strange: did God seeke to kill him, and not kill him? Speake, Lord, speake to the Fire, and it shall with flashes consume him; to the Ayre, and with pestilent vapours it shall choake him; to the Water, and with deluges it shall over-whelme him; to the Earth, and with yawning chops it shall devoure him. Well, the meaning is this; God sought to kill him, that is, in some outward visible manner whereof *Moses* was apprehensive; God manifested his displeasure against him, that so *Moses* might both have notice and leisure to divert his anger, with removing the cause thereof. He that saith to us, *Seeke and yee shall finde*, doth himselfe seeke and not finde; and good reason too, for he sought with an intent not to finde. Thus I may say that for these last foure yeeres God hath still *sought* to destroy the Kingdome of *England*; manifesting an unwillingnesse to doe it, if in any reasonable time we would compound with him by serious repentance. Thus the loving Father shakes the rod over his wanton childe, not with an intent to beat him, but to make him begge pardon; and such hitherto hath beene Gods dealing with our Nation, that he even courts and ¹woes us to repentance, as ²loath to punish us, if wee would understand the signes of his anger, before it breake out upon us.

35. But if all faile, yet those that are Peace-makers in their desires doe enter a caveat in the Court of heaven, That if warres doe ensue, yet for their part they have laboured against it. If a man slaine were found in the field, and it not knowne who slew him, God provided, *Deut. 21. 7, 8*, That the Elders of the next City should wash their hands in the blood of an Heifer, and say, *Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it. Be mercifull, O Lord, unto thy people*

¹ woos.² loth.

Israell, whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people of Israels charge; and the blood shalbe forgiven them. So this one day will be a comfort to the consciences of godly minded men, that they may appeale to the God of heaven, how they have prayed heartily for peace, have petitioned humbly for Peace, have been contented to pay dearly for peace, and to their powers have endeavoured to refrain themselves from sinnes, the breakers of peace; and therefore they trust that Christian *English* Protestant blood, which shall be shed, which hath beene and hereafter may be shed in these wofull warres, shall never be visited on their score or laid to their charge.

36. But if all faile, and if we must be involved in a finall desolation, then let us goe to the *Affurance Office* of our soules, and have peace of conscience with God in our Saviour. It was wont to be said *A mans house is his Castle*; but if this Castle of late hath proved unable to secure any, let them make their conscience their castle; if beaten from all our parapets and outworkes, let us retire to this strength for our defence. It may seem, be it spoken with all reverence, a blunt expression of the holy spirit, *Luke 12. 4, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and that have no more that they can doe.* Yea, but one may say, they may kil me with torment and with torture, make me drop out my life by degrees; why, the totall some of their malice is but to kill the body, *and then they have no more that they can doe.* But they may forbid my body Christian buriall; herein they do not do but suffer, for the living will be more troubled then the dead, if thy corps be not committed to earth; so that this in effect is just nothing. Then let Drums beat, and Trumpets sound, and Banners be displaid; let swords clash, and pikes push, and bullets flye, and Cannons roare; warre, doe thy worst; Death, doe thy worst; Devill, doe thy worst; their souls shal be happy that sleep in the Lord, for they rest from their labours. However, if it be possible, and if so great mercy be stored up in God for us, we would rather have peace in this world; and on the promoters thereof let the blessing in the light and rest, *Blessed are the Peacemakers.*

37. And now as I began with the mention of the Fast, so to conclude with the same: let us keep this day of humiliation holy to the Lord. Some perchance may make this but a mock-fast, and fast for some private and sinister ends; but every one that will may make it a true fast to himself, therein to be grieved for the misery of Gods Saints. God complaines, *Amos* the ¹sixt, of the gluttonie of the Israelites; wherein wee finde the compleat Character of an Epicure, making wantons of his five Sences: entertaining their eyes with *bedsteads of Ivory*, verse 4, curious to behold for the milk-whitenesse thereof; pleasing their feeling, *they stretch themselves on Couches*; courting their eares, *they chant to the Violl*, verse 5; contenting their taste, and making that sence a Pander both to gluttony and drunkenesse, *they eat the fat of Lambes, and drinke Wine in boules*, verses 4 and 6; delighting their smell, *and annoynt themselves with the chiefe oyntments*; and then concludes all with this sharpe close, *but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph*. Wherein the Prophet alludes to the story of *Joseph*, *Genes.* 37. 24, who was put into a pit without water (except such as flowed from his eyes) where he must either dye for want of meat, or dye for being meat to wilde Beasts; and yet in the meane time his Brethren, though they saw the anguish of his soul, *Genes.* 42. 21, (made visible and transparent through the windowes of his weeping eyes, bended knees, begging tongue, folded hands,) did most barbarously *sit down to eat*. I dare boldly say, they said no grace with a good heart, either before meate or after.

38. Just such is the cruelty of many of us (who professe Christianity) to our Brethren in the Countrey, because as yet the City of *London* is as the Land of *Goshen*, being light when all the rest is darkned with miseries: they lay not to heart the afflictions of *Joseph*, which our Countrey-men do suffer. Where is the man that sounds a retreat to his soul when he fees it marching too fast in ²myrth, who abates a dish of his Table out of principles of Conscience, though perchance many doe out of reasons of thrift, and I am afraid all shortly must doe out of necessitie? Well, if we be not the more penitent, it

¹ sixth.² mirth.

may come to passe that that sad dance which hath beene led all over the Kingdome will come to us to this City at last, and God grant we pay not the ¹Musique for all the rest.

39. Remember *Vriab* who kept a Campe in the Court, and would not enjoy those pleasures the marriage-bed reached unto him. Thinke of *Mephibosheth*, lame but loyall, who went not out with *David* in his person, but attended him with his affections, and during the Kings absence, *dressed not his feet* (enough to gangrene them), as not caring for his owne feet, whilest his ¹Soveraignes head was in danger. Seriously consider *Nebemiab*, who sympathized with the calamities of *Jerusalem*, which saddened his countenance even in the presence of the King. Two things onely can make a Courtier sad: sicknesse (which cannot be dissembled), and his Princes displeasure. *Nebemiab* had neither of these; he was in perfect health; and he stood *rectus in curia*, right in his ²Soveraignes esteeme, as appeares, *Nebemiab* 2. 2, by the Kings favourable and familiar questioning him, *Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sicke?* So then, it was nothing else but the impression of the suffering of Gods Saints, which clouded the brightnesse of his countenance with sadnesse. And God grant we having the same cause, we may have the same compassion with him. Amen.

¹ Musick.

² Sovereigns.

F I N I S .



A
SERMON
PREACHED

AT
THE COLLEGIAT
Church of *S. Peter* in *Westminster*,
on the 27. of March, being the day
OF
HIS MAJESTIES
INAUGURATION.

By Thomas Fuller, B. D.



L O N D O N,
Printed for *John Williams*, at the signe of the Crowne
in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1643.

[“THE Synode taking into consideration the most inestimable benefits which this Church enjoyeth under the peaceable and blessed government of our dread Sovereign Lord King CHARLES ; And finding that aswell the godly Christian Emperours, in the former times, as our own most religious Princes since the Reformation, have caused the dayes of their Inaugurations to be publikely celebrated by all their Subjects, with Prayers and Thanksgiving to Almighty God ; and that there is a particular form of Prayer appointed by Authority for that day and purpose ; And yet with all considering how negligent some people are in the observance of this day, in many places of this Kingdom ; Doth therefore decree and ordain, that all manner of persons within the Church of *England*, shall from henceforth celebrate and keep the morning of the said day in coming diligently and reverently unto their Parish Church or Chappell at the time of Prayer, and there continuing all the while that the prayers, preaching, or other service of the day endureth ; in testimony of their humble gratitude to God for so great a blessing, and dutifull affections to so benign and merciful a Sovereign. And for the better execution of this our Ordinance, the holy Synode doth straitly require and charge, and by Authority hereof enableth all Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Deanes and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical persons, having exempt or peculiar jurisdiction ; as also all Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials in the Church of *England*, that they enquire into the keeping of the same in their Visitations, and punish such as they find to be delinquent, according as by Law they are to censure, and punish those who wilfully absent themselves from Church on Holydayes. And that the said day may be the better observed, We do enjoyn that all Church-wardens shall provide at the Parish charge, two of those books at least, appointed for that day, and if there be any want of the said book in any Parish, they shall present the same at all Visitations respectively.”]

—§ ii. of *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall Treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Presidents of the Convocations for the respective Provinces of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergie of those Provinces ; And agreed upon with the Kings Majesties Licence in their severall Synods begun at London and York. 1640. In the yeer of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the Sixteenth. And now Published for the due observance of them, by His Majesties Authority under the Great Seal of England. London: Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings Most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1640. 4to.*

[Introduction.]



THE following remarkable Sermon, preached on the Anniversary of the Coronation of CHARLES I., definitely marks a point in the decline of the Royal interest in the metropolis, and as such is of importance to the historian. From it also may be derived an illustration of the moral heroism of the preacher, who was at the time one of the very few Royalist clergymen left in London. The occasion caused many of them to declare themselves to be "Cavalier parsons." At Cambridge, as Vice-chancellor of the University, Brouncker, bishop of Exeter, was on the same day preaching the Inauguration-Sermon of the King, "wherein many passages were distasteful to the Parliament party": he was in consequence banished the University and deprived of his office there (Fuller's *History of the Univ. Camb.* § 9, ¶ 39). The ejections of the London clergy had, indeed, for some time been actively prosecuted; but a "great and general purgation" took place during two or three months preceding the date of FULLER'S Sermon. The sequestered livings were occupied without loss of time by Parliamentary adherents, who were chiefly taken, the Church-Historian avers, from the ranks of young students from the Universities, "whose orders got the speed of their degrees;" it being deemed necessary that all pulpits "must be made, like the whole earth before the building of Babel, of one language and of one speech" (Book xi. § ix. ¶¶ 32, 34). Under such circumstances the delivery of a Royalist sermon, upon a date which did not fall upon a fast day, was somewhat anachronous. The Editor was once in doubt of the real date of the discourse; because when the 1654 edition of some of these Sermons was reissued, FULLER or his publisher placed it before that delivered upon Innocents-day, and the anonymous biographer (page 16) gave to it the date of 1642, in which year Coronation-day, falling on a Sunday, was pretty generally observed in the city. But internal evidence makes it clear that the discourse belongs to the *nineteenth* anniversary of the King's accession, Monday, 27th March, 1643. As to the origin of these services, see Lathbury's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1858, pages 123 *seq.* and 158. The annual observances formed a subject of inquiry in the Visitation Articles of some of the dioceses. The observance of the day, which had in some places fallen into neglect even before the civil troubles began, had been discussed at the first Convocation of the year 1640; and the second of the Canons of that assembly had enjoined the better keeping of the day (see page cclxiv. *anted*); but the injunction fared none the better on account of the illegal Canons which accompanied it. The events of the year 1642 had, however, produced in

London a change of feeling in regard to the customary service. The Prayer-book was not yet abolished by statute, although, as FULLER states, it had been taken away out of most places (§ 8); and the attacks upon it were unchecked. The King was regarded with a growing disfavour; and already the unfavourable omens attending the first Coronation-day of the "White King" were being recalled by the superstitious. Peace-negotiations, it is true, were still under discussion (§ 27); but the breach between the King and his people had grown too wide to be healed. One of the Chaplains avowed that there "was as much difference between the treaty and peace as between heaven and hell!" (*Atben. Oxon.* iii. 279.)

In the Journals of the Parliament, some light is thrown upon the observance of this critical Coronation-day. From that source the first intimation of the neglect of the customary celebration may be obtained. The matter gave rise to two divisions in the Lower House, for the second of which, to judge from the large numbers of votes, there was a "whip." In the Lords' House on Friday, 24th March, 1642-3, it was ordered, "That the King's Master-gunner shall have Powder allowed him to charge the Ordnance at the *Tower*, to shoot off at the Coronation-day, according to the usual Manner" (*Journals*, v. 667*b*). On the self-same day, in the Commons' House, an explicit order to the contrary was given: "That the Lieutenant of the *Tower* be required and enjoined not to fire the Ordnance in the *Tower* nor the Chambers upon *Tower Hill, London*, on *Monday* next; in regard of the great Expence it will cause of Powder, and the great Concourse of People: And the Committee for the *Tower* is to take care that this Order be observed." It is noticeable that those who supported this measure were extreme politicians of the "pious and movement party," viz., Sir ROBERT HARLEY, Sir NEVILLE POOLE, Sir WALTER EARLE, Mr. STRODE, &c. A motion the next day for the reconsideration of the order was moved by members of the moderate party, amongst whom were Mr. HOLLES, Sir PETER WENTWORTH, and Sir JOHN EVELYN of Surrey; and the order was in consequence revoked by 75 votes against 57. It was then resolved that a proportion of powder not exceeding twenty barrels should be taken from the stores in the Tower for the purpose required (*Journals*, iii. 16*b*, 18*a*). It is noticeable that Good Friday, which fell five days later (31st March), was not kept as heretofore, for both Houses of Parliament fast; and that the preceding Christmas of 1642, falling upon a Sunday, had prepared the way for neglecting the next public observance of the hallowed festival. In that year 1643 Christmas-day fell upon Monday; and the day was disregarded chiefly through the influence of the Scotch Commissioners. In the following year Christmas-day was ordered to be kept as a fast:—

"Gone are the golden days of yore,
When Christmas was an high day,
Whose sports we now shall see no more:
'Tis turned into Good Friday."

By this time all were more eager to keep up the anniversary of their entering into the Solemn League and Covenant as "England's Coronation-day" (See Heyricke's *Harmonious Consent of the Ministers . . . of Lancashire*, 1648, 4to., page 19).

In admirable adaptation to the sentiments of this Coronation Sermon was the Abbey in which it was preached. Although the discourse has not come under the notice of the picturesque pen of the present distinguished Dean (*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 3rd ed., page 502 ; but see page 687), it is unquestionably one of the great Sermons connected with a critical period in the history of the venerable pile. After this occasion no other discourse as full of loyalty to the throne was preached until the custom was revived when, eighteen years afterwards, Divine Providence (to use FULLER's words) assigned to England another King (*Church-History*, Book xi. § 1, ¶ 31). Upon the Anniversary of 1644, the war was raging more keenly, and FULLER was amidst it ; the day, moreover, was the monthly Wednesday fast ; and if in the discourses in the Parliament's quarters on that occasion the Coronation-day was named at all, it was as a superstitious observance of the past.

On the delivery of the present Inauguration Sermon, to a congregation largely composed of moderate Royalists, the historic glories of the Abbey were unbroken and unobscured. The foundation still had its Chapter. The Dean had, indeed, in the middle of the former year, abandoned his Deanery for his Archbishopric, where the King was then quartered. But the sub-Dean, Dr. NEWELL, still held a nominal sway ; and in his hands the selection of the Preachers would lie. As a consequence of the confusion in ecclesiastical affairs, no record of FULLER's Sermon appears to have been preserved. There is a blank in the Chapter-book from 1642 to 1660. In the Muniment-room at Westminster Abbey, however, are several documents relating to the payment of preachers during the civil war ; but FULLER's name is not met with. One such list begins in February, 1643-4, and extends up to 1st December, 1645. On 27th March, 1644, the following entry occurs :—

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--|------------|-----------------|
| “Fast daie { | Forenoone | | Afternoone | } £01. 00. 00.” |
| | Dr. SMITH | | Dr. SMITH | |

This paper shows that ministers preached sermons as follows : Dr. SMITH preached 179 sermons ; Mr. BELL, 21 ; Mr. JACKSON, 25 ; Mr. THACHE, 13 ; Mr. GOODWIN, 1 ; Mr. TINSLEY, 1 ; Mr. LATHUM, 1 ; Mr. DACIE, 3 ; Dr. TATE, 2 ; Mr. NYE, 15.

After the delivery of FULLER's Sermon, changes in the Abbey rapidly took place. It was in the succeeding month that the Committee was appointed, with the well-known iconoclast Sir ROBERT HARLEY for its chairman, for the purpose of demolishing any “monuments of superstition or idolatry in the Abbey Church at Westminster or the windows thereof” (*Commons Journals*, 24th April, iii. 57*b* ; also 63*a*). On the 29th April Mr. WHITE, “one of the singing men of the Abbey,” and therefore, it may be assumed, one of FULLER's most enthusiastic hearers, was sent a prisoner to Winchester House, for “several contempts committed by him” against the House of Commons, “in reading of Declarations, and fixing up of Proclamations” (*Ibid.* iii. 64*a*). It was in the succeeding August that the House of Commons made an order that the sub-Dean and Prebends were to give up the use of their pulpit every Sunday afternoon for such ministers as were appointed by the House (*Ibid.* 21st August, iii. 213*a*).

FULLER had often entered the Abbey, "an acre sown with royal seed," and thoughtfully gazed on the evidences of piety and mortality (see *Worthies of England*, § Hartfordshire, page 20); and when shut up in beleaguered strongholds in the West, would direct his thoughts to the national Sanctuary as naturally as the Israelite in a strange land turned to Zion. In one of his meditations he utters a prayer with reference to Henry VII.'s chapel: "God grant I may once again see it with the Saint who belongs, our Sovereign, there in a wel-conditioned Peace!" (*Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, § Mixt Contemplations, No. vi. page 205, ed. 1645.)

In ¶ 16 of the Sermon there is a reference to the battle of Edge-hill. As to the presence of CHARLES I. in that engagement, FULLER is perhaps referring to a sentence in the King's Declaration to his Subjects, in which he attributed the protection of himself and children to the mercy and goodness of Almighty God. The following details are given by the historian ECHARD:—

"The King Himself was in no small Danger, together with the two young Princes, who were on Horse-Back on each side of him. His Majesty seeing his Troops give way, mov'd to sustain them, and the two Princes with him, when he was advis'd to leave the Field, and no longer expose his Person. He thought the Advice good as far as it respected his Children, but look'd upon it as Unprincely to forsake them who had forsaken all to serve him. He propos'd it therefore to the Duke of *Richmond* to conduct them up the Hill, but that loyal Lord excus'd himself, begging leave not to abandon his Majesty; who next apply'd Himself to the Earl of *Dorset* for the same purpose, but was answer'd in his accustomed jocular Manner, *That all the Kings in the World shou'd not make him retire when he was to fight.* At last the two Princes retired by the Assistance of one of the Gentlemen Pensioners, not without eminent Danger of being taken in an Ambush by the Way. In the mean while the King led on his Party with Sword in Hand, and his Presence giving his Troops fresh Vigour, the Royal Standard was retaken by the valiant Captain *John Smith*, who for that great Action was made a Knight Banneret in the Field, and honour'd with bearing that Standard he had so bravely recover'd." (*History of England*, vol. ii. page 352.)

This discourse deals in part with the subject of the foregoing Sermon, viz. Peace. An accommodation, as is seen by the numerous petitions presented early in the year, was regarded with general favour: "in truth," says SANDERSON (*History of King Charles*, 1658, page 609), "honest men were weary of war." In the interval between the delivery of the two sermons, the basis of a peace-negotiation had been discussed, and the preliminary arrangements were at length drawing to a successful end. On the very day, indeed, when FULLER was expatiating on what he expressively calls "the substance of earthly blessings, the shadow of heavenly happiness" (¶ 12), a treaty was beginning. This treaty was one of the most earnest and important that had yet been entered upon. The Commissioners who had gone to treat with the King were ALGERNON, Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND, WILLIAM PIERREPOINT, Esq. (who was afterwards one of FULLER's patrons), Sir WILLIAM ARMYN, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, and BULSTRODE WHITELOCK, Esq.

To the Reader.

SERMONS have their Doomes, partly according to the capacities, partly according to the affections of the Hearers. *Some said of our Saviour, He is a good man. Others, Nay, but he deceiveth the People.* The bitter Health which my Master began, is now come to mee (the lowest at his Table) to pledge. I am therefore enforced to print my poore paines, not to get applause, but to assert my Innocency; and yet indeed he gaineth that can save in this Age. Reade with Judgement; censure with Charitie. As for those who have unmercifully pre-sentenced me, my Revenge is in desiring that they may be forgiven. I count their words spoken in passion, and (according to a Doctrine in this Sermon [¶ 11] delivered) such Speeches must be favourably interpreted. Meane time, let me say with SAMUEL, *God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray* (such an omission of Pietie were a commission of Profanenesse) for the blessed and happy agreement of the King and Parliament, and desire thee to joyne with mee, whosoever shall reade this weake worke of

Thine in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS FULLER.

They all seem to have been actuated by a real desire to bring about an honourable settlement. On the basis of the propositions which had been exchanged the treaty itself began. It lasted "twenty Days, according to Agreement, from the 27th of March to the 15th of April. And yet in all this Time, though there were many Conferences and Debates, only the first Proposition on both Sides was fully canvassed and discussed" (Echard, *History of England*, ii. 398). A summary of all the proceedings, with observations upon the carriage of the Commissioners, will be found in WHITELOCK (pages 68 *seq.*), who regrets that their labours and hazards were of no effect: "All good Englishmen, lovers of the peace of their country, were troubled and disappointed." Various opinions were expressed as to the cause of the failure of these negotiations. WHITELOCK ascribes it to the King being so unhappy as to have a better opinion of others' judgments than his own, though they were weaker than his own; "and of this we had experience to our great trouble." MAY more justly ascribes it to a mutual disinclination to make concessions: "In vaine was this Treaty: so high the demands were judged to be on both sides that there seemed no possibility of ever meeting. Where the fault lay I judge not; but the Parliament after many Messages between *London* and *Oxford*, at last sent for their Commissioners home again, who returned to London upon the 17 of April; upon which the Lord Generall advanced with his Army (as aforesaid) to besiege *Reading*" (*History of the Parliament*, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 37). ECHARD (ii. 400-1) refers to large promises that were privately made to the King if he would but at present comply with "the unhappy circumstances;" but he adds that if the nature of the propositions submitted to the King, as degrading as any sent before, were considered,— "their sequestering of the Bishops Lands, their rifling of *Somerſet-Houſe*, which belonged to the Queen, and other Acts both of Power and Resentment, during the very Time of this Treaty"—it could hardly be thought that any compliances on the King's side could have produced a peace.

The *Inauguration Sermon*, which has never been reprinted since FULLER's day, is here taken from a 4to. copy in the Editor's possession (pp. iv. + 26), the title-page of which has been copied at page 263.

There was also another 4to. edition (pp. and title-page as before) with fresh setting up and different signatures. Copies of this edition may be distinguished by the preacher's name on the title-page being placed between two lines.

In 1654 a 12mo. edition (pp. iv. + 30) appeared: "*London*, Printed by *Will. Bently* for *John Williams* at the Crown in *S. Pauls Church-yard*. *Anno Dom. 1654.*" On the title-page was the oval device of the Sun in an escutcheon encircled by the legend "*Deus · est · nobis · sol · et · scutum*," which is often found on the title-pages of WILLIAMS's books. There are many variations in spelling, &c., between this and the former copies. Some of the principal differences in this 12mo. edition are placed in the foot-notes.]

A SERMON

Preached at the Collegiat Church of S. PETER in WESTMINSTER,

on the 27. of *March*, being the day of His MAJESTIES
Inauguration.



2 SAM. 19. 30.

*Yea, let him take All, forasmuch as my Lord the KING is come
again in peace unto his owne House.*

1. **I**T is as naturall for malicious men to backbite as for dogs to bite, or serpents to sting. See this in *Ziba*, who raised a false report on his Master *Mephibosheth*, and accused him to *David* (when he departed from Jerusalem) of no lesse then high Treason, as if in *David's* absence he affected the Kingdom for himself. Well was *Ziba* studied in the Art of slandering, to charge home, and draw his arrow to the head; for in hainous accusations, when the wound is cured, the very scarre will kill; and though the innocence of the party accused may chance to cleare the main debt, yet the arrerages of the suspicion will be enough to undoe him. But I wonder not at *Ziba's* accusing *Mephibosheth*; I wonder at *David's* beleevving *Ziba*, at the first information, of a single witnes, and him a servant against his master, without further prooffe, as hearing both parties. To proceed to censure and fine *Mephibosheth* with the losse of his lands was a piece of unjust justice wherein *David* cannot be excused, much lesse defended. All that can be said for him is this, That not *David*, but *David's* distractions passed this sentence, so that, being in feare and fright and flight, it can scarce be accounted his deliberate Act: once *be*

said in his haste *All men are lyars*, and now being on the spur in his speed he beleeves *Mephibosheth* was a Traytor.

2. But it pleased Gods providence that in this Chapter the tide was turned, and *David* returned to Jerusalem, where *Mephibosheth* meeting him was admitted to speake in his owne behalfe, and makes a plaine and pithy narration of the matter. Innocence hath so clear a complexion that she needs no painting; and a good cause consisting in matter of fact, when it is plainly told, is sufficiently pleaded. He shewes how that *violenta detentio* withheld him from attending on *David*, being no lack of his loyalty, but the lameness of his legs, which might and should have been helpt, had not *Ziba* hindred it on purpose in refusing to saddle his Ass: And thus having wrong'd his master at home, he then traduced him abroad, transferring his own guile to make it become the others guiltiness. Soon did *David* perceive his errour, and to make amends did order, That the lands should be held in Copartnership betwixt them; *Mephibosheth* have one moiety, and *Ziba* the other: *Why speaketh thou any more of thy matters? I have said it, Thou and Ziba divide the lands.*

3. This did not satisfie *Mephibosheth*, not because it was too little, but because it was too much: Hee now needs nothing, seeing his ¹Sovereign is returned in safety: and therefore desires that *Ziba* may have All, according to *David*s former appointment, *Yea, let him take All.* This he did partly perchance to assert the Honour of *David*. It should never be said that *David* said any thing, and it was not done; what grants he made, *Mephibosheth* would make good, though with the losse of his lands. It beares no proportion to the greatness of Princes, nor stands with the stateliness of States, to say and unsay, doe and undoe, order and disorder againe; whose first resolutions are presumed to bee grounded on so good reason, they shall need no revocation. But chiefly he did it to shew the Hyperbole of his happiness and Transcendency of his joy, conceived at *David*s safe return; joy which sweld up him in full measure, *pressed downe, shaken together, and running over.* Yet, lest the least drop of so precious a

¹ Sovereign throughout.

liquor as this was (being the spirits of loyalty distill'd) should be spilt on the ground, let us gather it up with our best attention, and powre it in our hearts to practise it as it flowes from the Text, *Yea, let him take All, &c.*

4. The words contain a large Grant, and a just consideration moving thereunto. The large Grant, *let him take All*: wherein observe the Granter, *Mephibosheth*: The Grantee, *Ziba*: and the thing Granted, *All* (*i.e.* house, and lands, and rents, and profits, and emoluments, and obventions, and hereditaments, with the appendants and the appurtenances thereunto belonging). What the warinesse of moderne men deviseth in many words, and all twisted together (few enough to hold in this litigious age, wherein a span of land cannot be conveyed in lesse ¹then a span of parchment), see all these words summ'd up in this one word *All* in my Text: *let him take All*.

Secondly, Here is the consideration of the Granter, which consisteth not in any money paid, or service perform'd by the Grantee; but onely in respect of a generall good which God hath bestowed on *David*, and in him on all Israel: *Forasmuch as my Lord the King is come in Peace to his owne House*.

5. In prosecuting which parts I could desire that my discourse might have been open and champion to proceed in an even and continued style; but my Text is incumbred with so many difficulties that my Sermon must rise and fall into hills and dales of Objections and Answers, which Answers, as so many fruitfull vallies, shall afford us plentiful store of profitable observations.

6. *Objection*: The first hill which we are to climbe is an objection, if not within the walls, yet surely in the suburbs of my Text. Why? (may some say;) me thinks *David* doth *Mephibosheth* justice but by ²halves; For when his Innocence so plainly appeared, the slanderer should have been soundly punished: *Thou and Ziba divide the land*: He should rather

¹ than throughout the Sermon generally.

² half.

have divided *Ziba's* head from his shoulders; or of all the land leave him only one Tree, wherein hee should be justly executed as a land-mark to ¹forwarne all deceitfull servants how they tread on so unwarrantable wayes. What hope was there he would hereafter prove faithfull to his Prince that was false to his Master? Yea, this was contrary to the fundamentall lawes of *Dauids* family: *Psal.* 101. 5, *Who so privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off*: Whereas *Ziba* here was so far from being cut off that he was both freely forgiven and fairly rewarded for the malicious disservice he had done his master.

7. *Response*: I answer, wee must consider that *Ziba* was a considerable man in his tribe of *Benjamin*, and probably might make a great impression on the people: Besides, great was his experience, being an old Courtier of *Sauls*, greater the ²alliance to him, and dependance on him, having fifteen sonnes and twenty servants (all now officiously attending on King *David* at his return, as it is in the seventeenth verse of this chapter). GREATEST of all was his will and skill to doe mischief; and therefore no wonder if *David* was unwilling to offend him. Secondly, consider *David* was at this time in the *Non-age* (not to say Infancy) of his new-recovered Kingdome. Wary Physitians will not give strong purges to little children; and *David* thought it no wisdom at this time, on these termes, as matters stood with him, to be severe in his proceedings; but rather by all indeerments to ³tye and oblige the affections of his people the faster unto him. We may see this in the matter of *Shimei*, which immediately concerned *David* himselfe: Yea, when by *Abishai* he was urged and prest to punish him, *Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he hath cursed the Lords annointed?* Yet *Dauids* policie was so farre above his revenge that he not onely flatly rejected the motion, but also sharply reprov'd the mover: *What have I to doe with you, yee sonnes of Zerviah, that yee should this day be adversaries unto me? Shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel? for doe I not know that I am this day King over Israel?* He would not have the conduits run blood on the day of his new

¹ forewarne.² alliance.³ tie.

Coronation, nor would he have the first page in the second Edition of his Sovereignty written in red letters, but rather sought (*by all acts of grace*) to gaine the good will of his Subjects. Hence wee observe,

8. Magistrates sometimes are faine to permit what they cannot conveniently punish for the present. Thus sometimes Chirurgions leave their ulcers unlaunch't, either because they are not ripe, or because perchance they have not all their necessary instruments about them. And indeed, if Statists perceive that from the present removing of an inconvenience, a greater mischief will inevitably follow, 'twere madnesse to undoe a state for the present, for feare it will be undone hereafter. Perchance the wisdom of our Parliament may suffer in the censures of such who fathome mysteries of state by their owne shallow capacities, for seeming to suffer Sectaries and Schismatics to share and divide in Gods service with the *Mephiboshets*, the quiet and peaceable children of our Church. And indeed such Sectaries take a great share to themselves, having taken away all the Common Prayer out of most places, and under pretence to abolish superstition, have almost banish't decency out of Gods Church: But no doubt the Sages of our State want not will, but wait a time when with more conveniency and lesse disturbance (though slowly, surely) they will restraine such turbulent spirits with *David* in my Text, who was rather contented then well pleased to passe by *Ziba* for the present.

9. *Objection*: Yea, but (may some say) this speech of *Mephiboshet* cannot be allowed either in piety or policie: For if he spake true, then he was a foole; and if he spake false, then he was a flatterer. If he spake true, then he was a foole: for what wise man would at once give away all that he hath? Charity may impart her branches, but shee must not part with her root: The wisdom of our grand Charter hath provided, That no offender (though for an hainous fault) should be so heavily amerced, but alwayes *salvo suo sibi contentemento*: What favour is afforded to malefactors, Charity

¹ [Stubbs's *Select Charters*, page 291.]

surely should give to ¹it selfe, as not thereby to prejudice and impaire her owne livelihood. I commend the well bounded and well grounded bountie of *Zacheus*, *Luke* 19. 8: *Bebold, Lord, halfe of my goods I give to the poore*: But with *Mephibosheth* to give All his goods, and that not to the poore, but to a couzening cheating servant, was an action of madnesse. How would he doe hereafter to subsist? Did he expect hereafter to bee miraculously fed with *Manna* dropt into his mouth? Or in his old age would he turne Court almes-man, and live on the bounty of others? And grant he could shift for himselfe, yet what should *Micab* his sonne doe, and his future posteritie? If he spake false, then hee was a flatterer: and said it onely to sooth *David*, when hee meant no such matter: But Court-holy-water never quenched any thirstie foule. Flatterers are the worst of tame beasts, which tickle Princes even to their utter destruction.

10. *Response*: I answer, He was neither foole nor flatterer, but an affectionate Subject, and at the present in a mighty passion of gladnesse. But first, we must know that it ²behoved *Mephibosheth* to do something extraordinary; and in his expressions to exceed the size and standard of common language, were it only to unstain his credit from the suspition of disloyalty *Ziba* had cast upon him. Secondly, *Mephibosheth* was confident and well assured that whatsoever *David* did for the present, yet hereafter, when sufficiently informed of *Mephibosheths* innocence, he would make not only competent, but plentiful provision for him. But lastly and chiefly, we must know that these words of *Mephibosheth* were spoken in a great passion of joy; and passionate speeches must alwayes sue in Chauncery, and plead to have the equitie of a candide and charitable construction allowed them. Let us not therefore bee over-rigid in examining his words when we knew his meaning, that hee was affected with an unmanageable joy at *David*s safe return: Rather hence let us learne,

11. Speeches spoken in passion must not be stretcht so farre as they may be strain'd, but have a favourable interpretation; for such is the very nature of passion that it can scarce doe

¹ its selfe in the other 4to. ed.

² behoved in the other two editions.

any thing but it must over-doe. Seest thou then the foule of a man shaking with feare or soaring with joy, or burning in anger, or drowning in griefe? meet his words with a charitable acception of them, and ¹defalke the extravagancies of his expressions: *The wringing of the nose bringeth forth bloud*, saith wise *Agur*, *Prov. 30. 33.* And he who shall presse and wrack and torture speeches spoken in passion, may make a bloody construction thereof, besides, beyond, against the intent of him that spake it: But let us content our selves that we know their meaning, and not prosecute (much lesse persecute) their words too farre, as here in my Text, wee know the mind of *Mephibosheth* was to shew That hee was soundly, sincerely, and from the ground of his heart glad when he said, *Yea, let him take All, forasmuch as, &c.*

12. Come we now to the consideration of the Grant: *Forasmuch as my Lord the King is come in peace unto his owne house.* Behold in the words a confluence of many joyes together. First, *The King*: there is matter of gladnesse for all Subjects in generall. Secondly, *My Lord the King*: *Mephibosheth* was *Davids* servant in Ordinary, or rather his extraordinary Favorite, and this made his joy to be greater. Thirdly, *Is come againe*: is come back, is returned, and therefore more welcome after long wanting: The interposing of the night renders the arising of the sunne more desired: Princes presence after some absence more precious. Fourthly, *To his owne house.* Why? were not all the houses in Israel *Davids* houses? Are not Kings alwaies at home whilst in their Kingdom? True, all the houses in Israel were *Davids* owne, not by his private use, but Paramount ²Soveraignty over them; whereas his Palace in Jerusalem was peculiarly his owne, by his particular possession thereof, and proper residence therein. Fifthly and lastly, *Come in Peace*: in Peace, which is the substance of all earthly blessings, and the shadow of heavenly happinesse.

13. *Objection*: Yea, but (may some say) *Mephibosheth* doth not measure out ³ *Davids* happinesse to the best advantage, nor

¹ defalk.² Sovereignty.³ *David's* (ter).

doth hee give the true Emphasis to his honour; for *David* returned with victory. Had hee not gotten a glorious conquest under the conduct of *Joab*, in the Forrest of *Ephraim*, over all his enemies? Twenty thousand slaine by the sword, more devoured with the wood, the rest routed, their Captain kill'd, and all with a losse ¹of so little on *David's* side that none at all is mentioned: But *Mephibosheth* takes no notice of *David's* Trophies and Triumphs, but either out of envie, or ignorance, or both, concealing his conquests, huddles all up under the name of Peace: *Forasmuch as my Lord the King is come to his owne house in Peace.*

14. I answer, *Mephibosheth* therefore suppresseth victory, and mentioneth Peace only, because victories are not valuable in themselves but in order and tendencie as they conduce to the attaining of Peace. Excellently doth the Apostle argue the distance and dignity of men above women, from the end and intent of their creation, 1 *Corinth.* 11. 9: *Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man:* so Peace was never made for victory, but victory for Peace; as all Meanes, even by Indentures drawne by nature, are bound Apprentices to serve the End their Master. Let not therefore the maid grow so proud as to strive for equipage, much lesse for priority with her Mistresse: victory doth the work for Peace, and therefore Peace alone is mentioned by *Mephibosheth*.

15. *Response:* Secondly, I answer, If *David's* conquests had atchieved against the *Edomites*, *Amonites*, or *Amorites*, or *Moabites*, or *Midianites*, or *Syrians*, or *Sidonians*, or *Egyptians*, or *Philistines*, or any ²forraine foe, *Mephibosheth* no doubt would have made mention thereof to the purpose: But *David* was thus unhappy in his very happinesse, That this victory was gotten over his owne Subjects. The ribs of *Jacob* did grate one against the other, and in that civill-uncivill warre many worthy men lost their lives unworthily. Whose lives there prodigally spent, had they been thriftily expended in a ¹forraine designe, had been sufficient to have purchased *David* another Kingdome: Say not that such as

¹ of omitted in the other 4to. ed.

² forraign.

were slain were none of *David's* Subjects, but Traytors and Rebels, which did oppose their Prince and resist their ¹Sovereigne. For here we must know that they were *David's* Subjects. First, *de jure*, they ought to have been his Subjects; and a joynt, though out of joynt, is a joynt still, though dislocated out of its proper place. Secondly, some of them were *David's* Subjects *de facto*: *Two hundred men went out of Jerusalem to Hebron in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing*, Chap. 15. 11; onely their innocence was practised upon by the policie of *Absolom*. Thirdly and lastly, they were all presum'd his Subjects *de futuro*: when their eyes were opened and they saw their owne errours, they would either return of themselves, or be easily reduced to their former obedience. Wisely therefore did *Mephibosheth* wave the mention of victory, which very word would have been a sad remembrancer to call to *David's* mind the losse of his Subjects; and rather folds up all under the notion of Peace, as a cover (if lesse gaudy, surely more pleasing): *Forasmuch as my Lord the King is come in peace to his own house*.

16. Pious Princes can take no delight in victories over their own Subjects. For when they cast up their Audits, they shall find themselves losers in their very gaining. Nor can they properly be said to have *wonne the day*, which at the best is but a twilight, being benighted with a mixture of much sorrow and sadnesse. For Kings being the Parents of their Country, must needs grieve at the destruction of their children. Who knowes the love of a Parent, but a Parent? Maidens are incompetent Judges of Mothers affections. How doth the affectionate Father when hee beats his child first feeble the blowes struck through himselfe? I dare boldly say, that in that unhappy *Aceldama*, wherein the person of our Sovereigne was present, *A sword did pierce through his owne heart*, in the same sence as it is said of the Virgin *Mary*, Luke 2. 35. For though (thankes be to God) divine providence did *cover his head in the day of battell*, as it were miraculously commanding the bullets, which flew about and respected no persons, *not to touch his Anointed*; yet notwithstanding his soule was shot through with griefe to behold a

¹ Sovereign throughout.

field spread with his Subjects corpses, that scarce any passage but either through rivelets of blood, or over bridges of bodies. And had he got as great a victory as *David* got in the forrest of *Ephraim*, yet surely hee would have preferred Peace farre before it. Well did *Mephibosheth* know *David's* dyet, who to please his pallate makes mention onely of Peace and suppresseth victory : *Forasmuch as my Lord the King is come to his owne house in peace.*

17. But the maine ¹of Doctrine is this : All loyall Subjects ought to be glad when their Sovereigne is returned in peace. The sweetest musick of this Doctrine is in the close thereof, *in peace* ; for nothing is more wofull than warre. ² The *Lacedemonians* were wont to make their servants drunke, and then to shew them to their children, that they then beholding their frantick fits and apish behaviour, once seeing might ever shun that beastly vice. Our sins have made this Land, which formerly was our faithfull servant, drunke with blood : I hope our children, seeing the miserable fruits and effects thereof, will grow so wise and wary by their fathers follies as for ever to take heed how they ingage themselves in such a civill warre againe. But why doe I compare warre to drunkenesse ? which far better may be resembled to the Devill himselfe, seeing all those symptoms that appeared in the possessed man, *Marke 9*, shew themselves too evidently in all places where warre comes : *And wheresoever he catcheth him, he teareth him, and he fometh and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away. And oft-times it bath cast him into the fire, and oft-times into the water to destroy him.* Wheresoever war seizeth on City, Castle, Town, or Village, he teareth it, making both breaches in the houses with batteries, and factions in mens hearts with divisions, till the place pine away, having all the marrow and moisture of the wealth thereof wasted and consumed ; oft-times casting it into the fire, burning beautifull buildings to ashes ; and oft-times into the water, drowning

¹ main Doctrine.

² [This sentence with the next is in Spencer's *Store-house of Similes*, page 67, ¶ 279. It is entitled "Others Harms to be our Arms," and said to be from "T. Fuller's *Ser. on K. inaugurat. at Westm.* 1644"; and the reference is added "Justin. Hist."].

fruitfull medowes with wilfull inundations. Yea, if these times long continue, one of these two mischiefes will inevitably come to passe: Either (which is most probable) both sides being so equally poyised, will doe as the twelve Combatants *in the field of strong men*, 2 Sam. 2. 16, *thrust their swords in each other, and so fall downe both together*; or if one party prove victorious, it will purchase the conquest at so deare a price as the destruction of the Kingdom, which will be done before. And what is said, *Matth. 24. 22*, of the siege of Jerusaleme, is as true of our miserable times: *And except those dayes were shortened, there should no flesh be saved*: Would to God I could as truly adde the words that follow: *But for the Eleets sake those dayes shall be shortened*! However in my Doctrine there remains an eternall truth, that all loyall Subjects ought to be glad when their Sovereign returneth in peace.

18. Yea, may some say, *David* deserved to be welcommed indeed, and at his return to be entertained with all possible expressions of gladnesse; for he brought true religion along with him, and setled Gods Service in the puritie and precisenesse thereof. But now adayes all crie to have Peace, to have Peace, and care not to have Truth together with it. Yea, there be many silly *Mephiboshets* in our dayes that so adore Peace that to attaine it they care not what they give away to the malignant *Ziba's* of our Kingdome. These say, *Yea, let them take All*, Lawes, and Liberties, and Priviledges, and Proprieties, and Parliaments, and Religion, and the Gospell, and godlinesse, and God himselfe, so bee it that the Lord our King may come to His house in Peace. But let us have Peace and Truth together, both or neither; for if Peace offer to come alone, we will doe with it as *Ezechiab* did with the brazen Serpent, even breake it to pieces, and stampe it to powder, as the dangerous Idoll of ignorant people.

19. I answer, God forbid, God forbid wee should have Peace, and not Truth with it; but to speak plainly, I would to God men did talk lesse of Truth and love it more, have it feldomer in their mouthes, and oftner, yea, alwayes in their heads and hearts, to beleieve and ¹practise it. Know then that the word *Truth* is subject to much *Homonymie*, and is taken in

¹ practice in the other 4to. edition.

severall senses, according to the opinions, or rather humours of those that use it. Aske the Anabaptist what is Truth, and hee will tell you, Truth is the maintaining that the dominion over the creatures is founded in grace; and that wicked men (whereby they meane all such whom they shall be pleased to account and call so) neither use the creatures right, nor have any right to use them, but may justly be dispossessed of them. It is Truth that all goods should bee common, that there should be no civill Magistrate, that there ought to be no warres but what they make themselves, for which they pretend inspiration; that children ought not to be baptized till they could give a reason of their faith, and that such as have been formerly, must be rebaptized Again. Ask the Separatists what is Truth, and they will tell you that the further from all ceremonies (though ancient and decent) the nearer to God; that it is against the liberty of a Christian to be press'd to the forme of a set prayer, who ought only to be Voluntaries, and follow the dictate of the spirit; that the Ministers made in our Church are Antichristian; with many more. Ask the Schismatics of these times what is Truth, and they will bring in abundance of their own opinions, which I spare at this time to recite; the rather, because when the wheele of their fancie is turned about, another spoak may chance to be verticall; being so fickle in their Tenents that what they account truth now will perchance not be counted truth by them seven yeares hence.

20. To come close to the answer, I say that some of their pretended truths are flat falsities, and others meere fooleries: as it is easie to prove in time and place convenient. Secondly, Grant some of them be truths, yet are they not of that importance and concernment as to deserve to imbroyle a Kingdome in bloud to bring them in. *David* longed for the waters of the Well of Bethlehem, 2 Sam. 23. 17; *but when it was brought him*, hee checkt his owne vanitie, and would not drinke it, *because it was the bloud of men that went in jeopardie of their lives*. But with what heart as men, or conscience as Christians, can Sectaries seek to introduce their devices with such violence ¹unto the Church, when they know full well that

¹ into.

it will cost blood before it be settled? and if it ¹e're be done, *non erit tanti*, it will not quit cost, being in themselves slight, matters of mean consequence. Thirdly, Grant them not onely true, but important, if they be so desirous to have them introduced, the way most agreeable to Christian proceedings is to have them fairely debated, freely disputed, fully decided, firmly determined by a still voyce; and not that their new Gospell should be given as the Law, with thundering and lightning of ²Canon, fire and sword. Fourthly, Bee it affirmed for a certain truth, that formerly we had in our Churches all truths necessary to salvation. Of such as deny this, I ask *Josephs* question to his Brethren, *Is your father well? the old man, is he yet alive?* So, how fares the soules of their Sires, and the ghosts of their Grand-fathers? are they yet alive? do they still survive in blisse, in happinesse? Oh no; they are dead, dead in soule, dead in body, dead temporally, dead eternally, dead and damned, if so be wee had not all truth necessary to salvation before this time. Yea, let these that cry most for the want of truth, shew one rotten kernell in the whole Pomegranet, one false Article in all thirty-nine. Let them shew where our Church is deficient in a necessary truth. But these men know wherein their strength lyeth, and they had rather *creep into houses and leade away captive silly women laden with infirmities* then to meddle with men and enter the lists to combate with the learned Doctors of the Church.

21. But, it is further objected, *David* brought home a true Peace with him, which long lasted firm, the showre of ³*Abshalom's* rebellion being afterward quickly blown over. But we have cause to suspect our Peace will not be a true Peace; and an open wound is better then a palliate cure. Would you have us put off our Armour to be kill'd in our clothes? and bee surprized with warre on a sudden, when it will be past our policie to prevent, or power to resist it?

22. *Answer*: There must at last be a mutuall confiding on both sides, so that they must count the honesty of others their onely hostages. This the sooner it be done, the easier it is done. For who can conceive that when both sides have

¹ ere.² Canon.³ *Abshaloms* (*Ziba's* in the other 4to. ed.).

suffered more wrongs they will sooner forgive, or when they have offered more wrongs be sooner forgiven? For our Kings part, let us demand of his mony what Christ ask'd of *Cæsars* coine: *Whose image is this?* CHARLES'S. And what is the superscription? RELIGIO PROTESTANTIUM, LEGES ANGLIÆ, LIBERTATES PARLIAMENTI; and hee hath caused them to be cast both in silver and gold, in pieces of severall sizes and proportions; as if thereby to shew that he intends to make good his promise both to poore and rich, great and small; and we are bound to beleieve him. Nor lesse faire are the professions of the Parliament on the other side; and no doubt but as really they intend them. But these matters belong not to us to meddle with; and as for all other politick objections against Peace, they pertain not to the Pulpit to answer. All that wee desire to see is the King re-married to the State; and we doubt not but as the Bridegroome on the one side will bee carefull to have his portion paid, *His Prerogative*; so the Brides friends entrusted for her will be sure to see her joynter settled, *the liberty of the Subject*.

23. Come wee now briefly to apply our Text to the time. And wee begin first with *the King*, as this day doth direct us; and truly he may bee called so emphatically, for his goodnesse. We may observe in our Saviour, *Mat. 11. 7*, that he spake nothing in the praise of *John Baptist* whilst the Disciples of *John Baptist* were in his presence, lest perchance he might have incurred the suspition of flattery, to commend the Master before the Servants: but the *Text* saith, *as they departed Jesus began, &c.*, to speak largely in *Johns* commendation. Seeing now the servants of our Sovereign are generally gone hence to wait on their Lord, we may now boldly, without danger to make them puffed up with pride, or our selves suspected for flattery, speak that in praise of their Master which malice it selfe cannot deny. Look above him; to his God, how¹ he is pious! Look beneath; to his Subjects, how he is pitifull! Look about him; how hee is constant to his wife, carefull for his children! Look neare him; how hee is good to his

¹ is he in all the instances, in the 4to. editions.

fervants! Look far from him; how he is just to forraigne Princes! We may see in our Catalogue of Kings that we shall scarce find any but, besides the common infirmities attending on mankind, were branded with some remarkable eye-fores. WILLIAM, a Conqueror, but cruell. RUFUS, resolute, but sacrilegious. HENRY the first, learned, but unnaturall to his Brother. STEVEN stout, but an usurper. HENRY the second, wise, but wanton. RICHARD the first, undaunted, but undutifull to his parents. IOHN, politique, but a great dissembler. HENRY the third, of great devotion, but of small depth. EDWARD the second, beautifull, but deboist. RICHARD the second, well natur'd, but ill manner'd. HENRY the fourth, fortunate, but having a false title. HENRY the fifth, a victorious King, but formerly a riotous Prince. HENRY the sixth, Saint-like, but very simple. EDWARD the fourth, fortunate; but perjur'd: to proceed no further. But let malice it self stain our Sovereign with any notorious personall fault; for to wish him wholly without fault were in effect to wish him dead. Besides this, consider him as a King, and what favours hath he bestowed on his Subjects! and then, that his curtesies might not unravell or fret out, hath bound them with a strong border and a rich fringe, a Trienniall Parliament. *When God brought againe the captivity of Sion, then were wee like unto them that dreame, Psa. 126. 1.* The Jewes would not beleieve their owne happinesse, it was so great, so sudden. But when wee consider so many favours conferred upon us by our King in so few yeares: Ship-money condemned, Monopolies removed, Star-chamber it selfe censured, High-commission levelled, other Courts regulated, offensive Canons declined, burdensome ceremonies to tender consciences profer'd to bee abolished, Trienniall Parliaments setled and the present indefinitely prolonged: we have cause to suspect with our selves, are we awake? Doe wee not dreame? Do I speake? Doe you heare? Is it light? Doe wee not deceive our selves with fond fancies? Or are not these Boones too bigge to begge? too great to be granted? Such as our Fathers never durst desire, nor Grand-fathers hope to receive? O no; it is so; it is sure, it is certaine we are awake; wee doe not dreame; if any thing be asleepe it is our ingratitude,

which is so drowsie to returne deserved thanks to God and the King for these great favours. And so much for the first, *the King*.

24. Next to the King, comes *my Lord the King*; and this peculiarly concernes the Courtiers, and such *Mephiboseths* as eat bread at his Table, who under God owe their being to his bounty, and whose states are not onely made, but created by Him. These indeed of all other are bound most to rejoyce at their Soveraignes returne, being obliged thereunto by a three-fold tye: Loyaltie to a Soveraigne, dutie to a Master, and gratitude to a Benefactour: except (as some fondly hold, that a letter seal'd with three seales may lawfully be opened) any conceive that a three-fold engagement may the easiest be declined.

25. Next, we insist on *His own house*; wherein this City is particularly pointed at. For if *London* be the *Jerusalem* of our *David*, then certainly *Westminster* is His ¹*Sion*, where He hath His constant habitation. Here is the principall Palace of His residence, the proper seat of His great Councill, the usuall receipt of His Revenues, the common Courts of Justice, the ancient Chaire of His Enthroning, the Royall Ashes of His Ancestours, the fruitfull Nursery of His Children. You therefore, the Inhabitants of this Citie, have most reason to rejoyce.

26. But alas! What have I done that I should not? Or rather, what have I to do that I cannot, having invited many guests now to a Feast, and having no meat to set before you? I have called Courtiers and Citizens to rejoyce, and still one thing is wanting, and that a maine materiall one, the founder of all the rest: the King is not returned in Peace. Thus the Sunne is flipt out of our Firmament, and the Diamond dropt out of the ring of my Text. I pretended and promised to make an application thereof to the time; and must I now be like the foolish Builder in the Gospell, begin and cannot finish? *Owne house*: that is the bottom of the Text; but this stands empty. *My Lord the King*: and that is the top of the Text; but Hee is farre off: and the words which are the side-walls to joyne

¹ *Zion*.

them together, *He is come home in Peace*, these, alas! cannot be erected: In this case there is but one remedy to help us, and that prescribed by our Saviour himselfe: *Job. 16. 23, Whatsoever yee aske the Father in my Name, he will give you.*

27. Let us pray faithfully, pray fervently, pray constantly, pray continually. Let Preacher and People joyne their prayers together that God would be pleased to build up the walls and make up the ¹breaches in the Application, that what cannot be told, may be foretold for a truth; and that our Text may be verified of *Charles* in Prophecie, as by *David* in History. Excellently Saint *Austin* adviseth that men should not be curious to enquire how *Originall sin* came into them, but carefull to seek how to get it out. By the same similitude (though reversed) let us not be curious to know what made our King (who next to God I count our *Originall good*) to leave this City, or whether offences given or taken mov'd Him to His departure; but let us bend our braines, and improve our best endeavours to bring him safely and speedily back againe. How often herein have our pregnant hopes miscarried, even when they were to be delivered! Just as a man in a storme swimming ²thorow the sea to the shore till the oares of his faint armes begin to faile him, is now come to catch land, when an unmercifull wave beats him as far back in an instant as he can recover in an houre: Just so when our hopes of a happie peace have been ready to arrive, some envious unexpected obstacle hath started up, and hath set our hopes *ten degrees backwards, as the shadow of the Sun-diall of Abaz.* But let us not hereat be disheartened, but with blind *Bartimeus* the more we are commanded by unhappy accidents to hold our peace, let us cry the louder in our prayers. The rather, because our King is already partly come, come in his offer to come, come in his tender to treat, come in his proffer of Peace. And this very day being the beginning of the Treaty, I may say he set his first step forward: God guide his feet, and speed his pace! ³O let us thriftily husband the least mite of hopes that it may increase, and date our day from

¹ breach.² through.³ Oh.

the first peeping of the morning Star, before the Sun be risen !
In a word, desist from sinning, persist in praying, and then it
may come to passe that this our Use may once be antdated,
and this dayes Sermon sent as a Harbinger before-hand to
provide a lodging in your hearts for your joy against the
time that *my Lord our King shall returne to his owne house*
in peace.

F I N I S .



A
S E R M O N
O F
Reformation.

Preached at the Church of the
SAVOY, last Fast day, July 27,
1 6 4 3.

By *Thomas Fuller* B.D.
and Minister there.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the yeare of our
Lord. 1 6 4 3.

[" Thus have I recited to you (Reverend Fathers, and right famous men) the particulars which I thought fit to be spoke for the reformation of Ecclesiastical affairs. I trust you will take all (out of your gentleness) in good part. If peradventure it be thought that I have passed my bounds in this Sermon, or have said anything out of temper, forgive it me; and ye shall forgive a man speaking out of meer zeal, a man *heartily* lamenting the decay of the Church: and consider the thing it self, not regarding any foolishness. Consider the miserable condition and state of the Church, and endeavour your selves with all your souls and abilities to reform it."—Pp. 27-28 of *A Sermon of Conforming and Reforming: made to the Convocation at S. Pauls Church in London, By John Colet, D.D., Dean of the said Church: upon Rom. xii. 2. 'Be ye reformed,' &c. Writ an hundred and fiftie years since.* Cambridge, 1661, 8vo.]

[Introduction.]



THIS important Sermon, which gave rise to a controversy that attracted considerable notice, was preached on the usual monthly Parliamentary Fast-day (*anteà*, page ccxxxiii.), Wednesday, 26th July, 1643; but by a singular error, which is detected by a reference to one of the "late reformed almanacks" of the time, and to the title-page of Saltmarsh's *Examinations* (page cccxv. *postea*), the date on the title-pages of the two editions of the discourse has been put one day too far in advance (see pages cclxxxix. and ccxcvi.). It was one of several sermons on the same subject; and the preacher was at the time labouring under the imputation of being "one extremely disaffected to the Parliament" (Herle's *Abbas Fall*, 4to., 1644, Dedication to Fuller).

It was preached at the Savoy Chapel in the Strand, now the only relic of "Old John of Gaunt's" Palace. For upward of a century after the time of that Duke of LANCASTER, the Savoy lay in ruins; but HENRY VII. rebuilt and endowed it as a collegiate foundation for the relief of one hundred poor people; and the hospital-chapel was consecrated about 1516. When the Protector SOMERSET demolished the parish-church of St. Mary-le-Strand, the parishioners began to worship at the Savoy Chapel. The old Foundation was revived by QUEEN MARY, but it subsequently became "a nursery of rogues and masterless men,"—a notoriety which it kept up till its dissolution in the year 1702. As regards the Chapel, in the reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH a new parish was formed out of St. Clement Danes parish and the royal Precinct, the name of the old parish church being perpetuated in the name commonly applied to the new one, viz. St. Mary Savoy (see page 331), or St. Mary-le-Savoy (Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 696). But the Chapel itself is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, access to it being obtained, as is often usual in churches whose patron Saint is the Baptizer JOHN, by descending steps. The Savoy in its double capacity of hospital-chapel and parish-church has been the scene of some noteworthy events in the ecclesiastical annals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and several famous preachers have been connected with it. (See an article on "Dr. Fuller and the Savoy," in the Rev. W. J. Loftie's *In and Out of London*, 8vo., London, 1875, pages 135 *seq.*)

The *Reformation-Sermon* is the first of several discourses preached by THOMAS FULLER at this chapel. His appointment to the parish has already been noted, page ccxxxiii. *anteà*. NEWCOURT (*Repertorium*, i. 697) mentions one RIC. BARKER as Curate in 1640; but the names of the four Lecturers in FULLER's time have been lost sight of. It seems, however, that the parishioners (including the inhabitants of the Precinct) interfered with the

appointments. According to the *Journals of the House of Commons*, 30th May, 1642, certain of the parishioners requested through Sir ROBERT HARLEY, the foremost of the "deforming reformers," that a "Mr. THO. GIBBS shall be recommended to the Savoye to be a Lecturer there;" "and that the Doctor there [*i.e.* BALCANQUAL, who had with some the reputation of "a vile man," *Baillie*, i. 286] be required to suffer . . . the Lecturer there accordingly" (vol. ii. 595*a*: the blank is in the original). The petition does not seem to have been received with the favour of the House; for on the 15th of the next month the following entry is met with: "The humble Petition of the Tenants of the *Savoye*, together with the major Part of the Parishioners of *St. Mary le Strand*, was this day read; and nothing done upon it" (*Journals*, ii. 625*b*). Influence at that time was at work on behalf of FULLER, a more exact date to whose actual appointment can now be obtained.

Under the first of the dates supplied by the *Commons Journals* there are no particulars on the matter in Sir SIMONDS D'EWE's valuable manuscript journal (Harl. MS. 163, ff. 526*b*, 527*ab*); but in the second case some details can be added to the circumstances already known. After Mr. OLIVER CROMWELL had moved (Wednesday, 15th June: folio 548*b*) that the Justices of the Peace in Yorkshire who had any of the Armes of the Papists in their custodie should not deliver them to any person whatsoever, but by authoritie from his Majestie signified unto them by both Howses of Parliament, and after it had been ordered accordingly,—Sir JOHN NORTHCOTE, Baronet, Member for Ashburton, spoke in favour of the appointment of THOMAS FULLER, as one of the Lecturers of the Savoy. It is presumed that the Baronet, from his West-country affociations, would be acquainted with FULLER. Sir SIMONDS's important note on the subject is as follows:—

"S^r John Norcot moued that the petition of the greater part of the parishioners of the Savoy might bee read which was done accordingly and therein it appeared that some 14 or 15 of them had before petitioned for on Mr. Gibbs to bee a Lecturer there and that now neare vpon fix score of the same parish had petitioned for one Mr. fuller to bee the Minister there which place had beene formerly supplied by the said Mr. Gibbs under the name of a Lecturer and so desired that the said order touching the said Mr. Gibbs might bee vacated but vpon S^r Robert Harleys iustifying his delivering in the former petition vpon which the said Mr. Gibbs was allowed the howse would at this time meddle noe further with the busines but proceeded to matter of more publike concernment." (Harl. MS. 163, folio 549, or 162 in pencil.)

Soon after the delivery of the Sermon, FULLER, "for the present distress," went away from London. Upon the 30th September the House of Commons resolved to prefer Mr. JOHN BOND "to the Sequestration of the *Savoy*, to preach there" (*Journals*, iii. 259*b*); *i.e.* most probably to FULLER's vacated position. BOND was of Dorchester, being the son of a member for that town, and pupil of "Patriarch" WHITE. One of his Sermons, preached on the 27th March, 1644, is dated from his study at

the Savoy, and on the title-page he was said to be then preacher there; showing that he had promptly taken up quarters that were indeed always earnestly coveted. To BOND, therefore, FULLER refers in his letter to the Parishioners, page 332 *postea*; "Doctor" being there used for *teacher*, in antithesis to doctrine. On the 10th April, 1644, Sir BENJAMIN RUDYARD moved for conferring the place of Master of the Savoy upon Mr. PATRICK YOUNG, celebrated as the tutor of MILTON; and it was decided that both YOUNG and BOND should be considered of in relation to that place (*Commons' Journals*, iii. 455). After considerable delay the latter was appointed; and he was to be esteemed Master "as if he were chosen and elected by the Chaplains of the said perpetual Hospital of the Savoy." The tenants, however, made so many excuses from paying the new Master any rents, &c., that a resolution of the Parliament (2nd Nov., 1644) was passed to establish his right to all the profits "in as full and ample a manner as Doctor BALCANQUAL, late Master thereof." BOND was confirmed in the possessions of BALCANQUAL's lodgings, as also in his sequestered goods, valued at £97 6s. od. (*Commons' Journals*, iii. 684-5 *et seq.*; *Lords' Journals*, vii. 59 *et seq.*)

The subject of the Sermon, the Reformation of the Church, is characterised by FULLER's biographer as a "frequent and thumbed subject." It had gradually been assuming importance since the complication in Scotch politics, 1638-40. Side by side with the "Interfeits of Arms" went on a vigorous "Exchange of Pens." In reply to the arguments of the Scotch, Bishop HALL "asserted" his *Episcopacie by Divine Right* (London, 1640, 4to.). In the first recess of the Long Parliament, Lord BROOKS "opened" *The Nature of that Episcopacie, which is exercised in England* (London, 1641, 4to.), a discourse in which "with all humility are represented some considerations tending to the much desired Peace, and long expected Reformation, of This our Mother Church." PRYNNE, "late (and now againe), an Utter-Barester of Lincolnes Inn," wrote in the same interest *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacy both to Regall Monarchy, and Civil Unity* (London, 1641, 4to.). On the other side "Theophilus Churchman" (HEYLYN) put forth his *History of Episcopacy* (London, 1641, 4to.), and JEREMY TAYLOR, concerned for the fate of Laud, "asserted" Episcopacy "against the Arians and Acephali New and Old" (Oxford, 1642, 4to.). The advocates for reformation had for their champions the SMECTYMNUANS, MILTON, and a host of pamphleteers. For the chief literature of this prolific controversy, see HEYLYN's *Cyprianus Anglicus* (Life of LAUD), ed. 1671, book v. page 465; MASSON's *Life of John Milton*, vol. ii. pages 213 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*; and several passages in vol. i. of the *Letters &c.* of BAILLIE, who with his fellow-Commissioners interested themselves in some books against "his little Grace," as he termed LAUD. It is very noteworthy that one of MILTON's three anonymous pamphlets in this discussion had already come under FULLER's censure in his *Holy and Profane State*. Professor MASSON has thus referred to the circumstance: "There was enough in the pamphlets themselves to cause an inquisitiveness respecting their author among both friends and foes of his principles. Proof of this as respects foes of his principles might

be produced in the form of angry allusions to the pamphlets occurring in contemporary writings. One instance of the kind may be given. There was not a better soul breathing, and certainly not a more quiet and kindly English clergyman, than THOMAS FULLER, Rector of Broad Windsor, Dorsetshire, but now much in London and known as a preacher there. He was exactly of MILTON's own age; he had been MILTON's coeval at Cambridge, and, like MILTON, he was destined to be remembered in the world of English letters. His greater historical works which were to preserve the memory of his industry, his moderation and candour, his lucid intelligence, and his quaint and delicious wit, were yet to come; but he had published one or two things, including his *History of the Holy War*. As a work to follow that, he had been engaged since 1640, partly in his Dorsetshire Rectory, and partly in London, on the collection of short essays and popular biographic sketches now known as his *Holy and Profane State*. This work was not published till 1642, when it appeared as a folio volume, with cuts, from the Cambridge press; but it had been in manuscript nearly a year before it was published, and therefore the allusion made in one of the sketches in it to MILTON's maiden-pamphlet, *Of Reformation and the causes that hitherto have hindered it*, may be considered as the earliest recognition of that pamphlet by any critic of note to us now. Whatever FULLER may have thought of the pamphlet as a whole, there were passages in it that shocked him. More particularly he was shocked by those passages in which MILTON, in his zeal against bishops, had not hesitated to speak irreverently even of such Bishops as CRANMER, LATIMER, and RIDLEY, fathers and martyrs of English Protestantism though they were. So much had this grated on the good FULLER that, in his little sketch called *The Life of Bishop Ridley*, he cannot forbear bringing the pamphlet and its anonymous author (though FULLER may have known who he was) sharply to book. 'One might have expected,' he says, speaking of the martyr-bishops of MARY's days, 'that these worthy men should have been re-estimated in their former honour; whereas the contrary has come to passe. For some who have an excellent facultie in uncharitable synecdoches, to condemne a life for an action; and taking advantage of some faults in them, do much condemn them. And one lately hath traduced them with such language as neither befecemed his parts (whosoever he was) that spake it, nor their piety of whom it was spoken. If pious Latimer, whose bluntness was incapable of flattery, had his simplicity abused with false informations, he is called *another Doctour Shew to divulge in his Sermon forged accusations*. CRANMER and RIDLEY, for some failings, styled *the common stales to countenance with their prostituted gravities every politick fetch which was then on foot, as often as the potent Statists pleased to employ them*' [*Holy State*, ed. 1652, p. 279]. Here, after a further quotation or two from the impious pamphleteer, who is referred to in a note as 'Authour of the book lately printed of *Causes Hindering Reformation in England*, lib. i. pag. 10,' FULLER holds up his hands in pious sorrow" (*The Life of John Milton*, 1871, vol. ii. pages 359, 360). In connection with this interesting passage, the reader will not fail to remark FULLER's more earnest commendation of the reformers

in ¶ 25 of the following Sermon (page 307 *postea*), and his prayer at page 350 that the very Doctrine of martyrdom be not martyred. See also *Worthies*, chap. iii. page 9.

Several schemes of Church-reformation were put forth by moderate Churchmen whose names carried weight. FULLER himself had hazarded a basis of agreement (see *Innocents-Day Sermon*, ¶ 19, page 249); but Anabaptism (¶ 23, page 307 *postea*), Millenarianism (¶ 33, pages 311-2), and the multitude of other sects, the adherents of which were eager for their own reformations, was already bringing so much disrepute on the Protestant religion (*Truth Maintained*, page 354 *postea*), that he was drawn closer to the "old paths." The hope to which he had given expression, that the delusive anticipations of the sectaries were being tolerated by the Parliament only for a time (*Innocents-Day Sermon*, ¶ 22, page 252; *Inauguration-Sermon*, ¶ 8, page 275), is of course a touch of satire. The schemes of ecclesiastical reform that were advanced by all these parties suggested the ridicule of BUTLER (*Hudibras*, part i. canto i. lines 201 *seq.*).

FULLER as effectively as the satirist directed strokes of humour against the "sub-de-re-reformations" of the subsequent years, until many of them were "worn quite out of fashion." An historic value attaches to the *Sermon of Reformation* from the fact that the famous Assembly of Divines had, the same month, begun its meetings with the view of resolving what system of ecclesiastical polity should replace the stately fabric recently overthrown. At the time in question the metropolis had been abandoned by the King (see ¶ 34, page 312), the nobles, several members of parliament, and the bulk of the clergy. Moreover, the Sequestrations of the remaining City benefices, in cases where the rod of sequestration was thought necessary to be applied, were under active prosecution. The delivery of the sermon—perhaps the last Royalist discourse preached in London in that excited year—is not therefore without an element of the heroic; although the preacher, it is true, seems to be playing the part of a wary theologian. He had already acknowledged the necessity of a reformation (see *antea*, page 249, ¶ 18), which, however, was to retain the important element hinted at in the lines of RICHARD LOVELACE ("To Lucrecia: from Prison," an Epode: Ed. 1649, page 51; Hazlitt's ed. page 43):—

"A Reformation I would have,
As for our griefes a Sov'raigne salve;
That is, a cleansing of each wheele
Of State, that yet some rust doth feele."

FULLER's reference to the loud noise (¶ 12, page 302) imported into the discussion is not exaggerated. The subject was debated by the Commons, who, as FULLER gives us to understand, made the subject "boil over." They received frequent petitions on the subject, large numbers of them being mentioned in the Journals of their proceedings. "No day passed," says FULLER (*Church-History*, xi. 185, § viii.), "wherein some petition was not presented. . . . In so much that the very porters (as they said) were able no longer to undergoe the burden of Episcopall tyranny, and petitioned against

it." BAILLIE, as well as FULLER, was amidst these Reformation scenes; and he wrote: "The Toun of London and a world of men minds to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of Bishops, Deanes, and all their appurteanances. . . . Hudge things are here in working. . . . All here are wearie of Bishops." "Yesterday [11th Dec. 1640] a world of honest citizens, in their best apparell, in a very modest way, went to the House of Commons, sent in two Aldermen with their petition, subscribed as we hear by 15,000 hands, for removing Episcopacie, the Service-Book, and other such scandalls, out of the Church. It was weell received. . . . Never such a Parliament in England: all is to be rectified; for all is much out of right" (*Letters, &c.*, i. 274, 280). But these reforming reformers soon laid aside their best clothes and good manners. Their conduct has fallen under the censure of the Parliamentary historian: "Another thing which seemed to trouble some who were not bad men was that extreame License which the Common People, almost from the very beginning of the Parliament, tooke to themselves of reforming, without Authority, Order or Decency, rudely disturbing Church-Service whilest the Common-Prayer was reading, tearing those Bookes, Surplaces, and such things: which the Parliament, either too much busied in variety of affaires, or (perchance too much) fearing the los of a considerable Party whom they might have need of against a reall and potent Enemy, did not so far restraine as was expected or desired by those men" (May's *History*, 1647, Book i. chap. ix. pages 113-4). The supineness of those in authority is especially condemnatory in the case of the barbarous conduct of the soldiery amongst the tombs of the Saxon Kings at Winchester Cathedral, at which conduct FULLER is justly indignant (page 354 *postea*).

FULLER's bold discourse, which he says was preached at a short notice, was at once committed to the press, being by the "Crown" publisher, JOHN WILLIAMS, entered at Stationers' Hall on the 2nd August, under the hands of DOWNAM the Licenser. It was published on the same day (manuscript note in the British Museum copy, E. 63. 3) in 4to., with WILLIAMS's name and DOWNAM's imprimatur on the title-page (pp. ii. + 28), the same imprimatur being also repeated at the end. It was a copy of this edition that SALTMARSH criticised (see page 315 *postea*). It is noticeable that this edition, like the second, gave a wrong date to the Sermon. SALTMARSH's attack as well as FULLER's reply created a demand for another edition, which was perhaps intended for circulation in Oxford, where FULLER then was. This second edition (pp. 24, 4to.) was without printer's name and DOWNAM's imprimatur on the title-page, but the imprimatur was given at the end. The title-page of this latter edition is that which is given at page cclxxxix. in fac-simile, except that the blank space is in the original taken up with a small block depicting a rose, a thistle, a lily, and a harp, betokening loyalty; and a floreated design containing the same devices forms the ornament at the head of the sermon on page 297. This latest edition is taken as the basis of the text; but some corrections are made on the authority of the first edition, and a few of the chief differences in the reading are indicated in the foot-notes.]

A Sermon of Reformation.



HEB. 9. 10.

Vntill the time of Reformation.

1. **T**HOSE who live beyond the Polar circles are called *Periscii*, because they have shadows round about them. In a more mystical meaning the Jewes before Christ may be so called, living in constant Umbrages of Types and Ceremonies, which were taken away when the Sunne of Righteousnesse did arise. Their sacrificing of Lambes and Rammes, and Kids and Goats, and Calves, and Kine, and Turtle-doves, with their observing of Meates and Drinkes, and Dayes, ¹were, as the Apostle saith, *Colos. 2. 17, A shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.*

2. Yea, in some sense I may safely say, that the very *Sanctum* and *Sanctum Sanctorum* was still but the outward *Atrium*, as containing therein such Types as related to a higher and holier truth. To instance only in the Holy of ²Holies: herein were seven sacred Utensils, all full fraught with Heavenly Mysteries.

3. First, *the Golden Censor*, signifying our prayers mingled with Christs merits (woefull for us if he did not give better Incense then we bring) which he offers up for us to his Father. Secondly, *the Arke of the Covenant overlaid round about with gold*; whilst *Sbittim* wood was in the midst thereof, to Typifie Christs humanity decked and adorned with his Godhead. Thirdly, *the Pot of Manna*, looking backwards in memoriall of the miraculous meat of the Israelites in the

¹ whereas,

² Holiest.

Wilderneffe; and forwards to set forth Angels food in Heaven, which is neither to eat nor to drinke, but to doe Gods will, and to see Gods glory. Fourthly, *Aarons Rod which budded*, and besides the History contained therein, alluded to Christs Resurrection, *that Branch of Jesse* cut downe and cast out amongst the dead: which yet afterwards did revive, flourish, and fructifie. Fifthly, *the Tables of the Covenant*, wherein the Commandments were written by Gods finger, to intimate that only an infinite power can effectually print Gods Lawes in our hard and obdurate hearts. Sixthly, *the golden Cherubims* overshadowing the Mercy-Seat with their wings, and looking towards it; to shew that the mystery of Gods mercy is to be covered from the curiosity of prophane eyes, whilst the pious may with comfort behold it. Seventhly, and lastly, *the Mercy-Seat it selfe*; the Embleme of that Mercy-Seat in Heaven, to which poore penitents being cast at the Barre of Gods justice have a free and open appeale.

4. All these were of gold and pure gold, and yet Saint *Paul Gal. 4. 9*, calleth all legall ceremonies *beggarly Elements*, in comparison of Christ the Truth, in whom these did determine and expire. As the rude lines of Black-Lead wherewith the Picture is first drawne vanish away when the curious Limner layeth on the lively colours; so all these outward Ordinances had an end at the comming of Christ, being only to last *Vntill the time of Reformation*.

5. The Text is so short, it needs not to be divided, only the word REFORMATION must be expounded; a word long in pronouncing and longer in performing, as generally signifying the bettering and amending of what is amisse: In Greeke *διόρθωσις*, *A Through Rectifying*. However, sometimes the word *Reformation* is not opposed to things bad in their owne nature, but to things that are lesse perfect, and may be more perfected, as in the Text. For the Ceremoniall Law of the Jewes was compleat in its kinde, as given of God, and every thing made by *Him* must be like *Him* that made it, *very good*. Yet comparatively that Law was imperfect, and needed a Reformation, which was performed at Christs comming. Besides, though the Ceremoniall Law was good in it selfe,

yet it was bad as it was abused by the ignorant Jewes. For though the knowing Patriarks looked through and beyond the Types to the Messias himselfe; yet the dull People ^x mistaking the Shell for the Kernell, and the Casket for the Jewell, lodged their soules where they should only have bayted, and did dote on the shadowes as on the substance it selfe; in which respect the Peoples judgements, as well as those Ceremonies, needed a Reformation.

6. The maine point we shall insift on, is this; That *Christians living under the Gospel, live in a time of Reformation*, which will appeare in severall particulars: For besides Ceremonies removed according to the principall intent of the Text, Manners are now reformed and Doctrine refined: Poligamy connived at in the Patriarks, now generally condemned, the Bill of Divorce cancelled by Christianity, which was permitted to the Jewes, not because that was good, but because they were bad, and by this Tolleration were kept from being worfe. The second Table abused by the restrictive Comments of the Pharisees, confining those Lawes (which were made to confine them) onely to the outward Act, are now according to our Saviours interpretation extended to their true demention. The mistery of the Trinity clouded in the old Testament is cleered in the New. The Doctrine of Gods righteousness by faith, of the meritt of Christ, of the spirit of Adoption, of the Resurrection of the Body, darkly delivered under the Law, are manifested in the Gospel, with many other heavenly Revelations.

7. *Use*: Let us be hartily thankfull to God, who gave us to be borne since the comming of Christ in the time of Reformation. Our Twi-light is ¹cleerer then the Jewish Noon-day. The men of *China* use to brag that they (because of their ingenious civility) have two Eyes, the Europæans one, and that all the World besides are starke blinde: more truely it may be said that the Christians had two Eyes, the Law and Gospell; the Jewes but one, the Law alone; and all people and Pagans besides sit in darknesse and the shadow of death. The Jewes indeed saw Christ presented in a land-scept, and

¹ now clearer.

beheld him through the Perspective of faith, *seeing the promises a farre off*. But at this day a Dwarfe-Christian is an overmatch for a gyant Jew in knowledge, as appeareth by our Saviours Riddle, *Mat. 11. 11: Among them that are borne of women there hath not risen a greater then John the Baptist: Notwithstanding he that is least in the Kingdome of Heaven is greater then he.*

8. Which Riddle is thus untyed: *John* Baptist was the greatest amongst the Children of Women, because other Prophets foresaw Christ, He saw him; others spake of Christ, He spake to him, and had the high honour to baptize him with water, by whose spirit he himselfe was baptized: Yet was he the least in the Kingdome of Heaven (which properly began after Christs Ascention), because though perchance acquainted with the generals thereof, the particulars of the time, place, meanes and manner were as much conceal'd from him as cleerly revealed unto us. He never knew that *Judas* should betray Christ, *Caiphas* accuse him, *Peter* deny him, *Pilate* condemne him, Souldiers crucifie him, *Nicodemus* embalme him, *Joseph* bury him. These, and many more Circumstances of our Saviours Passion, Resurrection and Ascention, now Histories to our Children, were Misteries to *John* Baptist; who, though Christs Harbinger *to prepare his way*, yet did not live to see his Master ¹to possesse what he had provided for him. Wherefore if *Alexander* the Emperour did count himselfe much indebted to the Gods that he was borne a Grecian, and not a Barbarian, how thankfull ought we to be to God, who gave us to be borne neither Jewes, nor Pagans, but Christians, since *the time of Reformation!*

9. *Objection*: But this indeed were true, if all things in the Church continued at this time in the same condition of Primative Purity, whereto Christ Reform'd it. But long since that *falling away*, foretold by the Apostle, is come to passe, and that *man of sinne* hath played his part in the Church, therein deforming Manners with Vice, Doctrine with Heresie, Discipline with Superstition. As for any Reformation which

¹ to omitted.

since hath happened in *England*, it hath been but partiall and imperfect. King *Henry* the eight brake the Popes necke, but bruised not the least finger of Popery; rejecting his Supremacy, but retaining his superstition in the six Articles. The Reformation under *Edward* the sixth was like the Reformer, little better then a childe; and he must needs be a weake *Defender of the Faith*, who needed a Lord Protector for himselfe. As Nurfes to woe their Children to part from knives, doe suffer them to play with Rattles; so the State then permitted the People (infants in Piety) to please themselves with some¹ frivolous points of Popery, on condition they would forsake the dangerous opinions thereof. As for *Queene Elizabeth*, her Character is given in that plaine, but true expression, *that she swept the Church of England and left all the dust behind the doore*. Her Successors have gone in the same path and the same pace with little alteration, and lesse Addition in matters of Moment, save that besides some old errours unamended, many Innovations have broken in upon us, which might be instanced in, were it as safe as it is easie to reckon them up. We therefore desire and expect a *Thorough Reformation*, to see Christ mounted on his Throne, with his Scepter in his hand, in the Purity of his Ordinances, and we shall grieve and groane untill such a Reformation.

10. *Answer*: This objection containes many parts, and must be taken asunder: Some things therein are freely to be granted, and others flatly to be denied, and others warily to be qualified. We freely confesse the Deformation by Popery, as also that the Reforming [which] was by *Henry* the eight and *Edward* the sixth (good Prince, of whom I had said that he dyed too soone, but because he dyed when God would have him) were but partial and imperfect. Withall, we flatly deny that *Queene Elizabeth* left the dust behinde the Doore, which she cast out on the Dunghill, whence this uncivill expression was raked up. The Doctrine by her established, and by her Successors maintained in the thirty-nine Articles, if declared, explained, and asserted from false Glosses, have all gold, no dust or drosse in them.

¹ frivolous.

11. Againe, we freely confesse that there may be some faults in our Church in matters of Practice and Ceremonies; and no wonder if there be: it would be a Miracle if there were not. Besides, there be some Innovations rather *in the Church* then *of the Church*, as not chargeable on the Publique Account, but on private mens scores, *who are old enough, let them answer for themselves.* Religion in *England* is like the Cloathes of the Israelites, *Deuteronomie 29. 5*, which for many yeeres together *waxed not old.* Alas! in some places it is threadbare, may it have a new nappe; in more it is spotted, may it be well scowred; and in all places rent asunder, may it be well mended!

12. A Through Reformation we and all good men doe desire with as strong affections, though perhaps not with so loud a noise, as any whatsoever. The highest clamour doth not alwayes argue the greatest earnestnesse. But with this qualification, that by *Through Reformation* we meane such a one whereof we are capable, *pro statu viatorum*, made with all due and Christian moderation: That Arrow is well drawne that is drawne to the head, but it may be over-drawne cleane through the Bow, and so doe no good. There is in like manner a possibility of out-doing, even in the point of Reforming: And therefore how a true Through Reformation may be made, and managed long to continue, by Gods assistance and your patience, I will take in hand to give the true Characters of such who are to be true and proper Reformers.

13. First, they must have a lawfull calling thereunto: What better deede then to make Brothers friends, and to be an equall Umpire betwixt them? Yet Christ himselfe declin'd the Employment, as out of his Vocation, *Luke 12. 14: Who made me a Judge or Divider over you?* Some good duties lye in common to all good men. Whosoever is called a Christian hath a just calling to performe them: 'Tis so farre from being a sinne for any to doe them, that it is a sinne for any to leave them undone. But there be other duties which God hath impaled in for some particular persons, so that it is a Ryot or Trespasse at least for any other to force their Entrance into

them : Amongst these Actions, Reformation of Churches is a chief, as of highest Honour, and greatest concernment.

14. Now, the Supreme power alone hath a lawfull calling to Reforme a Church in those respective places. wherein it is supreme. Where this supreme power is seated, the Statists of the severall places may judge; the Divine goeth no farther, but to maintaine that where the Supreme power is, there alone is the power of Reformation; as it plainly appeares by the Kings of *Judab* in their Kingdome. Two sorts of Idolatry the Jewes therein were guilty of: The one Grosse, the other Refined. Grosse Idolatry against the first Commandement, in worshipping a false God, as *Baal*, and the like. Refined Idolatry against the second Commandement, in worshipping the true God after a false and forbidden manner, 2 *Chronicles* 33. 17: *Nevertbelesse the people did sacrifice still in the high places, yet unto the Lord their God onely.* Grosse Idolatry found many Reformers, *Asa*, *Joash*, *Amaziab*, *Vzziab*, *Jotbam*, ¹*Manasseb*; whilest onely two, *Jebosaphat* and *Hezekiab*, endeavoured the Reforming of Refined Idolatry, and *Josiab* alone perfected it. In both we may observe that the Kings were praised for doing so much, or dispraised for doing no more; which plainly proves that the Reforming of the Church did properly pertain unto them. God neither mistakes nor confounds the good Deeds or Rewards of men, but sets the due praises on the true persons. The person that doth well shall be praised: the Prince shall not be commended for the good Deeds of the people, nor the people commended for the good Deeds of the Prince; indeed God threatens the common people of Israel, *Leviticus* 26. 23, with Beasts, Warres, and many other Plagues, *if they will not be reformed.* But we never read that God reprov'd the people for not Reforming the Jewish Church from Idolatry, as a Taske belonging to the Supreme power placed over them.

15. Meane time meere private men must not be idle, but move in their Spheare till the Supreme power doth Reforme. First, they are dayly to pray to God to inspire those who have power and place with Will and Skill, courageously to begin,

¹ *Manasse.*

constantly to continue, and happily to conclude such a Reformation. Secondly, *they* are seriously to reforme themselves: He needs not to complaine of too little worke, who hath a little world in himselfe to amend. A good man in Scripture is never called Gods Church (because that is a collective terme belonging to many), but is often termed Gods Temple; such a Temple it is lawfull for every private man to Reforme: He must see that the foundation of faith be firme, the Pillars of Patience be strong, the windowes of Knowledge be cleere, the rooffe of Perseverance be perfected. Thirdly, he may Reforme *the Church in his house*, *Philemon 2*, carefully looking to his owne Family, *Joshua 24. 15*, *that he and his house may serve the Lord*: But as for the publique Reforming of the Church in generall, he must let it alone as belonging to *the Supreme power*, to whom it is appropriated.

16. *Objection*: But seeing wee have occasion to speake of lawfull Callings, what Calling (may some say) have you to meddle with this point above your reach, and without your Compasse? Who ¹penned your Commission to take such matters in hand? Leave the describing of Reformers Characters to such who have more age, experience, and ability to performe it.

17. *Answer*: I am, or should be, most sensible of mine owne weakenesse, being ἐλαχιστότερος, the least of those that dispence the Word and Sacraments. Yet have I a calling as good as the Church of *England* could give me: And if she be not ashamed of such a Sonne, I count my selfe honoured with such a Mother. And though meere private Christians may not intermeddle with ²publick Reforming of a Church, Gods Prophets have in all Ages challenged the privilege to tell necessary Truths unto the greatest. The tongue used to be cut out of the Roman Sacrifices and given unto their Heralds, to shew that freedome of language was allowed them. We are Christs ³Ambassadors, *2 Corinthians 5. 20*, and claime the leave to speak Truth with sobernesse: And though I cannot expect my words should be *like Nails fastened by the Masters of the Assemblies*, *Eccl. 12. 11*, yet I hope they may prove as

¹ pen'd.² publique.³ Embassadours.

Tacks, entred by him that desires to be faithfull and peaceable in Israel.

18. The second Requisite in Reformers is Piety. The very *Snuffers* in the Tabernacle were *made of pure Gold*, Exodus 37. 23. They ought to be good themselves who are to amend others, least that reproofe fall heavie on them, *Psal.* 50. 16, 17, *But unto the ungodly* (saith God), *Why dost thou preach my lawes, and takest my Covenant in thy mouth? whereas thou batest to bee Reformed, and hast cast my words behinde thee.* And though sometimes bad men may Reforme others, by ¹*vertue of their Office*: Yet when it is done by the Office of their Vertue, and efficacy of their goodnesse, it is more gracefull in it selfe, more acceptable to God, and more comfortable to the Doer.

19. Thirdly, Knowledge in a competent, yea, plentifull measure. Dangerous was the mistake committed by Sir ²*Francis Drake* in Eighty Eight; when neglecting to carry the ³*Lanthorne*, (as he was commanded) in the darke night, [he] chased five Hulkes of the Dutch Merchants, supposing them to have been his Enemies of the Spaniards. Such and worfe Errors may be committed in the Reforming of a Church, good mistaken for bad, and bad mistaken for good, where the light of knowledge is wanting for direction.

20. Fourthly, true courage and magnanimity. Reformers need to be armed with a stout spirit Cap à Pee, which are to breake through the front of bad customes long received. Such Customes, as they are bad, are ⁴*Vsurpers*; as they are Customes, are Tyrants; and will stickle stoutly to stand in their old place. ⁵*Saint Matthew* saith, 27. 15, *At the Feast the Governour was wont to release unto the people a Prisoner.* ⁶*Saint Luke* saith, 23. 17, *Of necessity he must release one unto them at the Feast.* What was but a Curtesie at the first grew in processe of time to bee a custome, and at last became a necessity. Such customes made necessary by continuance must Reformers expect to encounter, and resolve to remove. O, Coward-lines in a Magistrate is a great sinne! Who would thinke to finde the fearfull marching in the fore-front? and

¹ the vertue. ² Camdens [*Annals of*] *Eliz.* p. 367 [Ed. 4to. 1625, Bk. iii. p. 270].

³ Lanterne.

⁴ Vsurpers.

⁵ Saint omitted.

yet in that forlorne hope which goeth to Hell, *Revelation* 21. 8, see them first named: *but the fearfull, the unbeleeving and abominable, &c.*: so necessary is Christian courage, especially in a Reformer.

21. Fifthly and lastly, they must be endued with *Christian discretion*, a grace that none ever ¹speake against but those that wanted it: *A good man will guide his affaires with discretion, Psalme* 112. 5. I must confesse there is a discretion (falsely so called) both carnall in it selfe, and inconsistent with true Zeale, yea, destructive of it. Christ had two Disciples of the same name, the one a true man, the other a Traytor, both *Judas*. Wherefore to prevent mistakes, the former is never cited in Scriptures, but with an addition: *Judas saith unto him, not Iscariot, Lord, &c.*, *John* 14. 22; *Judas* the servant of *Jesus Christ*, and Brother of *James*, *Jude* 1. In like manner wee, here mentioning Discretion, call it *Christian Discretion*, for difference thereof, that all may know we meane not that which destroyes Zeale, but that which directs it; not that which quencheth Zeale, but which keepe it in the Chimney, the proper place thereof; not that which makes it lesse lively, but what makes it more lasting. This Discretion, though last named, is not least needfull in the Reformers of a Church; and must principally appeare in two things: First, the not sparing of the Tares for the Wheats sake. Secondly, the not ²spoyling the Wheat for the Tares sake.

22. The not sparing the Tares for the Wheats sake. By Tares we understand, not only things unlawfull in a Church, but things unexpedient and unprofitable, which also must be removed. The barren Fig-tree, *Luke* 13. 7, was condemned, not for bearing deadly or dangerous fruit, but none at all: *Cut it downe; why ³cumbereth it the ground?* Gods Garden ought to bee so well dressed as to have nothing superflous: that doth harme that doth no good therein. ⁴*Hee that will not worke, neither shall bee eate*, *2 Thessalonians* 3. 10. ⁵If such Ceremonies are to be found in our Church, which will not labour, neither needfull in themselves, nor ⁶conducting

¹ spake.² spilling.³ cumbereth.⁴ He.⁵ Is such Ceremonies to be, &c.⁶ conducting.

to decency, let them no longer have countenance in the Church, nor maintenance from it.

23. The not ¹spoyling the Wheat for the Tares sake, and letting those things alone which are well ordered already. Yet is there a generation of Anabaptists, in number fewer, I hope, then are reported, yet more, I fear, then are discovered; people too turbulent to obey, and too tyrannicall to command. If it should come into their hands to reforme, Lord, what worke would they make! Very facile, but very foule is that mistake in the vulgar Translation, *Luke 15. 8.* Instead of *Everrit domum, She swept the house*, 'tis rendred, *Evertit domum, She overturn'd the house*. Such sweeping we must expect from such Spirits, which under pretence to cleanse our Church, would destroy it. The best is, they are so farre from *sitting* ^x *at the Helme* that I hope they shall ever be *kept under Hatches*.

24. Now as discretion discovereth it selfe in the matter of Reformation, so also it appeareth in the manner thereof. First, it is to be done with all reverence and respect to the ancient Fathers. These, though they lived neer the Fountain of Religion, yet lived in the Marches of Paganisme; as also in the time wherein the *Mystery of Iniquity began to work*, which we hope is now ready to receive the wages. If therefore there be found in their practice any Ceremonies smacking of Paganisme or Popery, and if the same can be justly chalenged to continue in our Church, I plead not for their longer life, but for their decent buriall.

25. Secondly, with honourable reservation to the memories of our first Reformers. Reverend *Cranmer*, Learned *Ridley*, Downright *Lattimer*, Zealous *Bradford*, Pious *Philpot*, patient *Hooper*, men that had their failings, but worthy in their Generations: *These bare the heat of the day*, indeed, ^x which were burnt to ashes; and though we may write a fairer hand then they, yet they affixed a firmer Seal, that dyed for their Doctrine.

26. Lastly, with carefulnesse not to give any just offence to the Papists. Say not, we need not to feere to offend them

who would confound us. We have so long waited for their conversion, we have almost seene our subversion. Indeed we are forbidden to offend Gods *little ones*, but not inhibited to offend the Devils *great ones*. And though S. *Paul* bids us to *give no offence to those that are without*, that is meant of pure Pagans; and therefore the Papists being neither well *within* nor well *without*, fall not under that precept. For all these Expressions favour more of *Humor* then *Holinesse*, of *Stomack* then the Spirit. Though Papists forget their duty to us, let us remember our duty to them; to them, not as Papists, but as professors of Christianity, to their persons, not erroneous opinions, not giving them any just offence. But if they will be offended without cause, be their amends in their own hands. If *Rebeckah* will come to *Isaac*, she shall be wellcome. But in no case shall *Isaac* go back to *Rebeckah*: *Genesis* 24. 6, *Beware that thou bring not my son thither again.*

27. These five Ingredients must compound effectually reformers. Where any, or all of these are wanting, a Reformation will either not be made or not long kept. Witnesse the pretended Reformation the Papists so much bragge off, in the last of Queen *Mary*, in the University of *Cambridge*, by the *Delegates of Cardinall Poole*. Where nothing of worth was done, but many foolish ceremonies enforced, and the Bones of *Bucer* and *Phagius* burnt. It passeth for the expression of a mad man, *to beat the aire*; and it is little better to beat the *earth*. To fight (as they did) against dust and ashes, bodies of men long before buried: except they thought by this similitude of burning dead bodies to worke in silly people a beliefe of Purgatory fire, tormenting soules deceased. Now when it came into question whether the Ordinances and Decisions of those Reformers should be ingrossed in Parchment or in Paper, ¹Doctor *Swinborne*, Master of *Clare Hall*, gave his opinion that paper would doe the deed well enough, as being likely to last longer then those decrees should stand in force; as afterward it came to passe, they being all rescinded in the next yeer, being the first of Queene *Elizabeth*.

¹ Fox, *Acts Monum.* page 1064. [Ed. Lond. 1641, vol. iii. page 773; Ed. Lond. 1868, viii. 286.]

28. Two things more must here be well¹ observed. First, that there is a grand difference betwixt founding of a new Church, and reforming of an old. For the former, Saint *Paul* outstript all men in the World. The Papists bragge much of King *Edgar*, who is said to have founded as many Monasteries as there be weekes in the yeer. Surely more Churches in *Asia* and *Europe* were built from the ground by Saint *Paul*, who strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build upon another mans foundation, *Romans* 15. 20. But reforming of Churches is an easier work, as not giving a Church the life but the lustre; not the birth but the beauty; either repairing what is defective, or removing what is redundant. Thus we acknowledge *Solomon* the sole founder of the Temple, though *Joash* repaired it, amending the breaches thereof; *Jotham* enlarged it, adding the beautifull porch thereto; and *Ezechiab* adorned it, covering the pillars with silver therein.

29. However, it is worth our observing that Reformers are sometimes ambitious to entitle themselves to be founders, as being covetous of credit, and counting it more honour to make a thing then to mend it. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* boasted, *Daniel* 4. 30, *Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* Whereas *Babylon* was built by *Nimrod*, or (as others say) *Semyramis*, many yeers before *Nebuchadnezzars* cradle was made. Yet he, no doubt, did encrease, strengthen, and beautifie it; on which title, see how he engrosseth all the glory unto himselfe, as first and sole founder! *Is not this great Babylon that I have built?*

30. Let none in like manner brag that they are now the first Founders of a Church in *England*, built long since therein, time out of minde. We deny and² defie such Papists as say that *Augustine* the Monke was the first Apostle of this Island, where the Gospel long before had been preached, though not to the *Saxons* our Ancestors, yet to the *Britans* our Predecessors. Yea, having cause to search who first brought

¹ Two things more I will briefly touch, and so conclude.

² defile.

Christianity over into *Britanny*, my endeavours have been still at a losse and left at uncertainty. Perchance as God, *Deuteronomie* 34. 6, buried the body of *Moses*, That *no man knoweth the place of his* ¹*Sepulchre unto this day*, to cut off from the Jewes all occasion of Idolatry; so it seems his wisdom hath suffered the names of the first founders of Religion *Here* to be covered in obscurity, to prevent posterity from being superstitious to their Memories. However, if justly we be angry with the Papists for making the Brittish Church (a tall stripling grown) to weare-swaddling cloathes againe: more cause have we to distaste the pens and preachings of such who make their addressees unto us, as unto pure Pagans where the word is newly to be planted. A ²*Moderne* Author tels us a strange story, how the servants of Duke *D'Alva*, seeking for a Hawke they had lost, found a new country in the Navell of *Spaine*, not known before, invironed with Mountaines, and peopled with naked Salvages. I should wonder if such a *Terra incognita* could be found in *England*, which (what betwixt the covetousnesse of Landlords and the carefullnesse of Tenants) is almost measured to an Acre. But if such a place were discovered, I must allow that the Preachers there were the first planters of the Gospel, which in all other places of the kingdom are but the Continuers thereof. I hope Christ hath reaped much goodnesse long ago, where these, now, new pretend to plant it. And if *England* hath not had a true Church hitherto, I feare it will not have a true Church hereafter.

31. The second thing I commend unto you is this, That a perfect Reformation of any Church in this world may be desired, but not hoped for. Let *Zenophons* *Cyrus* be King in *Plato's* Common-wealth, and Batchelors wives breed maides children in *Mores Vtopia*, whilest Roses grow in their Gardens without prickles, as ³*Saint Basil* held they did before the fall of *Adam*. These phancies are pleasing and plausible, but the performance thereof unfeisable; and so is the perfect reformation of a Church in this world difficult to bee described,

¹ *Sepulture.*

² In a book of directions to travel [Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642, ed. Arber, 1869, pages 51, 52].

³ [*Opera*, Ed. Basle, 1567, iv. 32.]

and impossible to be practised. For besides that ¹Sathan will doe his best, or rather his worst to undoe it, Man in this life is not capable of such perfection. Look not to finde that in man out of Paradise, which was not found in man in Paradise, continuance in an holy estate. ²*Martin Luther* was wont to say, he never knew good order in the Church last above fifteen yeares in the purity thereof; yea, the more perfect the Reformation is, the lesse time it is likely to last. Mans minde being in constant motion, when it cannot ascend higher, will not stand still, but it must decline. I speake not this to dishearten men from endeavouring a perfect Reformation, but to keep them from being disheartened, when they see the same cannot be exactly observed.

32. And yet there are some now adayes that talke of a *great light*, manifested in this age more then ever before. Indeed we Modernes have a mighty advantage of the Ancients: whatsoever was theirs, by Industry may be ours. The Christian Philosophy of *Justin Martyr*; the constant Sanctity of *Cyprian*; the Catholick faith of *Athanasius*; the Orthodox judgement of *Nazianzen*; the manifold Learning of *Jerome*; the solid Comments of *Chrysostome*; the subtile Controversies of *Augustine*; the excellent Morals of *Gregory*; the humble Devotions of *Bernard*: All contribute themselves to the edification of us, who live in this ³later Age. But as for any transcendent extraordinary miraculous light, peculiarly conferred on our Times, the worst I wish the opinion is this, that it were true. Sure I am that this light must not crosse the Scripture, but cleere the Scripture. So that if it affirmeth any thing contrary to Gods written Word, or enforceth any thing (as necessary to salvation) not exprest in Gods Word, I dare boldly say, That such a light is kindled from Hell.

33. As for the opinion of Christs corporall visible Kingdome, to come within few yeares, I will neither peremptorily reject it, nor dare absolutely receive it. Not reject it, lest I come within the compasse of the Apostles reproofe, 2 *Peter*

¹ Satan.² Luther.³ latter.

2. 12, *Speaking evill of the things they understand not.* Confessing my selfe not to know the reasons of their opinions, who though citing for it much Canonick Scripture, yet their interpretations thereof may be but Apocrypha. Nor dare we receive it, not being safe to be familiar with strangers at the first sight; and this Tenent is strange, as set commonly afoot with these few last yeares. I am afraid rather on the contrary of a generall defection. Seeing the word is so slighted, and the guests begin to play with their meat, I feare lest God the Master of the feast will call for the *Voyder*: that so when Christ comes to judgement, he shall *finde no faith on the earth*. But of things to come, *little and doubtfully*. If this opinion of Christs corporall comming very shortly be true, I hope if we live we shall have our share therein: if otherwise, *Moses* hath no cause to complaine if dying he commeth not into the *Earthly Canaan*, but into the Heavenly.

34. Meane time whilst we expect the personall comming of Christ, let us pray for the peaceable comming back of him, who sometimes is called Christ in the Scripture, *the Lords Anointed*. O the miserable condition of our Land at this time! God hath shewed the whole World that *England* hath enough in it selfe to make it selfe happy or unhappy, as it useth or abuseth it. Her homebred wares enough to maintain her, and her homebred warres enough to destroy her, though no forreigne Nation contribute to her Overthrow. Well, whilst others fight for Peace, let us pray for Peace; for Peace on good termes, yea, on Gods termes, and in Gods time, when he shall be pleased to give it, and we fitted to receive it. Let us wish both King and Parliament so well as to wish neither of them better, but both of them best. Even a happy Accommodation.

35. Only this I will adde, that his Majesty in making his Medals hath tooke the right course to propagate his promises and most royall intentions to posterity, and raise it to behold the performance thereof. Seeing Princes memories have beene perpetuated by their Coines, when all other *Monuments, Arches, Obelisks, Piramids, Theaters, Trophies, and Triumphs*, have yeelded to Time, and been quite forgotten. Yea, 'tis probable that the names of some short reigning

¹ Emperours had been quite lost, if not found in their Impresses on their Monies; Coynes having this peculiar priviledge to themselves, that after they had beene buried many yeares in the ground, when taken up againe, they have life enough to speake the names of those Princes that caused them and their Impressions to be stamped, either to their eternal shame or lasting honour.

36. To conclude: let us all provide for that perfect Reformation in the world to come; when Christ shall present the Church his Spouse to God his Father, *Without spot*, coming from mans corruption, *or wrinkle*, caused by times continuance. When we shall have a *new Heaven and a new Earth, wherein shall dwell Righteousnesse*. With judgements reformed from error, wills reformed from wilfulnesse, affections reformed from mistaking their object, or exceeding their measure; all powers and parts of soule and body reformed from sin to sanctity. *Let us wait all the dayes of our appointed time ²till our change come.* Until this time of Reformation. *Amen.*

¹ Roman Emperors.

² untill.

*I approve this Sermon as Orthodox and
usefull.*

John Downname.

FINIS.

[THE foregoing Sermon was intemperately attacked in a small quarto pamphlet by the Rev. JOHN SALTMARSH, M.A., of Heflerton, Yorkshire, a village on the road between Malton and Scarborough; an account of whom will be found in the notes appended to this volume. The pamphlet (pp. 4 + 12), is here reprinted in full, with the title-page in fac-simile, from a copy belonging to the Editor. There is also added the Imprimatur of the Rev. CHARLES HERLE, the Rector of Winwick, Lancashire, one of the Licensers of the Press; an anonymous advertisement; and the dedication to the Assembly of Divines (all occupying page cccxvi.). There seems to have been a previous edition of these *Examinations*, which may have been called in and suppressed by the Author on account of objectionable epithets in the superscription of the above-named dedication. No copy of this edition is known to exist; but a copy of it was used by FULLER when writing his reply to it, called *Truth Maintained*. In that tract, indeed, FULLER reprinted SALTMARSH's original dedication in full, placing it in as prominent type before his own dedication to the two Universities. It is from this source that we learn that the first form of the superscription was as follows:—"To the Most Sacred, and Reverend Assembly For the Reformation of the Church, now convened by the Parliament.—Most Sacred and Reverend Divines," &c. The amended superscription will be found on the next page but one. FULLER's dedication, *postea*, page 321 *seq.*, should be read in connection with SALTMARSH's. The Assembly perhaps itself made objections to the epithets. FULLER relates in his *Church-History* that the good success of the Assembly was prayed for by the City preachers, "and books dedicated to them, under the title of the most *Sacred Assembly*, which, because they did not disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve." He adds in his margin, as an instance of the books referred to, "MR SALTMARSH his book against THO. FULLER" (Book xi. page 200, § iv.). There is no manuscript date to the copy in the British Museum (701. g. 4/6).

FULLER himself, when replying to the pamphlet, reprinted in sections the whole of it (excepting the title-page). His example has been followed in this edition of the Sermons, the *Examinations*, however, being reprinted in small type for the sake of a distinction which will readily enable the reader to peruse the entire pamphlet. Its arrangement in (eleven) "examinations" is according to SALTMARSH's divisions. In FULLER's reprint, the headings there given (viz. "Examiner" and "Treatise,") refer respectively to SALTMARSH and FULLER. The index-letters were inserted by FULLER in SALTMARSH's text for the purpose of referring to his own comments. The pamphlet, both in its original and reprinted form, has been very carelessly printed; but a tolerably accurate text has been obtained from a comparison. Occasionally where FULLER has in his pamphlet varied any important spelling or altered a word, the differences are indicated in the notes; but these variations may in part be due to the other edition of the *Examinations* which has been referred to.]

EXAMINATIONS,
OR,
A DISCOVERY
Of some Dangerous Positions
delivered in
A SERMON
OF
REFORMATION

Preached in the Church of the Savoy last
fast day, *Iuly 26.* by *Tbo. Fuller B.D.*
and since printed.

2 Tim. 3. 5.

Having a forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof.

By *Iohn Saltmarsh*, Master of Arts, and Pastor of
Heslerton in Yorkshire.

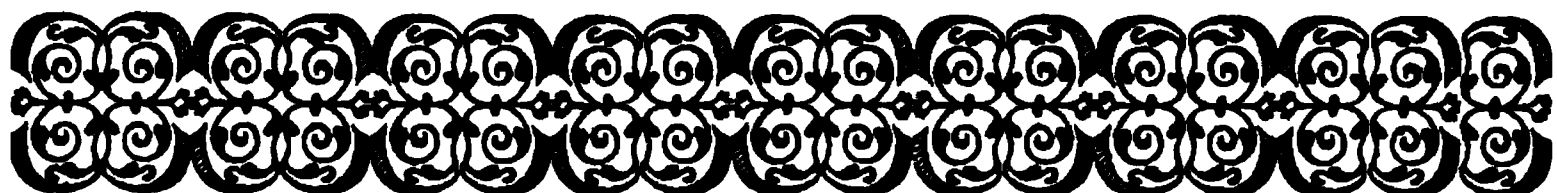
Raptim Scripta.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *Lawrence Blaiklock*, and are to bee sold at the
Sugar loafe near Temple Barre, 1 6 4 3.



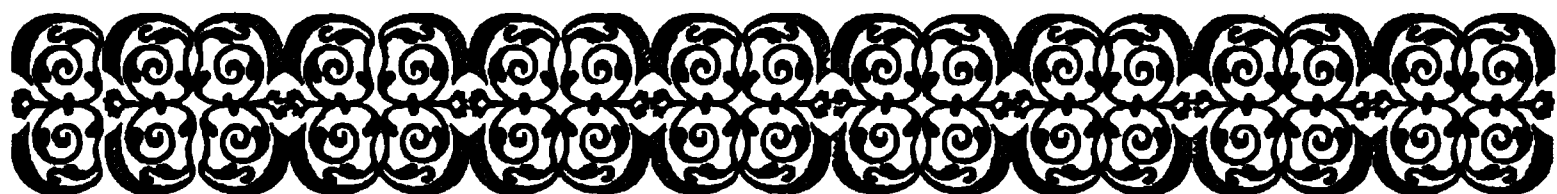
Nil invenio in hoc libello, cui titulus (Examinations or a Discovery of some dangerous Positions delivered in a Sermon of Reformation, preached by Tho. Fuller B.D.) quin utiliter imprimatur.

Charles Herle.



*An Advertisement returned to the Author by
a Reverend Divine, to certifie him touch-
ing the Licensers allowance of Mr.
Fullers late Sermon of Reformation.*

SIR, To satisfie you concerning Mr *Downams* approbation of Mr *Fullers* Sermon of Reformation, I can assure you I heard him complaine that he was wronged by him, in that he having taken exception at some passages of that Sermon, Mr *Fuller* promised to amend them according to his correction, but that he did not performe what he promised.



*To the Reverend Divines now convened by Au-
thority of Parliament, for Consultation
in matters of RELIGION.*

I HAVE but the thoughts of an afternoon to spread before you, for I examined the same pace that I read; that if it were possible, a truth might overtake an error ere it got too farre. It is not a little encouragement that I may sit like the *Propheteſſe under the Palmetree*, under such a shade as your selves; and what weaknesse soever may appeare in these my assertions, this aying them under your *Patronage* will heale them: for so they brought forth the sick into the streets that at least the shadow of Peter might touch some of them. Thus have I suddenly set up my *Candle* for others to light their *Torch* at; and I hope you will pardon me, if my zeale to the truth made mee see anothers faults sooner than my own.

Your Servant

in Christ Jesus,

JOHN SALTMARSH.

Truth Maintained.
Or
POSITIONS DELIVERED
in a Sermon at the SAVOY:
Since Traduced
For DANGEROUS:
Now Asserted
For SOUND and SAFE.

By **THOMAS FULLER, B.D.** late
of Sidney Colledge in Cambridge.

The Particulars are These.

- I** *That the Doctrine of the Impossibility of a Churches perfection, in this world, being well understood, begets not laziness but the more industry in wise reformers.*
- II** *That the Church of England cannot justly be taxed with superstitious innovations.*
- III** *How farre private Christians, Ministers, and subordinate Magistrates, are to con-
curre to the advancing of a Publique Reformation.*
- IIII** *What parts therein are only to be acted by the Supreme Power.*
- V** *Of the progresse, and praise of passive obedience.*
- VI** *That no extraordinary Excitations, Incitations, or Inspirations are bestowed from
God, on men in these days.*
- VII** *That it is utterly unlawfull to give any just offence to the papist, or to any men what-
soever.*
- VIII** *What advantage the Fathers had of us, in learning and religion, and what we have
of them.*
- IX** *That no new light, or new essentiall truths, are, or can be revealed in this age.*
- X** *That the doctrine of the Churches imperfection, may safely be preached, and cannot
honestly be concealed.*

With severall Letters, to cleare the occasion of this Book.

I will beare the wrath of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, untill he
plead my cause, and execute iudgment for me; then will he bring me forth to
the light, and I shall see his righteousness, *Micab. 7. 9.*

Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1643.

[“How euer heauen or fortune cast my lot,
There liues or dies, true to King *Richards* Throne,
A loyall, iust and vpright Gentleman :
Neuer did Captive with freer heart
Cast off his chaines of bondage, and embrace
His golden vncontroul’d enfranchisement,
More then my dancing foule doth celebrate
This Feast of Battell, with mine Aduersarie.
Most mighty Liege, and my companion Peeres,
Take from my mouth the wish of happy yeares :
As gentle and as iocund as to iest
Go I to fight : Truth hath a quiet brest.”

—*The Life and Death of King Richard the Second,*
Act I. Sc. iii. lines 85-96.]

[Introduction.]



THE "occasion" of this comparatively unknown tract is amply "cleared" by the budget of preliminary letters (pages 321-336), —elegant epistles, of which the editor has said elsewhere that their fine satire and manly spirit make them more deserving of recognition as specimens of epistolary correspondence. The treatise itself, which is really an enlargement of the *Reformation-Sermon*, is distinguished for its vigour, its wit, and its fairness; qualities which will give it no unworthy position in the literature of controversy. The spirit which the writer exhibits will be found to underlie the maxims of the Character entitled "The Controversial Divine," and its exemplar Dr. WHITAKER (*Holy State*, folio, 1652, pages 54-62). FULLER's ingenuous way of dealing with his opponent's *Examinations*, viz., by printing them in full before making his own comments, was derived from the example of his learned uncle, Dr. DAVENANT, Bishop of Salisbury, whose *Animadversions* (Cambridge, 8vo., 1641) upon SAMUEL HOARD's Treatise, entitled *God's Love to Mankind*, embodied the whole of the latter work, which was printed in sections in small type preceding the Bishop's rejoinders. FULLER followed the same course in regard to the more famous polemical disputation with Dr. HEVLIN in 1659; and the third chapter of that work (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, folio, page 3), which details personal and other arguments whether it was necessary to make an appeal in his own just vindication, ought to be consulted by all who wish to ascertain FULLER's disposition in regard to controversies. The two works named are the only writings of FULLER that fall under the head of polemics, his *Triple Reconciler*, 8vo., 1654, which takes up some of the vexed questions of the time, setting him forth rather as a pacificator than a controversialist.

FULLER's biographer has referred to some personal circumstances attending the controversy with SALTMARSH. "Several false rumours and cavils there are about his carriage and opinion touching that sacrilegious thing [the Solemn League and Covenant] by persons who were distanced as far from the knowledge of those passages as fortunately from being concerned and engaged within the reach of that snare. 'Twas not only easy but most prudential for other Ecclesiastical persons to quit their *Living*s, who were out of the grips and clutches of those ravenous *Reformists* in order to keep their conscience inviolable; but it was difficult enough of it self for the Doctor to escape and get out of that place, when the next preferment would have been a Dungeon. Some velitations, transcient discourses, he made about that frequent and thumb'd subject of the reformation, the rather to suspend the busie censures of the *Parliament* and their party; wherein though he seemed to comply (but as far as the Rule and Example

would allow) and indulge the misapprehension of those men, yet then his charitable disguises could not obscure him from the severe animadversions of several Ministers eminent in those Reforming Times, particularly Mr. SALTMARSH. The Contest between them is so known in print that it will be needlesse to trouble the Reader with it here" (*Life*, pages 18-19).

FULLER himself mentions the tract in his *Appeal* (folio, pt. ii. page 83 ; ed. NICHOLS, 1840, page 501), as follows : "I appeal to such who knew me in the Univerſitie, to thoſe that have heard my many Sermons on this Subject in *London* and elſe where, but eſpecially to my Book called *Truth Maintained*, made againſt Mr. SALTMARSH, wherein I have heartily (to place that firſt), largely, and to my power ſtrongly vindicated, *Non licet Populo renuente Magiſtratu Reformationem moliri.*"

The date of the appearance of the tract was perhaps about the end of February, 1643-4. A copy in the British Museum is dated in manuſcript, "Mar. 8." FULLER ſtates (page 329 *poſtea*) that SALTMARSH's reply reached him at Oxford on 10th September, 1643 ; and he offers explanations why his own answer was "ſo late" (page 329). Of all the loſſes upon which he there pathetically dwells, he was moſt affected by the loſs of his books and manuſcripts, which had in 1641 been enriched by the literary bequeſts of Biſhop DAVENANT. He ſeems, however, to have had acceſs to the Bodleian library during the very careful preparation of the *Truth Maintained*; for the particular editions of moſt of the works cited in the foot-notes are found in that collection.

The text uſed for the preſent reprint has been a copy of the original edition from the Editor's collection ; and the proofs have been collated with a tranſcript made ſeveral years ago from a copy in the poſſeſſion of EDWARD RIGGALL, Eſq., of Bayſwater. The Editor's copy has, by ſome poſſeſſor in the ſeventeenth century, been carefully altered in ſeveral places, as if for the preſs ; but there is no indication as to who this "corrector" was. The majority of his alterations conſiſt of modernizations of orthography, and there are a few ingenious emendations of language ; but care has been taken that none of them have paſſed into this reprint. The original was very careleſſly printed at (perhaps) the over-worked preſs of Leonard Lichfield, the Printer to the Univerſity of Oxford. In the Editor's copy, as well as in others, the London edition of the *Sermon of Reformation* is bound up after the introductory epiſtles;—a plan that was perhaps followed on account of FULLER's requeſt that, by all the obligations of charity, the *Sermon* ſhould be read before entering upon the *Examination* (page 336). The *Truth Maintained* probably created a further demand for the *Sermon of Reformation*.]



To
the Two most Famous
VNIVERSITIES
of
ENGLAND.

I DARE not give you such high Epithites as Master *Saltmarsh* bestoweth upon the *Assembly*, to call you the ¹MOST SACRED. Be contented to be Stiled the *Two most Famous Vniuersities*; a Title which it is no Flattery to give you, but Injury to deny you.

I have the Studies of some whole dayes to spread before you. I am not ashamed to confesse so much, but should be ashamed to present your learned Considerations with lesse. And will rather runne the hazard of other mens Censure, to have studied so long to no purpose, then to be guilty to my selfe of so much disrespect to *You* as to offer to your Patronage what cost me but sleight studying.

Indeed I examined his Examinations of my Sermon with the same pace that I read them. But I could not confute his Errors so speedily as I could discover them, nor could I so

¹ Quid amplius præpotenti et [ac] immortalī Deo tribuimus si quod eius proprium est eripimus? Bodin, *De Repub.* l. i. c. ult. [Ed. Paris, fo. 1586, lib. i. cap. x. pag. 173.]

soon make them appeare to others as they appeared to me ; and the Evidencing of his Faults did cost me some Paines, whereof I hope I shall never have just Cause to Repent.

I am altogether out of hope that my Truth should quickly overtake his Error, which had the Advantage of me both at the Starting and in the Speed. And yet I beleieve what I want in the swiftnesse of my Feet, I shall have in the Firmnesse of my footing. And when I overtake it at last, as I am sure I shall, seeing untruths will Tire (as being better at hand then at length), I am confident by Gods Assistance it will get firme and quiet Possession in spight of opposition.

It is altogether Improper for mee to compare You being Two in number to the *Palme Tree* under which the Prophetesse *Deborah* fate: But the Analogie will hold well, if I should resemble You to the *Two Olive Trees* continually dropping oyle in the Presence of God. And methinks Master *Saltmarsh* his Expression to the *Assembly*, *VNDER SVCH A SHADE AS YOVR SELVES*, making *them in the Assembly* but a Shadow (and then what is the Shadow of a Shadow worth under which hee desireth to sit?) was but an undervaluing and diminutive expressing of their worth.

I honour you as You Deserve, and Counting You a Real and Lasting Substance, so I addresse my Respects unto you :

Humbly requesting you to be pleased to Patronize and defend this my defence: the rather because what doctrines therein I deliver, not long since I sucked from One of you, and in this respect I beleive both Breasts give Milke alike. And therefore as your Learning is most Able, so your Goodnesse will bee willing to Protect the same, not so much because I had them from you as because you had them from the Truth.

Some perchance may blame my Choice in Choosing You for my Protection who in these troublesome times are scarce able to defend your selves: The Universities being now *Degraded*, at least suspended from the degree of their former Honour. And I wonder Men should now talke of *an Extraordinary great Light*, when the two Eyes of our Land (so you were ever accompted) are almost put out. However this short Interruption of your Happinesse will but adde the more to your Honour hereafter.

And here, as it were Store of Pride for me to Counsell you, so it were want of duty not to Comfort you. Know, the only Good Token of these Times is, That they are so extreame Bad they can never last long. God give you a sanctified Impression of your Afflictions, neither to sleight them nor sink under them; and so, forbearing to be longer troublesome to your more serious Employments, resteth

The meanest of your Sonnes

or Nephewes,

Thomas Fuller.



To the Learned and my Worthy
Good Friend,

Master *CHARLES HERLE.*

SIR,

WHEN I read a Pamphlet of M. *Saltmarsh* written against me, it something moved my Affections, but nothing removed my Judgement. But when I saw it recommended to the world with your Approbation, in this manner,

“ Nihil invenio in hoc Libello, cui Titulus,
“ *Examinations, or a discovery of some dangerous Po-*
“ *sitions, delivered in a Sermon of Reformation Prea-*
“ *ched by Tho. Fuller, B.D. quin utiliter imprimatur.*
Charles Herle.

I must confesse it troubled me not a little, suspecting either my Eyes or my Understanding, that either I misread *your Name*, or had mis-written something in my Sermon. Wherefore fearing Partiality might blind me in mine Owne Book (knowing that *Eli* was not the onely Indulgent Father to his owne Off-spring) I imparted my Sermon to some whom you respect, and they respect you, Men of singular Learning and Piety, to Examine it. These likewise could discover no dangerous Positions in it, except such as were dangerous for a Preacher to deliver, but safe for People to Receive in these Troublesome Times. And I am Confident that their Iudgement was such, They would not be deceived with my Falsehoods: and their Honesty such, They would not deceive me by their Flattery.

And now, Sir, (Love cannot Hate, but it may justly be Angry,) Consider how your accusing of me to maintaine dangerous Positions, might, as the Times stand, have undone me and mine, and at least have intituled mee to a Prison, now adayes the Grave of men alive. Times are not as formerly, when Schollers might safely Traverſe a Controverſie in diſputation. Honourable Tilting is left off ſince men fell to down-right killing; and in vaine ſhould I diſpute my Innocence againſt Souldiers violence, who would interpret the Accuſation of a man of your Credit to be my ſufficient Conviction.

I have in this *my Defence*, ſo well as God did Enable me, more clearly expreſſed and ſtrongly confirmed the Positions I formerly delivered, and requeſt you to tell mee, which are the dangerous Points that here I maintaine. By the Lawes of our Land, the Creditor hath his Choice, whether he will ſue the Principall, or the Surety, and diſcretion will adviſe him to ſue him which is moſt ſolveable. Your Ability is ſufficiently knowne; and ſeeing you have beene pleaſed to be bound for Maſter *Saltmarſh* his Booke, in your Approving it, blame me not, Sir, if I (I will not ſay ſue you) but Sue to you for my Reparation.

If you can Convince me of my Faults herein (and I will bring great deſire, and ſome capacity to Learne from you) I ſhall owne my ſelfe your Profelyte, thanke God for you, and you for my Converſion. Yea, in a Printed ſheet I will doe publique Penance to the open view of the World, to ſhew men that although I had ſo much Ignorance as to Erre, I have not ſo much Impudence as to Perſiſt in an Errour, and ſhall remaine,

Yours in all Chriſtian Offices,

THOMAS FULLER.

To the Reverend and his Worthy
good Friend,
Master *IOHN DOWNAM*.

SIR,

BEING about to read Master *Saltmarsh* his examination of a Sermon of mine, which you (to the Preachers credit, and Printers security) were pleased to approve for *Orthodox and Vsefull*, mine eyes in the beginning thereof were entertained (I cannot say welcomed) with this following note,

*' An Advertisement returned to the Author by a Reverend
' Divine, to certifie him touching the Licensers allowance
' of Master Fullers late Sermon of Reformation.*

*' Sir, To satisfie you concerning M. Downams approbation of
' Master Fullers Sermon of Reformation, I assure you I heard
' him complaine that he was wronged by him, in that having
' taken exception at some passages of that Sermon, Master Fuller
' promised to amend them according to his correction, but that
' he did not performe what he promised.'*

Conclude me not guilty if I were moved, but sencelesse if I had not beene perplext with this accusation. Had it beene true, I want a word bad enough to expresse the foulennesse of my deed. Yea, justly may my preaching be suspected of falshood, if my practise be convicted of dishonesty. We know how the ¹Corinthians from the supposed breach of

¹ 2 Cor. 1. 17, 18.

S. *Pauls* solemn promise were ready to infer the falsity, at least the levity of his doctrine, till the Apostle had rectified their mistake. This added also to my trouble, that I can privately enjoy my innocence with more contentment to my selfe then I can publikly declare it with safety to others. For the present therefore, all that I will returne is this.

Here is an Accusation without a witnesse, or a witnesse without a name, and both without truth. Would the Inke of this reverend Divine (whosoever he was) only hold out to blot my name, and not to subscribe his owne? We know what Court was complayned of as a great grievance, because Men therein might not know their Accusers. If it cannot consist with our mutuall safety to have my accusers (as ¹S. *Paul* had) *face to face*, yet it will stand with equity I should have them name to name: till when, I account this namelesse note no better then a Libel both on you and me.

God put an end unto these wofull times, before they put an end to us; that all outward hostility being laid aside we may have more leisure to attend, and comfort to follow, that inward *Christian Warefare*, which your paines have so well described.

Yours in Christ Iesus,

Thomas Fuller.

¹ Acts 25. 16.



To Master *JOHN SALTMARSH*,
Minister of *Heslerton* in *Yorke-shire*.

SIR,

YOU have almost converted me to be of your opinion, that some *extraordinary Light* is peculiarly conferred on men in this age. Seeing what cost me many dayes to make, you in fewer houres could make void and confute. You *examined* (you say) *the same pace you read*, and (as is intimated) wrote as fast as you examined, and all *in one afternoon*. This, if it were false, I wonder you would say it; and if it were true, I wonder you could doe it. However I commend your policy herein: for besides that you have given the world notice of the Pregnancie of your parts (and it is no fault of yours, if you be rather heard than beleaved), hereby you have done me a great disadvantage. For if I at leifure discover some notable errors in your examinations, you have a present Plea that you wrote them suddenly, and I shall only be repaired for the wrong that you have done me with ¹your *raptim scripta*; whereas you had done *God as much Glory*, the cause as much good, more right to your selfe, and credit to me, if you had tooke more time, and more truely.

And now consider you only endeavour to confute some dismembred sentences of my Sermon, of which some are falsely, and more of them imperfectly alleged. You know how in a continued speech one part receives and returnes

¹ [See page cccxv. and Cicero *ad Atticum*, ii. 9. 1.]

strength and lustre unto another: and how easie is it to overthrow the strongest sentence, when it is cut off from the Assistance of the Coherence before and after it? Alas, this disjuncting of things undoeth kingdomes as well as sermons; whilest even weake matters are preserved by their owne unity and entirenesse. I have dealt more fairely with you, and set downe your whole Examinations, thereby not expecting any praise, but preventing just censure, if I had done otherwise.

If you demand why my answer comes so late, seeing so long silence may be interpreted a consent, know, Sir, it was the tenth of September before either friend in love would doe me the favour, or foe in anger the discourtesie to convey your booke unto me.

Whether this proceeded from the intercepting commerce betwixt the City and the Country, or that your Booke was loath to come out of London, as sensible that the strength of your positions consisted in the fortifications thereof.

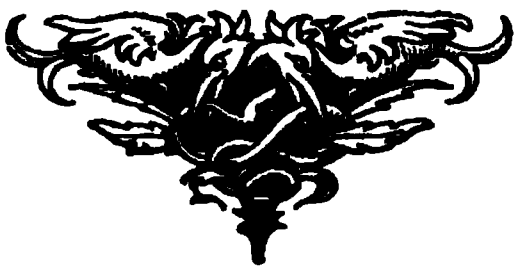
When I had received one of your bookes, I had not your present parts to answer it. Men must doe as they may doe: I hope, though my credit may, Gods cause shall not suffer by my delay, seeing Truth doth not abate with time. Here I speake not of those many afflictions that have befallen me, as not being so unreasonable as to expect any pittie from others in these dolefull dayes, wherein none are at leisure to bemoane the misery of any private men whilst the generall Calamity ingrosseth all greife to it selfe; and yet, I may say, such losses could not but disturbe my studies.

When I had finished my answer, I could not so speedily provide to have it printed. And to speake plainly, I was advised by my best friends to passe by your pamphlet altogether with silence and neglect, and apply my selfe onely to enlarge my Sermon, for the satisfaction of others.

However, that you may see I will not decline any thing, I have answered every operative passage in your Examination.

Here I might take just exception at the sentence prefixed in the title page of your booke : 2 Tim. 3. 5, *Having a forme of Godlinesse, but denying the power thereof.* Out of the whole quiver of the Bible, could you choose no other Arrow to shoot, and make me your marke? whom if you taxe for a *meere formalist*, God grant I may make a good use of your bad suspition of me, endeavouring to acquit my selfe in Heaven, whom you have accused on Earth : I must *stand or fall to my owne Master*, to whom I hope I shall *stand*, being held up by my Saviour. Remember, remember, we must all appeare before *Gods Judgment Seat*, when those things which *have been done in secret* shall be brought to light. Meane time goe you on as fast as you can in the high way to heaven; but be not too free willfully to dash your fellow travellers with foule aspersions: for if dirt may passe for coine, debts in this nature may easily be paid you backe againe. So resteth

Thomas Fuller.



To My Deare Parish
SAINT MARY SAVOY.

MY deare Parish: for so I dare call you, as conceiving that although my calamities have divorced me from your bed and board, the matrimoniall knot betwixt us is not yet rescinded. No, not although you have admitted another (for feare I hope rather then affection) into my place. I remember how *David* when forced to fly from his wife yet still calls her, ¹*My wife Michall*: even when at that time, she was in the possession of *Phaltiel* the sonne of *Laiſh*, who had rather bedded then wedded her.

This Sermon I first made for your sake, as providing it not as a feast to entertaine strangers, but a meale to feed my family. And now having againe enlarged and confirmed it, I present it to you, as having therein a proper interest, being confident that nothing but good and profitable truth is therein contain'd.

Some perchance will object that if my Sermon were so true, why then did I presently leave the parish when I had preached it? My answer is legible in the Capital letters of other ministers miserie, who remaine in the City. I went away ²*for the present distresse*, thereby reserving my selfe to doe you longer and better service if Gods providence shall ever restore me unto you againe. And if any tax mee as *Laban* taxed *Iacob*, ³*Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly*, without taking solemne leave? I say with *Iacob* to *Laban*, ⁴*Because I was afraid*. And that plaine dealing Patriarch, who could not be accused for purloining a shooe latchet of other mens goods,

¹ 2 Sam. 3. 14.

² 1 Cor. 7. 26.

³ Gen. 31. 27.

⁴ Gen. 31. 31.

confesseth himselfe guilty of that lawfull felony, that hee *stole away* for his owne safety : seeing truth it selfe may sometimes seeke corners, not as fearing her cause, but as suspecting her judge.

And now all that I have to say to you is this : ¹*Take heed how you beare*; imitate the wise and noble ²*Bereans*, whatsoever the Doctor or doctrine bee which teacheth or is taught unto you : *Search the Scripture dayly whether these things be so*. Hansell this my counsell on this my booke : and here beginning, hence proceed to examine all Sermons by the same rule of Gods word.

Only this I adde also : Pray daily to God to send us a good and happy Peace before we be all brought to utter confusion. You know how I in all my Sermons unto you, by leave of my Text, would have a passage in the praise of Peace. Still I am of the same opinion. The longer I see this warre, the lesse I like it, and the more I loath it. Not so much because it threatens temporall ruine to our Kingdome as because it will bring a generall spirituall hardnesse of hearts. And if this warre long continues, we may be affected for the departure of *charity*, as the *Ephesians* were at the going away of Saint Paul, ³*Sorrowing most of all, that we shall see the face thereof no more*. Strive therefore in your prayers that that happy condition which our sinnes made us unworthy to hold, our repentance may, through Gods acceptance thereof, make us worthy to regaine.

Your Loving Minister,

THOMAS FULLER.

¹ Luke 8. 18.

² Acts 17. 11.

³ Acts 20. 38.



To the impartial Reader.

BE not affraid to peruse my Positions, though they be accused to bee dangerous. The Saints did not feare infection from the company of Saint *Paul*, though he was indicted to be a ¹*Pestilent Fellow*.

To acquaint you with my intentions in this Book (that so you may proportion your expectation accordingly): Herein I have to my Power vindicated the truth, consulting with my conscience, not outward safety, insomuch that I care not whom I displeased to please *the Bird in my Breast*. Yea, when the actions of other men have by the Examiner beene laid to my charge, I have tooke the boldnesse to leave them to their Authors to defend. For though Honestie commands me to pay my owne debts, yet discretion adviseth me from ²*Solomons* mouth to avoid *Sureti-ship*, and not to Breake my selfe with being bound for the Errors of others.

I cannot but expect to procure the Ill-will of many, because I have gone in a middle and moderate way betwixt all extremities. I remember a story too truely appliable to me. Once a Jayler demanded of a Prisoner, newly committed unto him, whether or no he were a Roman Catholick. *No*, answered he. *What then?* said he. *Are you an Anabaptist?* *Neither*, replied the Prisoner. *What!* said the other. *Are you a Brownist?* *Nor so*, said the man; *I am a Protestant*. Then said the Jayler, Get you into the dungeon: I will afford no favor to you, who shall get no profit by you. Had you beene of any of the other religions, some hope I

¹ Acts 24. 5.

² Pro. 11. 15.

had to gaine by the visits of such as are of your owne profession. I am likely to finde no better usage in this age, who professe my selfe to be a plaine Protestant, without wealt or garde, or any Addition; equally opposite to all *Hereticks* and *Seſtaries*.

Let me mate this with another observation. By the ¹Law of the twelve Tables, if a man were indebted but to one creditor, he had no Power over his body; but if he owed mony to many, and was not solvable, all his creditors together might share his body betwixt them, and by joynt consent pluck him in peeces. Me thinks a good Morall lurkes in this cruell Law; namely, that men who oppose one adversary alone, may come off and shift pretty well, whilst he who provokes many enemies, must expect to bee torne asunder: and thus the poore *Levite* will bee rent into as many pieces as the ²*Levites wife* was.

Yet I take not my selfe to bee of so desolate and forlorne a Religion as to have no fellow professors with me. If I thought so, I should not only suspect, but condemne my judgement: having ever as much loved singlenesse of heart as I have hated singularity of opinion. I conceive not my selfe like ³*Eliab to be left alone*: having, as I am confident, in England more than seventy thousand just of the same Religion with me. And amongst these there is one in price and value eminently *worth tenne thousand*, even our gracious Sovereigne, whom God in safety and honour long preserve amongst us.

And here I must wash away an aspersiſon, generally, but falsely cast on men of my profession and temper: for all *moderate* men are commonly condemned for *Lukewarme*.

As it is true, *Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.*

It is as true, *Sæpe latet virtus proximitate mali.*

¹ Bodin, *De Repub.* lib. 1. p. 50 [ed. Paris, fo. 1586, cap. v. page 32].

² Iudg. 19. 29.

³ 1 Kings 19. 14.

And as Lukewarmnesse hath often fared the better (the more mens ignorance) for pretending neighbourhood to moderation; so Moderation (the more her wrong) hath many times suffered for having some supposed vicinity with lukewarmnesse. However they are at a grand distance, Moderation being an wholesome Cordiall to the soule: whilst lukewarmnesse (a temper which seekes to reconcile hot and cold) is so distastefull that *bealtb it selfe* seemes sick of it, and vomits it out. And we may observe these differences betwixt them.

First, the Lukewarme man (though it be hard to tell what he is, who knowes not what he is himselfe) is fix't to no one opinion, and hath no certain creed to beleve: Whereas the Moderate man sticks to his principles, taking Truth wheresoever he findes it, in the opinions of friend or foe; gathering an herb though in a ditch, and throwing away a weed though in a Garden.

Secondly, the Lukewarme man is both the archer and marke himselfe; aiming only at his owne outward security. The Moderate man levels at the glory of God, the quiet of the Church, the choosing of the Truth, and contenting of his conscience.

Lastly, the Lukewarme man, as hee will live in any Religion, so he will dye for none. The Moderate man, what he hath warily chosē, will valiantly maintaine, at least wise intends and desires to defend it, to the death. The *Kingdome of Heaven* (saith our ^sSaviour) *suffereth violence*. And in this sense, I may say, the most moderate men are the most violent, and will not abate an hoofe or haires breadth in their Opinions, whatsoever it cost them. And time will come when Moderate men shall be honoured as *Gods Doves*, though now they be hooted at as *Owles in the Defart*.

But my Letter swels too great, I must break off. Only

¹ Rev. 3. 16.

^s Mat. 11. 12.

requesting the reader by all obligations of charity, first to read over my *Sermon* before he entreth on the *Examination*. To conclude: when I was last in *London*, it was generally reported that I was dead; nor was I displeased to heare it. May I learne from hence with the Apostle, *To Die daily*. And because to God alone tis known how soon my death may come, I desire to set forth this book as my *Will and Testament*, which if it can be of no use to the reader, it may be some ease and comfort to the writer, that the world may know in this multitude of Religions what is the Religion of

Thy Servant in Christ Iesus,

Thomas Fuller.



TRUTH Maintained.

Examiner.

THE POLICY OF THE SERMON OF REFORMATION.

[1] **T**HE Scope of the *Sermon* is *Reformation*; but it so ^bmoderates, so modifies and conditionates the *Persons*, and *Times*, and *Businesse*, that *Reformation* can advance little in this way or method. As our Astronomers who draw so many lines and imaginary Circles in the Heavens that they put the ^aSun into an heavenly Labyrinth and a learned perplexity; Such is the ^cZodiack you would make for the light of the Gospel and the Sun of Reformation to move in. It was one of the Policies of the *Jewes Adversaries*, that when they heard of their buildings, they would build with them: *They said, Let us build with you, for wee seek your God as you doe.* But the people of God would have no such helpers; there is no such ^dJesuiticall way to hinder our work as to work with us, and under such insinuations set the Builders at variance when they should fall to labour; and how easie is it to reason flesh and blood back from a good way and good resolutions? I remember the old ^eProphet had soone perswaded even the *man of God* to return when he told him, *I am a Prophet as thou art, 1 Kings 13. 18.*

Treatise.

(a) *The Policy of the Sermon.*) Such carnall Policy, wherein the subtilty of the Serpent stings the simplicity of the Dove to death, I utterly disclaim in my Sermon. Christian Policy is necessary, as in our Practice, so in our Preaching; for Piety is alwayes to goe before it, but never to goe without it.

(b) *But it so moderates and modifies.*) The most Civill Actions will turne wild, if not warily moderated. But if my Sermon clogges Reformation with false or needlesse Qualifications (till the strength of the matter leaks out at them), my guilt is great. I am confident of my Innocence: let the Evidence be produced and the Reader judge.

(c) *That Reformation can advance but little in this way.*) Know that *Zoar a little one* that is lasting, is better then a great Babel of Confusion. That Reformation which begins slowly and surely will proceed cheerfully and comfortably, and continue constantly and durably. Builders are content to have their Foundations creepe, that so their Superstructures may runne: let us make our Ground-worke good, and no more haſt then good ſpeed.

(d) *They put the Sunne into an heavenly Labyrinth and learned perplexity with their imaginary Lines.*) This your ſtrong line more perplexeth me to underſtand it: Onely this I know, that you might have inſtanced more properly in any other Planet which is more loaden with Cycles and Epicycles; whilſt the Sunne hath found from Aſtronomers this favour and freedome, to be left to the ſimpleſt Motion.

(e) *Such a Zodiack you would make for the light of the Goſpell.*) Were I to ſpread out the Zodiack of the Goſpell, it ſhould ſtretch from Pole to Pole, and be adequate to the Heavens. There ſhould be no more Pagans in the World then there were ¹Smiths *at one time* in Iſrael; not that I would have any kild, but all converted; yea, the Sunne of Reformation ſhould not have ſo much darkneſſe as a ſhadow to follow it. To effect this, my wiſhes are as ſtrong as my power is weake. I will (God willing) pray and preach for it, and therefore doe not ſlander me to be *an Hinderer of the Word*.

(f g b) *Of the Jewes adverſaries. Jeſuiticall way. The old Prophet.*) What you ſay is as true in the Hiſtory as falſe in the Application to me. You compare me to the *Ammonites* (Adverſaries to Gods people), to Jeſuits, to the old lying Prophet. I hope the God of *Michael* the Arch-Angell will give me patience, when he that ²diſputed with him ſhall furniſh others railing. And now torture me no longer with your Accuſation; come to the prooffe.

Examiner.

I finde there are three Principles animates *the Sermon*:

1. *How imperfekt a Church will be and a Reformation, doe the beſt you can.*

¹ 1 Sam. 13. 19.

² Jude 9.

2. *That the light which the ^kFathers had formerly was as full and glorious as the light of these dayes, or rather brighter.*

3. *That none but the ^lSupreme authority, or authority Royall, and that alone, ought to begin and act in this Reformation.*

These are your principles ; and let ^many judge if this bee a qualification fit for him that judges or writes of such a truth. For, first, hee that conceits ⁿthere can bee no *perfection of a Church on earth* will scarce labour to make that Church *better*, which he is sure will be *bad* at all times ; nor will hee ^ocare for any *new light* while the *old* is in best reputation with him ; nor will he seek to advance the work, but stay for a supreme authority alone : a good ^ppolitic to stay the Reformation till his Majesties return, and then there is ^qhopes it may coole in their hands.

Treatise.

(i) *How imperfect a Church.*) I said it, and I say it againe: it was a Truth before your Cradle was made, and will be one after your Coffin is rotten.

(k) *That the light that the Fathers had formerly was as full and glorious.*) Shew me such a fillable in all the Sermon and I'll yeeld the cause: Not that this Position is false, but because I never said it ; except you collect it from those my words ^lwhere I say that the *Moderns had a mighty advantage of the Ancients who lived in the Marches of Paganisme and in the time wherein the Mystery of Iniquity began to worke.*

(l) *None but the supreame Authority, or Authority Royall.*) I said that the supreame Authority alone in those respective places wherein it is supreame, hath the lawfull calling to reforme.

Thus, of the three Principles which you reckon in my Sermon, The first I said, [and] I will defend it ; The second I said not, and doe deny it ; The third I said otherwise then you doe alleadge it. And yet even for the two latter (that you may not complaine for want of play) in due time, as occasion is offered, I will fully discover my opinion that so we may either freely agree or fairely dissent.

(m) *And let any judge.*) On Gods blessing let any indifferent person who is devested of prejudice, which maketh a bad witnesse and a worse judge: And now we joyne Issues.

(n) *For, first, he that conceits there can be no perfection in a*

^l [See ¶¶ 32, 24 ; pp. 311, 307.]

Church will scarce labour to make that Church better.) If the *He* you ſpake of be a meere carnall man, this nor any other principle (ſave Grace and Gods Spirit) can ſpurre him on to goodneſſe. But if this *He* be a regenerate man, this doctrine will make him tire no whit the ſooner in his endeavours of Reformation. You ſay *he will scarce labour*, whereby you confeſſe he will labour. The Gramarian ſaith, *Quod fere fit, non fit, quod vix fit, fit*. One *ſcarce* is better then ten thouſand *almoſts*. Yet I perceive by the ſcant meaſure in your expreſſion that you conceive this Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a Churches perfection on earth to be but a backe friend to Reformation. Heare therefore what I answer for my ſelfe.

First, hereby you furniſh the papists with a Cavill and with a Colour to enforce the ſame againſt the Proteſtants.

1. The Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a Churches perfection in this world, being well underſtood, begets not lazineſſe but the more induſtry in wiſe reformers.

For we teach and maintaine that the beſt workes of men are ſtained with ſome imperfections. Hence the papists may inferre *That be that conceits there can be no perfection in a good deed will scarce labour to doe one*. And thus our Doctrine ſhall be condemned for diſheartning of holineſſe. See, Sir, how you meet popery in your undiſcreet ſhunning of it.

Secondly, though there can be no abſolute perfection in a Church, yet *quoad gradum*, in ſome good degree it is attainable, and all good men will endeavour it. Mariners which make forth for the Northerne Discoveries goe out with this aſſurance: that it is impoſſible to come to the pole. Yet have they fought and found out very farre, almoſt to the eightieth degree of latitude. What covetouſneſſe or curioſity did in them, ſure Grace is as active to doe in Gods Children, who will labour *to draw neere* to a perfect Reformation in obedience to Gods command, though they know they ſhall never fully attaine unto it.

Thirdly, the Doctrine of the impoſſibility of a perfect Reformation in this world well underſtood begets not idleneſſe, but the more induſtry in mens endeavours. For thoſe that beleeve that the perfection of a Church may be attained in this life are ſubject to this miſtake (one error is procreative of another): to thinke that ſometimes they themſelves have

attained it, and so ending in the midst of their journey may sit downe and take up their rest: Whereas those who conceive the impossibility of perfection are kept in constant doing, having still *plus ultra*, with Saint Paul, ¹*forgetting those things that are behind, they reach forth to those things which are before, and presse towards the marke.*

Fourthly, if it be objected that the impossibility of perfection discourageth men to endeavour it, seeing they cannot rationally desire it, *non est voluntas impossibilium*, it is no leuell wish aimed at a marke, but a Velleity shot at randome, which desires an impossibility. It is answered that Gods servants endeavouring a perfect Reformation doe not light on a labour in vaine, that which is wanting in them being supplied in Gods acceptance: If they doe their best, their desire is taken for the deed: The deformities of their imperfect Reformation being pardoned by God in Christ, in which respect *their labours are not in vaine in the Lord.*

Lastly, seeing this point of the impossibility of a Churches perfection is most true (as hereafter we shall make so appeare), if hereupon any grow remisse and large [lagge] in Reforming, it is not the fault of Gods straight Doctrine, but of mens crooked practice: For if men inferre hellish Conclusions from heavenly promises [premises], such bad consequences are not the lawfull Children of Gods Truth, but the Bastards of mans corruption, where they are justly to be fathered for their maintenance. And now I suppose that your exception in those your words *will scarce labour* is abundantly answered.

(o) *Nor will be care for any new light whilst the old is in best reputation with him.*) This is grounded on what I never said; but if by the *old light* be meant that which shined from the Ancient of dayes into the Scriptures, and thence through the Fathers to us, I preferre it before any new light whatsoever.

(p) *A good policy to stay the Reformation till His Majesties returne.*) It need not have stayed till His Majesties returne, which might have been done before His going away; who so often and so earnestly offered to reforme whatsoever could

justly be convinced to be amisse in our Church ; which proffers had they been as thankfully accepted as they were graciously tendered, long since it had been done what we now dispute of, though it matters not for the spilling of our inke, if other mens blood had beene spared. And I doubt not when opportunity is offered, His Majesty will make good his word, whom no Vollyes of discourtesies, though discharged never so thicke against him, shall drive him from His Princely Promise, whilst he lookes not downewards on mens behaviour to him, but upwards to his Protestations to God, learning from Him whom he represents to be *Unchangeable*. But if (which God forefend : and yet all earthly things are casuall) it should come to passe that in point of Reformation what formerly was proffered by the Sovereigne and refused by the Subject should hereafter be requested by the Subject and denied by the Sovereigne, we shall have leifure enough to admire Gods Justice, bemoane our owne condition, and instruct our Posterity not to outstand good offers, least for want of seeing their happinesse they feele their owne misery. But to returne to your mentioning of His Majesties return : when all is done, for ought I can see, Reformation must stay till His Majesties returne. As for the time and manner thereof, when and how it shall be done, God in his goodnesse and wisdome so order it that it may be most for his glory, the Kings honour, the good of the Church and State. But this I say againe, that till this his returning the generall enjoyning and peaceable practising of any Reformation cannot be performed.

(q) *And then there is hope it may coole in their hands.*) If by their hands you meane his Majesties (and what else can your words import?) it is as disloyall a suspition as his would be an unfitting expression that should say that Reformation would boyle over in the hands of the Parliament. But, Sir, thus farre you have excepted against my Sermon in generall ; now you are pleased to confute some particulars thereof.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 9 [¶ 10, page 301].

Wisball, we flatly deny that Queene Elizabeth left the dust behind the doore, which she cast on the dunghill, whence this uncivill expression is raked up. The

doctrine by her established, and by her successors maintained in the thirty-nine Articles, if declared, explained, and asserted from false glosses, have all gold, no dust or dross in them.

[2] *Examination.* I will not detract from the Religious ¹housewifery of such a *Queen* of famous memory; but we know her *Reformation* is talkt ²on now in a 'politick reverence, and we are commended back into her times only to hinder us from going forward in our own; for I am sure till this engine was contrived, she was not such a Saint in the ³*Prelates Calender*.

For the *Doctrine established from her times*, though it be not the business so much of our Reformation as the thirty-nine *Articles* where it dwells, yet this we know: either *the light of the Doctrine* was very dimme, or the eyes of our ⁴*Bishops* and *Iesuites*; for ⁵one of them would needs spie *Arminianisme*, and the ⁶*Iesuite Popery*. And some will make it a Probleme yet, whether their glosse may accuse the Article or the Article their glosse; such *Cassanders* found so much latitude in our Doctrine as to attempt a ⁷reconciliation of their Articles and ours together.

Treatise.

(r) If there be any so base that they now make *Queene Elizabeths* Reformation their protection, which formerly they disdained (running in raine to that bush for shelter, which they meane to burne in fair weather), shame light on them for their hypocrisie. Let such be stript naked to their utter disgrace, who onely weare the Memory of that worthy *Queene* to cloke and cover them in their necessity, whose Reformation was signed with successe from Heaven: our Nation in her time being as famous for forreigne Atchievements as now it is infamous for home-bred dissentions. Yet God forbid our eyes should be so dazled with the lustre of her days as not to goe forward to amend the faults thereof, if any such be justly complained of.

(s) *Shee was not such a Saint in the Prelates Calender.*) I never saw the *Prelates Calender*; but in the late reformed *Almanacks*, I find neither *Her* nor any other for *Saints*.

(t) I expect (and ever may expect) that you would have produced some dross in our Articles, instancing in some false place or point contained in them; and then I must either have yeelded to you with disgrace, or opposed you with disadvantage. But instead of this you only tell us how some

¹ housewifery: *Truth Maintained*, page 8.

² Bishop Montague.

³ of: *ibid.*, page 8.

⁴ Francis a Sancta Clara.

have seene Arminianisme and Popery in them. I answer : So the Papists doe read every point of Popery where you will say it was never written in the Scripture. Those who bring the jaundies in their eyes doe find yellownesse in every object they behold ; and nothing can be so cautiously pen'd but ingaged persons will construe it to favour their opinions.

(v) *As to attempt a reconciliation of their Articles and ours together.*) Thus many *Egyptian* Kings attempted to let the Red sea into the Mediterranean. A project at first seeming easie to such as measured their neernesse by the eye, and at last found impossible by those who surveyed their distance by their judgment ; seeing art and industry can never marry those things whose bands Nature doth forbid. And I am confident that with the same succes any shal undertak the Accommodating of English and Romish Articles. Nor can the wisest Church in such a Case provide against the boldnesse of mens attempting, though they may prevent their endeavours from taking effect. For my owne Opinion, as on the one side I should be loath that the Bels should be taken downe out of the steeple and new-cast every time that unwise people tune them to their *Thinke* : So on the other side I would not have any just advantage given in our Articles to our Adversaries. However, what you say confutes not, but confirms my words in my Sermon, that the thirty-nine Articles need *declaring, explaining, and asserting from false glosses*. And seeing it is the peculiar Priviledge of Gods Word to be perfect at once and for ever, on Gods blessing let the darke words in our Articles be expounded by cleerer, doubtfull expressed in plainer, improper exchanged for fitter ; what is superfluous be removed, wanting supplied, too large contracted, too short enlarged ; alwayes provided that this be done by those who have calling, knowledge and discretion to doe it.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 9 [¶ 11, page 302].

Againe, we freely confesse that there may be some faults in our Church in matters of Practice and Ceremonies; and no wonder if there be: it would be a

miracle if there were not. Besides, there be some innovations rather in the Church¹ than of the Church, as not chargeable on the publike account.

[3] *Examination.* These are ^wbut ^ssubtle Apologies and distinctions for the ^ssuperstitions in the Church, and to take off the eyes of our Reformers, and entertain them into changeable discourses; as if they were faults, and no faults; and those that were, were irreformable, and could not be made better: and thus, while the errours of our Church should call them to reform, your ^ddifficulties and impossibilities would call them off. You say, It were a miracle to have none. This is such ^sSophistry as the malignity of your Clergy would cast in the way of our Reformation. And for the ⁱInnovations, they have been made by your most learned, the immediate issues of our Church; our Rubrick and Practice have been called to witnesse it; therefore goe not on to perswade such a ^ffundamentall integrity, and essentiall purity. You know in what a poore case that ^cChurch was when shee thought *her selfe rich, and full, and glorious*: he is no lesse an enemy to the patient ¹than to the Physitian that would perswade him that all is well, or at least incurable.

Treatise.

(w) *These are but subtile Apologies.*) Truly no such matter: they are even plaine and downeright confessions from the simplicity of my heart.

(x) *For the superstitions in the Church.*) Sir, lay not your Enditement higher then you are sure your proof will reach. You might have done well to have insisted on some particulars; whilst now your generals accuse much, convict nothing.

(y) *Your difficulties and impossibilities would call them off.*) Not so; for to shew wise Reformers the true difficulties of their worke will quicken, not quench, their endeavours. Thus the Carpenter, being truly told that the wood is hard he is to hew, will therefore not throw away his Axe, but strike with the greater force. And that the Doctrine of the impossibility of a Churches perfect Reformation on earth well understood is no hinderer to mens Labours to Reforme, hath been largely proved before.

(z) *You say, it were a Miracle for a Church to have no faults: This is such sophistry as the Malignity of your Clergy would cast in the way of our Reformation.*) This sophistry will at last prove good Logick; and whatsoever you pretend

¹ then; *Truth Maintained*, pages 10-11.

^s subtile; *ibid.*, page 11.

of *Malignity*, this is a truth to be confided in: Namely, That no Church in this world can be so compleat but it will have faults. For the Church being a body consisting of imperfect men the Members thereof, the body must needs be imperfect also. This appeares by the constant necessity of Preaching, which otherwise might well be spared, and all our Sermons turned into Psalmes; as also by *the power of the Keyes*, which will never rust in the Church for want of imployment. Yea, that Petition in the Prayer of Christs providing for us, *And forgive us our Trespases as we forgive them that Trespasse against us*, were both needlesse and false if men might be perfect in this world. This perchance is the reason why the Perfection-mongers of this Age quarrell with this Prayer, as having too much pride to confesse their owne faults and too little Charity to forgive other mens: so ill doth a Publicans prayer fit a Pharisees mouth.

(a) *As for Innovations, they have beene made by your most learned.*) Concerning Innovations I must inlarge my selfe. In mixt Actions, wherein good and bad are blended together, we can neither chuse nor refuse all, but may pick out some, and must leave the rest.

2. That the Church of England cannot justly be taxed with superstitious innovations.

First, they may better be tearmed Renovations then Innovations, as lately not new forged, but new furbished. Secondly, they were not so many as some complaine. The suspitious old man cryes out in the Comedy that six hundred Cooks were let into his house, when they were but two. Jealousie hath her hyperboles as well as her flattery. Thirdly, some of these Innovations may easier be rayled on then justly reprov'd; namely, such as concerned the adorning of Churches, and the comlineffe of mens behaviour in Gods service, where outward decency (if not garish, costly above the Estates of the parish, mimicall, affected or superstitious) is the Harbinger to provide the lodging for inward holinesse. For some bodily distance brings our souls the neerer to God, with whom some have such clownish familiarity, they have the lesse friendship. Fourthly, if these gave offence, it was not for any thing in themselves, but either because,

First, they were challenged to be brought in without law.

This often makes good matters to be ill relished; honest men if wise withall being loath to pay their obedience before it becomes legally due.

Secondly, because they seemed new and unusuall; and we know how in dangerous times every well-meaning stranger may be suspected for a spy till he hath given an account of himselfe. Now few daughter-Churches had seen such Ceremonies, though some of their Mother-Cathedrals could well remember them.

Thirdly, because they were multiplied without any set number; and those Ceremonies which men saw were indefinit they feared would be infinit.

Fourthly, because they were pressed in some places without moderation. And herein some young men (I will not say, ran without sending, but) ran further then they were sent, outstripping them who first taught them to goe.

Fifthly, because they were pressed by men, some of whose persons were otherwise much distasted; how justly, let them seek who are concerned.

Lastly, because men complained that painfull Preaching and pious living, the life of Gods service, were not pressed and practised with equall earnestnesse as outward decency, the lustre thereof; whence their feares inferred that the shaddowes would devoure the Substance.

Now whereas you say that these Innovations have been made by *our most learned*, herein I must confesse that the scales of my skill are too little in them to weigh the learning of great Schollers, and to conclude who have the *most*. But this I know: that alwayes a distinction hath been made and admitted betwixt the opinions and practise of the most eminent particular Doctors (how great soever in place, power or parts) and the Resolutions and Commands of the Church in generall. In which respect, what hitherto you alleadge to the contrary doth no whit disprove my words, that such Innovations are rather *in the Church then of the Church*, by which they were never absolutely enjoined nor generally received, as alwayes disclaimed by many, and lately disused by most.

Such indeed as used them out of Conscience (I should

have no Conscience to think otherwise of some) are not to be blamed if they privately practise them still, at their own perill, till their judgements are otherwise informed. Such as took them up for fashion sake, for fashion sake have since laid them downe. Such as were frighted into them desist now their feare is removed. Lastly, those who used them in hope of preferment, now disuse them in despaire thereof; not to say some of them are as violent on the contrary side, and perchance onely wait *the Word of command* from the prevalent party to turne *Faces about* againe. In briefe, seeing generally these Ceremonies are left off, it seems neither Manners nor Charity alwayes to lay that in mens dishes which the Voidersome pretty while since hath cleane taken away.

Say not that these Innovations are now rather in a ffound then dead, and likly to revive when cherished with the warmth of Authority, seeing His Majesty hath often and fully proffered that whatsoever is justly offensive in them shall be removed; and pittie it is but that the rest should by the same lawfull power be re-enforced. But enough hereof, and more perchance then will please the Reader, though lesse could not have satisfied the Writer: if I have contented any, well; if I have displeased all, I am contented.

(*b*) *Therefore goe not on to perswade such a Fundamentall Integrity and Essentiall purity.*) Indeed the pains may well be spared, for all wise men are sufficiently perswaded thereof already. For if hereby you meane (and I would faine learne what other sence your words are capable of) that the Church of *England* hath not as yet been *Entire* in the Fundamentals, and *Pure* in the *Essentials* to Salvation, we all are in a wofull Condition. Have we lived thus long in our Church, now to dye eternally therein? Seeing none can be saved therein if it be unsound in the Fundamentals of Religion, must the thousand six hundred forty third yeer from Christ's birth be the first yeer of the nativity of the Church of *England*, from which she may date her Essentiall purity? Sir, I could at the same time chide you with anger, bemoane you with pittie, blush for you with shame, were it not that I conceive this passage fell unawares from your pen, and that you intend to gather it up againe.

(c) *You know in what a case that Church was, when shee thought her selfe rich, and full, and glorious.)* Good Sir, accept of my service to stay you, or else run on till you be stopt by your owne wearinesse. Our Church never brag'd thus her selfe, nor any other for her; whose faults we have already freely confessed, yet maintained her to be found in all *Fundamentals*, and pure in all *Essentials*.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 9 [¶ 12, page 302].

A¹ thorough Reformation wee and all good men doe desire with as strong affections, though perhaps not with so loude a noise, as any whatsoever.

[4] *Examination.* If your ²thorough Reformation in this page be compared with your pages 14, 15, 16, 17 [¶¶ 18 *seq.*], where you have bound it up with so many ⁴restrictions, the fallacy will soone appear. You would ⁶smoothly tax some brethren for clamor and noise in their desires after Reformation: indeed, if you could perswade the Prophets of God into silence or slight endeavours, halfe your designe were finished: but they have a fire which flames into stronger expressions. If the zeale of the Prophets and ⁷Martyrs had given no further testimony to the truth then their own bosoms, we had not had at this day such a cloud of witnesses. You know these loud importunities awakens and hastens men into that ⁸holy business you would so faine retard: if you think it your vertue that you can be silent in the midst of our importunities and loud cries after Reformation, I am sure 'tis your policy too, for should you make too great a noise after it, you might be heard to ⁹Oxford; and perhaps you are loath to speak out till you ¹see further.

Treatise.

(d) *Fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen pages, where you have bound it up with so many Restrictions.)* Indeed I bound Reformation with Restrictions, but such as are Girdles to strengthen it, not fetters to burthen it; and thereupon no fallacy, but plaine dealing will appeare. And if those pages you instance in be guilty of any such fault, no doubt when your examination doth come to them you will presse it home, and I shall be ready to make my best defence.

(e) *You would smoothly tax some Brethren for clamour.)* If any be faulty herein, they deserve not onely to be smoothly

¹ thorow: *Truth Maintained*, page 15.

taxed, but sharply reprov'd. For clamour (as the English word is taken in ¹Scripture) founds in a bad sense, as arguing an ill tempered Spirit with a mixture of pride and impatience. And as Reformation ought to be prosecuted and fought after with holy and zealous importunity (farre from all Lethargicall dulnesse and carnall stupidity,) so it must be done with a quiet and compos'd soule, a grace commended by the ²Apostle. Now grant none to be guilty, yet seeing all are subject (especially in tumultuous times) to clamour and passionate extravagancies, my gentle Advertisement by the bye could not be amisse.

(f) *If the zeale of the Prophets and Martyrs had given.*) I thanke you, Sir, for mentioning the Martyrs. They were the Champions of *passive obedience*, and the lively Patternes of that holy Temper I now described; Men of a meeke and quiet disposition; not clamorous; though since their death, the noyse and fame of their patience hath founded aloud thorow the whole world to all Posterity. And I pray God in continuance of time the very Doctrine of Martyrdome be not Martyred.

(g) *That holy Businesse you would so faine retard.*) I appeale from your hard Censure to the *Searcher of hearts*, who one day will acquit my innocence and punish your uncharitableness, except it be first pardoned upon your repentance.

(h) *For should you make so great a noyse, you might be heard to Oxford.*) I care not how farre I be heard, nor which way, to *Oxford* and beyond it, to *Geneva*, or to *Rome* it selfe: Truth is Calculated for all meridians. But speake not slightingly of *Oxford*: it is ill wounding of a Court, and a Camp, and an University, and all in one word.

(i) *And perhaps you are loath to speak out till you see farther.*) I see too farre already; namely, that ruine and desolation is likely to follow, except Moderation be used on both sides. If you meane, *till I see farther* into His Majesties pleasure of Reforming what shall be found amisse, his unfained desire thereof doth already plainly appeare. But if you meane, till I see farther into his successe, know, Sir, my Religion

¹ *Pro.* 9. 13: A foolish woman is clamorous; *Ephe.* 4. 31: wrath, and anger, and clamour.

² *1 Thes.* 4. 11: Study to be quiet.

observes not the tides of His Majesties Fortune, to ebbe and flow therewith. Where Conscience is the Fountaine, the stream keeps the same height.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 10 [¶ 12, page 302].

But with this qualification, That by thorough Reformation, we meane such a one whereof we are capable, pro statu viatorum, made with all due and Christian moderation.

[5] *Examination.* You write of the Reformation of a Church like ¹*Bodin*, not like *Bucer*: you make it a work of *Policy*, ¹not of *Piety*; of *Reason*, not *Divinity*. Such Counsellors had ²*Ieroboam* and *Iebu*; and they made a Church as unhappy as a Kingdome miserable. This *moderation* and *qualification* you speak of is not so consistent with ²*spirituall essences* and *operations*: if the spirit of God should ^onot work in the soules of unregenerate, but expect an answerable compliancy first, who should be sanctified? If God had expected any such congruity in our businesse of salvation, we had yet been unredeemed. To ²speak closer, What *Qualification* did Queen ³*Elizabeth* expect, when she received a Kingdom warme from Popery? What *Qualification* did ¹*Henry* the eight expect, in his attempt against the Supremacy, when all his Kingdom was so universally conjured to *Rome*? Such moderation and qualification is no other but a discreet taking so much as will serve your turne: *to the Law*, saith the Scripture, *and to the testimony*; *Moses* wrought according to the *Patterne*: so *Solomon* too. Godly ¹*Bucer* makes it his ¹work to perswade King *Edward* to build up a perfect Church; and he ²prophecies sadly that he was afraid Popery would succeed, because the Kingdom of *England* was so averse to the Kingdom of Christ; and we know the *Marian* dayes followed. Me thinks we are too like his prophecy, and our ²*Marian* times approach too fast.

Treatise.

(*k*) *You write of a Reformation of a Church like Bodin.*) Would I wrote like *Bodin*, though on the condition that I never wrote Answer to your Examinations. Would we had some *Bodins*, some such able States-men, that they might improve their parts to advance an happy Accommodation betwixt our Sovereigne and his Subjects.

(*l*) *You make it a worke of Policy, not of Piety.*) I make it, as indeed it is, a work both of *Moses* and *Aaron*, wherein *Piety* is to be prefer'd and *Policy* is not to be excluded.

(*m*) *Such Counsellours had Jeroboam and Jehu.*) Sir, shoot your Arrowes at me till your Quiver be empty, but glance

¹ Bucer in lib. 2. *De Regno Christi*.

not with the least flenting insinuation at His Majesty, by consequence to compare him to *Jeroboam* or *Jebu*, for their Idolatry : He knoweth how to bestow his Gold farre better, and to leave the *Calves* for others.

(*n*) *This Moderation and Qualification you speake of is not so consistent with Spirituall Essenses and Operations.*) This your line is not so consistent with sense as to need, much lesse deserve a Confutation.

(*o*) *If the Spirit of God should not have wrought in the souls of Unregenerate.*) I wonder that, allotting (as you say) but one afternoon for the whole work of your Examination, you could spend so much time (some minutes at least) in such impertinencies.

(*p*) *To speake closer.*) And truly no more then needs ; for as yet you are farre enough from the matter. But I will not confute what you confesse.

(*q*) *What Qualification did Queen Elizabeth expect?*) She needed not to expect any, when she had all Requisites to reforme. Those who have such Qualification are not *to expect*, but to fall a working ; those that want it are not to fall a working, but still *to expect*. *Queen Elizabeth* as supream in her Dominions had a sufficient calling to reforme ; nothing was wanting in her : Onely her Memory doth still deservedly expect a more thankfull acknowledgement of her worthy paines then generally she hath received hitherto.

(*r*) *What Qualification did Henry the eight expect in his attempt against supremacy?*) He likewise had Qualification sufficient (and therefore needed not to expect any), as your following words doe witnesse, wherein you say that *All his Kingdome was universally conjured to Rome*. If it was *his Kingdome*, then he had a *calling* ; if it was conjured to Rome, then he had a *cause* to reforme : and being the King was bound to be the Exorcist to un-conjure his Subjects from such superstition. Yea, had King *Henry* reformed as sincerely as he had a lawfull Calling thereunto, his memory had not been constantly kept in such a purgatory of mens tongues for his lukewarme Temper ; even the most moderate counting him too good for to be condemned, and too bad to be commended.

(s) *To the Law, faith the Scripture, and to the testimony.*) I will treasure up this excellent passage till a convenient time, being confident that before the next Paragraffe is examined I shall appeale to these Judges, and you decline them.

(t) *Godly Bucer makes it his worke to perswade King Edward to build up a perfect Church.*) The ~~Book~~ of godly Bucer which you cite I have seene, on the selfe same token that therein he makes ¹Bishops to be above Presbyters *jure divino*. You know Bucer wrote this worke (as leading the front of his *Opera Anglicana*) in the very beginning of King Edwards reigne, before the Reformation was generally received in England, and whilst as yet Popery was practised in many places. And next to this his book followeth his gratulation to the English Church for their entertaining of the Purity of the Gospell; so that what he doth perswade in the book you alleadge was in some good measure performed in that Kings reign, and afterwards better compleated by Queen Elizabeth.

(v) *And he prophecieth sadly that he was afraid Popery would succeed.*) Herein he took shrewd aime, and it happened he hit right. Such predictions are onely observed when afterwards they chance to take effect: otherwise, if missing the marke, men misse to marke them and no notice at all is taken of them. I know a latter Divine (not the lowest in learning, one of the highest in ²zeale amongst them) who foretelleth that *Atheisme rather then Popery* is likely to overrunne England. Such Presages may serve to admonish, not to afright us, as not proceeding from a prophetical spirit, but resulting from prudentiall observations. But before we take our farewell of this book of Bucers, it will not be amisse to remember another passage (not to say presage) in the same worthy worke; that we may see what sinnes in his opinion were forerunners

¹ *Ex perpetua Ecclesiarum observatione ab ipsis iam Apostolis videmus, visum & hoc esse Spiritui Sancto ut inter Presbyteros quibus Ecclesiarum procuratio potissimum est commissa, unus Ecclesiarum, & totius Sacri Ministerii curam gerat singularem; eaque cura & solitudine cunctis praeerat aliis, quâ de causâ Episcopi nomen hujusmodi jummis Ecclesiarum Curatoribus est peculiariter attributum. Bucerus, De Regno Christi, lib. 2. cap. 12 [Scripta Anglicana fere Omnia, Basle, 1577, pag. 67.]*

² M. [Richard] Greenham in his grave Counsels in the word *Atheisme*, page 3 [Works, fourth edition, folio, London, 1605].

of ruine in a Kingdome. The margin presents the Reader with the ¹latin which I here translate, though the former part thereof be englished already in mens practise, and the latter I feare will be englished in Gods judgements :

How horrible an affront doe they doe to the Divine Majesty who use the Temples of the Lord for Galleries to walke in, and for places so prophane that in them with their fellowest they prattle and treat of any uncleane and prophane businesse! This sure is so great a contempt of God that long since even for this alone we have deserved altogether to be banished from the face of the earth, and to be punished with heaviest judgements.

Such I am afraid will fall on our nation for their abominable abusing of Churches (besides other of their finnes) and prophaning the places of Gods worship. Not to speake of those (and yet what man can hold his tongue when the mouthes of graves are forced open?) who, in a place to which their guilty conscience can point without my pens direction, did by breaking up the Sepulchers of our Saxon Christian Kings, erect an everlasting Monument to their own sacriledge. Such practises must needs provoke Gods anger: and now me-thinks I write of the Reformation of a Church like *Bucer*, and not like *Bodin*.

(w) *Me-thinks we are too like his prophecie, and our Marian times approach too fast.*) I hope otherwise; trusting on a good God and a gracious King. But if those times doe come, woe be to such as have been the cause or occasion to bring or hasten them! One day it will be determined whether the peevish, perverse and undiscreeet spirit of Sectaries, bringing a generall dis-repute on the Protestant, hath not concurred to the inviting in of superstition and Popery, [which] may come riding in on the back of Anabaptisme. If those times doe come, I hope that God who in justice layeth on the burthen will in mercy strengthen our shoulders, and what

¹ *Quàm horrendam illi faciunt divina Maieſtati contumeliam qui Tempſa Domini habent pro Deambulacris locisque tam prophanis ut in illis quævis impura & prophana cum ſimilibus ſuis garriant & pertrahant. . . . Hæc certe tanta eſt divini numinis Contemptio ut eâ vel ſolâ pridem meriti ſumus omnino de Terrâ exterminari & quidem ſuppliciiis graviffimis multari. Bucerus, De Regno Chriſti, lib. 1. cap. 10 [pag. 45, ut antea].*

our prayers cannot prevent our patience must undergoe. Nor is it impossible with God so to enable those whom you tax to have onely a forme of Godlinesse to have such Power thereof as to seale the Protestant Religion with their blood.

Examiner.

Sermon, pages 10, 11 [¶ 12-14, pages 302-3].

Such who are to be true and proper Reformers, they must have a lawfull Calling thereunto. Duties which God hath impaled in for some particular persons. Amongst these actions, Reformation of Churches is chiefe. Now the Supreme Power alone hath a lawfull calling to reforme a Church, as it plainly appeares by the Kings of Iudah in their Kingdome.

[6] *Examination.* I had not known your meaning by the lawfull Calling you name, but that you expound it, in the lines that follow, to be the Calling of the *supreme Magistrate*, as if no calling were warrantable at first to ²premove a reformation but that. But you must take notice, there is an inward and outward Call. The inward is a ³speciall excitation from the spirit of God, and such a Call is ¹warrantable to be active: I am sure it hath been sufficient alwayes to set holy men on work. Another Call is outward; and that is either of *Place* and *Magistracy*, or *publike relation*. Now though *Magistracy* be of *publike relation*, yet when I speak specifically of *publike relation*, I mean that in which every man stands bound in to God and his Countrey. Now all these callings are Commission enough, either to ²meddle as Christianly inspired or Christianly engaged. In ordinary transactions I know the ordinary dispensation is to be resorted to; but the businesse of *Reformation*, as it is ⁴extraordinary, so God gives extraordinary conjunctures of times and circumstances, and extraordinary concurrences, and extraordinary incitations. In the building of the Temple you shall see in *Ezra* and *Nebemiab*, *Neb. 8. 1*, such workings of God: *when the ⁵people were gathered together as one man, they spake to Ezra the Scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses.* Here the ⁶people put one [on] even *Ezra* to his duty.

Treatise.

Before I deale with the particulars of this examination, I will enlarge (not alter) what I said in my Sermon of this point, promising as much brevity as God shall enable me to temper with Clearnesse, and desiring the Readers patience whilst at mine owne perill I deliver my opinion.

But first, here we premise [a] necessary distinction. Distinguish we betwixt those Times when the Church liveth under

¹ warrantable by God: *Truth Maintained*, page 23.

Pagan or persecuting Princes, and when God bleſſeth her with a Chriſtian King, defender of the Faith. In the former caſe the Church may and muſt make an hard ſhift to reforme her ſelfe ſo well as ſhe can (for many things will be wanting, and more will be but meanly ſupplied) without any relating to a ſupreame Power, whoſe leave therein will be dangerous to deſire and impoſſible to obtaine. But withall, they muſt provide themſelves to ſuffer, offering no violence except it be to drowne a Tyrant in their teares, or to burne him with coales of kindneſſe heaped on his head. In the latter caſe, when the ſupreame Power is a nurſing Father to the Church, ſuckling it, not ſucking blood from it, the Church muſt have recourſe to it before ſhee may reforme. Reforming of a Church muſt neither ſtay behind for *Nero* his leave, nor runne before without the conſent of *Constantine*. Religion it ſelfe muſt not be deckt with thoſe flowers which are violently pluck'd from the Crownes of lawfull Princes.

Come we now then to ſhew how in a Chriſtian ſtate all are to contribute their joynt endeavours to promote a Reformation.

In a Church and ſuch a State I conſider three degrees thereof. Firſt, meere private men without any mixture of a publike Relation. Secondly, perſons placed in a middle poſture, with the Centurion in publike imploymment over ſome, yet *under Authority* themſelves. Thirdly, the abſolute ſupreame Power, who depends of God alone.

For the firſt of theſe, meere private men, they have nothing to doe in publike reforming but to advance it by their hearty prayers to God, and to facilitate the generall Reformation by labouring to amend their owne and their Families lives according to the Word: this is all God requireth of them and more I feare then moſt of them will performe.

Next, ſucceed thoſe perſons in a middle poſture; and theſe are either Miniſters or Magiſtrates. Miniſters, even the meaneſt of them, have thus far their part in publike Reforming that they are to *lift up their voice like a Trumpet* (though not like ¹*Sheba* his Trumpet to ſound ſedition), both

3. How far private Chriſtians, Miniſters and ſubordinate Magiſtrates, are to concur to the advancing of a publike Reformation.

Relation. Secondly, perſons placed in a middle poſture, with the Centurion in publike imploymment over ſome, yet *under Authority* themſelves. Thirdly,

¹ 2 Sam. 20. 1.

to reprove vitioufnesse in Manners, and to confute errors in Doctrine. And if men of power and imminent place in the Church, then as their ingagement is greater, so their endeavours must be stronger to presse and perswade a publike Reformation to such whom it doth concerne.

Magistrates may have more to do in publike Reforming : having a calling from God, who therefore hath set them in a middle place betwixt Prince and people, to doe good offices under the one, over the other, betwixt both ; and having a calling from the King, especially if they be his Counsellours, whose good they are to advance by all lawfull meanes, and rather to displease him with their speech then to dishonour him with their silence ; and having a calling from their Country, whose safety they must be tender and carefull of.

First, therefore, they are with all industry (both from the Ministers mouth and by their owne inquiry) to take true notice of such defects and deformities in the Church or State as are really to be reformed. Secondly, they are with all sincerity to represent the same to the supreame Power. Thirdly, with all humility to request the amendment of such Enormities. Fourthly, with all gravity to improve their request with arguments from Gods glory, the Princes honour, the peoples profit, and the like. Lastly, with their best judgement to propound and commend the fairest way whereby a Reformation may as speedily as safely be effected. And if they meet with difficulties in the supreame Power delaying their request, they are not to be disheartned, but after their fervent prayers to God, who alone hath the hearts of Kings in his hands, they are constantly to renew their request at times more seasonable, in places more proper, with expressions more pathetically, having their words as full of earnestnesse as their deeds farre from violence.

As last comes the supreame Power, who alone is to reforme by its own Authority, though not by its owne advice alone. For because it is rationally to be presumed that Divines have best skill in matters of Divinity, they are to be consulted with ; and here comes in the necessity and use of *Councils, Convocations, Synods* and *Assemblies*. And because

4. What parts therein are
only to be acted by the *supreame
Power*.

there is not onely a constant correspondency, but also an unseperable complication betwixt the Church and State, Statefmen are therefore to be advised with in a Reformation so to fettle it as may best comply with the Common-wealth. For God in that generall warrant, *Let all things be done decently and in order*, puts as I may say the Cloath and Sheeres into the hands of the Church and Christian Princes to cut out and fashion each particular decency and order so as may shape and fuit best with the present Time and Place wherein such a Reformation is to be made.

These parts therefore are to be acted in a Reformation by the supreame Power: First, he is (either by his owne Motion, or at the instance and intreaties of others) to call and congregate such Assemblies. Secondly, to give them leave and liberty to consult and debate of matters needing to be reformed. Thirdly, to accept the results of their consultations, and to weigh them in the ballance of his Princely discretion. Fourthly, to confirme so much with his *Royal Assent* as his judgement shall resolve to be necessary or convenient. Lastly, to stamp the Character of Authority upon it, that Recusants to obey it may be subject to civill punishments.

But now all the question will be, What is to be done if the endeavours of Subjects be finally returned with deafnesse or deniall in the supreame Power? In this case a publike Reformation neither ought nor can be performed without the consent of the supreame Power: It ought not,

First, because God will not have a Church reformed by the deforming of his Commandement. He hath said, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, and requireth that all Superiours should be respected in their places. Secondly, the Scripture, rich in Presidents for our instruction in all cases of importance, affords us not one single example wherein people attempted publiquely to reforme, without or against the consent of the supreame Power; and in this particular I conceive a negative Argument followeth undeniably: wherefore seeing the Kings in *Judab* (there the supreame Power) were alwayes called upon to reforme, commended for doing so much, or condemned for doing no more; and the people neither commanded to remove, nor reprov'd for not removing publique

Idolatry, without the consent of the supreame Power; it plainly appeareth that a publique Reformation belongeth to the supreame Power, so that without it it ought not to be done.

As it ought not, so it cannot be done without the consent thereof: for admit that the highest subordinate Power should long debate, and at last conclude, the most wholesome Rules for Reformation; yet, as *Plato* said that amongst the many good Lawes that were made, one still was wanting, namely, a Law to command and oblige men to the due observing of those Lawes which were made: So when the best Resolutions are determined on by any inferiour Power, there still remains an absolute necessity that the supreame Power should bind and enforce to the observing thereof.

For instance: Some Offenders are possessed with such unclean Spirits of prophanenesse that *none can bind them, no not with Chaines* of Ecclesiastical Censures; onely outward Mulcts in purse or person can hold and hamper them. *Scythian* slaves must be ordered with whips; and a present prison more affrights impudent persons than Hel-fire to come. In the Writs, *De Excommunicato capiendo* and *De Hæretico comburendo*, such as flout at the *Excommunicato* and the *Hæretico* are notwithstanding heartily afraid of the *Capiendo* and the *Comburendo*. Wherefore in such cases the Church when it is most perfectly reformed is faine to crave the aid of the State by civill and secular penalties to reduce such as are Rebels to Church Censures (sometimes inflicting death it selfe on blasphemous Heretickes); and this cannot be performed by any subordinate Power in the State, but onely by the supreame Power. Otherwise Offenders, if pressed by any inferiour Power, would have a free Appeale and no doubt find full redresse from the supreame Power, without whose consent such penalties were imposed on them.

Now if it be demanded, what at last remains for any to doe in case the supreame Power finally refuseth to reforme, thus they are to imploy themselves: First, to comfort themselves in this, that they have used the meanes, though it was

Gods pleasure to with-hold the blessing. Secondly, they are to reflect on themselves, and seriously to bemoane their own finnes which have caused Gods justice to punish them in this kind. If a rhumaticke head sends downe a constant flux, to the corroding of the lungs, an ill affected stomacke first sent up the vapours which caused this distillation: And pious Subjects conceive that if God suffer Princes to persist in dangerous errours, this distemper of the head came originally from the stomack, from the finnes of the people, who deserved this affliction. Thirdly, they are to reforme their selves and Families, and if the supream Power be offended thereat, to prepare themselves patiently to suffer whatsoever it shall impose upon them, having the same cause, though not the same comfort, to obey a bad Prince as a good one.

By the way, a word in commendation of passive obedience: when men who cannot be active without sinning, are passive without murmuring. First, Christ set the principall copie thereof, leading *Captivity captive on the Crosse*; and ever since he hath sanctified suffering with a secret soveraigne vertue, even to conquer and subdue persecution.

Secondly, it hath beene continued from the Primitive Church by the Albigenes to the moderate ¹Protestants, unlesse some of late ashamed of this their Masters badge have pluckt their cognisance from their coats and set up for themselves.

Thirdly, it is a Doctrine spirituall in it selfe. It must needs be good, it is so contrary to our bad natures and corrupt inclinations, who will affirme any thing rather then we will deny our selves, and our owne revengefull dispositions. And surely the Martyrs were no lesse commendable for their willing submitting to then for their constant enduring of their persecutors cruelty. And it was as much (if not more) for them to conquer their owne vindicative spirits as to undergoe the heaviest tortures inflicted on them.

Fourthly, it is a doctrine comfortable to the Practisers,

¹ *Est hæc pontificiorum tessera crudelitas, aliud est Protestantium symbolum clementia. Isti occidunt, Hi occidunt.* Laurentius Humphreys in *Respon. ad Epistolas Campiani* [*Iesuitismi Pars Secunda*, &c., 8vo. Lond. 1584, verso of ¶¶¶. 4].

bitter, but wholsome. Yet it is sweetned with the inward consolation of a cleere conscience, which is Food in Famine, Freedome in Fetters, Health in Sicknesse, yea, Life in death.

Fifthly, it is glorious in the eyes of the beholders, who must needs like and love that Religion, whose professors (where they cannot lawfully dearly sell) doe frankly give their lives in the defence thereof.

Lastly, it is a Doctrine fortunate in successe. By preaching of *passive* obedience *the Dove* hath out-flowne *the Eagle*. Christ's Kingdome hath out-streatched *Cæsars* Monarchy. Hereby the wisdome of the East was subdued to the folly of Preaching. The Sunne of the Gospell arose in the Westerne parts. The parched South was watered with the dew of the Word. The frozen North was thawed with the heat of Religion. But since the Doctrine of resisting the supreame Power came into fashion, the Protestant Religion hath runne up to a high top, but spread nothing in breadth; few Papists have beene reclaimed, and no Pagans have been converted. Alas! that so good a Doctrine should be now in so great disgrace; yet will we praise such *suffering*, though we suffer for praising it. If we cannot keepe this Doctrine alive, we will grieve because it is dying; being confident that though now it be buried in so deepe dishonour, God in due time will give it a glorious resurrection. And though I must confesse it is farre easier to praise *passive Obedience* then to practice it, yet to commend a vertue is one degree to the imitation of it; and to convince our judgements, first, of the goodnesse of the deede, is by Gods blessing one way to worke our wils to embrace it: In a word, if this Doctrine of *passive Obedience* be cryed downe, hereafter we may have many bookes of *Acts and Monuments*, but never more any *Bookes of Martyrs*.

And now these things premised, we returne to *Master Saltmarsh* his examination of my Sermon.

(x) *As if no calling were warrantable at first to promote a Reformation but the supreame Power.*) I never said or thought so: But in what manner and by what meanes inferiours may and must labour to promote it, I have at large declared.

(y) *The inward call is a speciall excitation from the spirit of*

God, and such a call is warrantable to be active.) I shall have presently a more proper place to deale with these *speciall excitations* when I come to answer your *extraordinary incitations*.

(2) *Now all these callings are commission enough to meddle.*) I am not of so froward a spirit as to quarrell at a word. Otherwise I could tell you that *to meddle* generally importeth an over-businesse in some Pragmaticall person, tampering with that which is either unlawfull in it selfe, or hurtfull to, at least improper for the party who medleth with it; and in ¹Scripture it is commonly used with a prohibition, *Meddle not*. To passe this by, the question is not whether Magistrates may meddle (as you say) in advancing a publique Reformation, but how? and how farre they may be active therein? Therein I report the Reader to what I have largely expressed.

(a) *In ordinary transactions I know the ordinary dispensation is to be resorted to; but the businesse of Reformation, as it is extraordinary, so God giveth extraordinary conjunctures of Times and circumstances, and extraordinary concurrences, and extraordinary incitations.*) Now you soare high, give us leave to follow you as we can. First, I confesse that a publique Reformation is an *extraordinary worke* in this sence, as not common or usuallly done every day (as private amendment of particular persons is or ought to be). But it is a rare worke, which commeth to passe but seldome, and the doing of it is out of the road of ordinary mens employment. But I deny a publique Reformation to be extraordinary in this acception; as if it were to be ordered or managed by any other rules or presidents then such as are ordinary and usuall in the Bible, where many patterns of publique Reformations are presented; in which respect the ordinary dispensation is to be resorted to in the performance thereof. Whereas you say that in publique Reformations, *God giveth extraordinary conjunctures of Times and circumstances, and extraordinary concurrences*: It is true in this sence, that the great Clock-keeper of Time so orders the coincidence of all things that when his

¹ Deut. 2. 5; 2 Kings 14. 10; 2 Cro. 25. 19; Pro. 20. 19, and 24. 21, and 26. 17, and 20. 3.

houre is come wherein such a Reformation shall be made, every officious circumstance will joyfully contribute his utmost assistance to the advancing thereof. Wherefore if men cannot make a Reformation without roving from their calling, or breaking Gods Commandement (according to which it cannot be done without the consent of the supreame Power), hereby it plainly appeares that the hand of Divine Providence doth not as yet point at that happy minute of Reformation, there being as yet times distracted with jarres and disjunctures, not onely in circumstances, but even in substantiall matters requisite thereunto. And therefore seeing Gods good time may not be prevented, but must be expected, men are still patiently to wait and pray for that *conjuncture of Times and concurrency of circumstances* whereof you speake.

But whereas you speake of *Extraordinary Incitations*, paralell to what you said before, of *speciall excitations*, and *christianly inspired*: In these your expressions you¹ open a dangerous Pit, and neither cover it againe nor raile it about with any cautions, so that Passengers may unawares fall into it.

For every man who hath done an unwarrantable act, which he can neither justifie by the law of God or man, will pretend presently that he had an extraordinary Incitation for it: a fine tricke to plead Gods leave to breake his law. Nor can we disprove the impudence of such people, except we may use some touch-stones, thereby to try their counterfeit incitations. My opinion herein shall be contrived into three Propositions.

6. That no extraordinary Excitations, Incitations, or Inspirations are bestowed from God on men in these dayes.

First, no such extraordinary incitations are extant now a dayes from God as stirre men up to doe any thing contrary to his Commandements. Indeed, some such we meet with in the² Scripture, where the Law-giver dispensing with his owne law incited *Abraham* to kill his son, *Sampson* to kill himselfe, and the Isralites to rob the Egyptians. In such cases it was no disobedience to Gods publique command, but obedience to his private countermand, if the servant varied his practice according to his absolute Masters

¹ Exo. 21. 33. 34.

² Gen. 22. 2 ; Judg. 16. 30 ; Exod 12. 36.

peculiar direction. But such incitations come not now a dayes but from the spirit of delusion.

Secondly, no extraordinary excitations are extant now a dayes from God, seizing on men (as anciently) in *Enthusiasmes*, or any such raptures as make sensible impressions on them. For these are within the virge of Miracles, which are now ceased; and our age produceth things rather monstrous then miraculous.

Thirdly, extraordinary incitations are still bestowed by God in these dayes; namely, such that he giveth to some of his servants a more then usuall and common proportion of his grace, whereby they are enabled for and incited to his service with greater rigour and activity then ordinary Christians. My judgement herein shall not be niggardly to restraine Gods bountifull dealing; but I verily beleieve that he who was so exceedingly liberal in former ages is not so close handed in our times, but that in this sence he bestoweth extraordinary motions, especially on such whom his Providence doth call to eminent Places, either in Church or State. But such motions quicken them to *runne the way of Gods Commandements*, not to start without or beside it. And as hereby they are heightned to an Heroicall degree of Piety, so though sometimes we may say of them in a Rhetoricall expresseion, that *they goe beyond themselves*, yet they never goe beyond their calling, nor never goe beyond Gods Commandements.

Now if any shall pretend that they have an extraordinary excitation to make a publique Reformation without the consent of the supreame Power to whom by Gods law it belongs, such an excitation cannot come from the holy Ghost: For if the spirit of the Prophets be subject to the Prophets, much more is it subject to the God of the Prophets, and to the law of that God. And truly, Sir, this passage of *extraordinary incitations*, as it is by you rawly laid downe and so left, containeth in it seed enough if well (or rather ill) husbanded to sow all the Kingdome with sedition, especially in an age wherein the Anabaptist in their actions, beaten out of the field by Gods Word, doe daily flye to this their Fort of extraordinary excitations.

And you may observe when God gave *extraordinary excitations, quoad regulam* (stirring up men to doe things contrary to the received rule of his Commandements), then such excitations were alwayes attended with extraordinary operations. *Phinebas*, who killed *Cosby* and *Zimry*, could stay the plague with his prayer; and *Eliab* who cursed the Captaines with their fifties, could cause fire to come downe on them from Heaven. It appeares this his curse was pronounced without malice, because inflicted by a miracle. It is lawfull for such to call for fire, who can make fire come at their call; and would none would kindle discord on Earth, till first they fetcht the sparks thereof from Heaven. Neither doe we proudly tempt Gods providence, but truly trye such mens pretended extraordinary incitations, if when they wander from Gods Commandements in their Actions, and plead inspirations, we require of them to prove the truth of such inspirations by working a miracle.

Now, Sir, you being (as it seemes) an opposite to Prelacy would make strange worke, to put downe one *Ordinary* in a Diocesse, and set up many *extraordinaries* in every Parish. And for ought I know, if some pretend *extraordinary excitations* publikely to reforme against the will of the supreame Power, such as side with the *supreame Power* may with as much probability alleadge *extraordinary excitations* to oppose and crosse the others Reformation, and so betwixt them both our Church and State will be sufficiently miserable. And now, Sir, remember what you said in the last Paragraffe: *To the law, saith the Scripture, and to the Testimony*: to such Judges we may safely appeale from all your *speciall excitations, extraordinary Incitations, and christian Inspirations*.

(b) *In the building of the Temple you shall see in Ezra and Nehemiah such workings of God: when the people were gathered together as one man, they spake to Ezra the Scribe, to bring the Booke of the law of Moses.*) The unanimous consent of so many we acknowledge to be Gods worke. O that we might see the like agreement in *England*, where the people are so farre from being *gathered together as one man* that almost every one man is distracted in his thoughts, like the times, and scattered from himselfe as if he were *many people*. Well,

they spake to Ezra to bring the Booke of the law: what of all this?

(c) *Here the people put on even Ezra to his duty.*) And little speaking would spurre on him, who of himselfe was so ready to runne in his calling. But I pray, what was this *Ezra*? who were these people? *Ezra* was indeed a Priest, a learned Scribe of the law, who brought up a party out of *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* armed with a large patent and Commis- sion from *Artaxerxes*. The people here were the whole body of the Jewish Church and State, together with ¹*Zerobabel* the Prince and *Jeshuab* the high Priest, who (by leave from the Persian King) had the chiefe managing of spirituall and tem- porall matters. And judge how little this doth make for that purpose to which you alleadge it, that from hence private persons may either make the supream power to reforme, or doe it without his consent. Had you free leave of the whole Scripture to range in, and could the fruit of your paines find out no fitter instance for your purposes?

Examiner.

And whereas you say, Reformation is of those duties that are ^dimpaled in for some particular persons; I answer, this were a grand designe, if you could ^eheighten Reformation into such a holy Prodigy as you would of late the Church into the *Prelacy* and *Clergy*, and excluded the ^e*Laity* as a prophane crew, and to be taught their distance. *Luther* will tell you this is ^hone of the ²*Romish engines* to make such an holy businesse, like the mountaine in the Law, not to be toucht or ³approached to, but by *Moses* alone. Thus you might take off many good workmen, and honest ^llabourers in the Vineyard, whom Christ hath hired and sent in, and to whom he hath held out his Scepter, as *Abasuerus* to *Esther*.

Treatise.

(d) *And whereas you say, Reformation is of those duties that are impaled in for some particular persons.*) It appeares that *publike Reformation* is so impaled; for whereas every man is commanded to observe the Sabbath, honour his Parents;

¹ This appeares because in the Prophet he is stiled *Gouvernour of Judah*, Hag. 1. 14, and that at the self same time when *Ezra* came thither. See *Luthers Chronology* in 40 millenario.

² Roman: *Truth Maintained*, page 35.

³ approacht: *ibid.*, page 36.

and every man forbidden to have other Gods, worship Images, take Gods Name in vaine, kill, steale, &c.; yet the supream Power alone in Scripture is called on for publike Reformation, and no private person, as Saint ¹*Austin* hath very well observed.

(e) *I answer, this were a grand designe, if you could beighten Reformation into such an holy Prodigy.*) I need not heighten it, which is so high a worke of it selfe that our longest armes cannot reach it, though we stand on the tiptoes of our best desires and endeavours, till God shall first be pleased to send us a peace. A prodigy it is not (not long since you tearmed it an *extraordinary businesse*); yet if it be performed whilst warre lasteth, *it is a worke of the Lord, and may justly seeme mervailous in our eyes.*

(f) *As you would of late the Church into the Prelacy and the Clergy.*) When and where did I doe this? I ever accounted that the *Cætus fidelium, the Congregation of the faithfull*, was Gods Church on earth. Yet I often find the Church represented in generall Counsels by the Prelacy and Clergy (who are or should be the best and wisest in the Church), and their decisions in matters of Religion interpreted and received as the resolutions of the Church in generall.

(g) *And excluded the Layty as a prophane crew, and to be taught their distance.*) What honest man ever thought the Layty, as Layty, prophane? I conceive our Kingdome would be very happy, if none of the Clergy were worse then some of the Layty. And I am sure that the godly Clergy are Gods Layty, his λαός, and the godly Layty are Gods Clergy, his κλήρος. Yet now a dayes, some usurping Laymen may well be taught their distance who meddle with ministeriall functions: Nor will a wel-meaning heart one day excuse the unsanctified hands of such *Vzzab's* who presuming to preach hold not our Arke from shaking, but shake our Arke with holding it.

(b) *Luther will tell you this is one of the Romish engines.*) Indeed this was a Popish device too much to depreesse the Layty. But this engine (thanks be to God) is since broken

¹ *Auferenda Idola, non potest quisquam iubere privatus.* Aug. Cont. literas Petilian, lib. 2. cap. 92 [ed. Basle, 1542, vol. vii. col. 149].

afunder, and it will be in vaine for any to glew the peeces thereof together. And now since the Monopoly of the Popish Clergy (ingrossing all matters of Religion to themselves) is dissolved, it is fit Protestant Ministers lawfull propriety in their calling should justly be maintained.

(i) *Thus you may take off many honest Labourers in the Vineyard.*) Farre be it from me, especially if they be skilfull Labourers, such as will prune the Vines, not pluck them up by the roots. But this and what you say of those *to whom God hath beld out his Scepter* is nothing to the purpose, except you could prove where God in the Scripture hires or calls private men to make a publike Reformation.

Examiner.

And whereas you tell us, that the *supreme Power* alone hath the lawfull Calling, as appears in the *Kings of Iudah*¹; I answer, that if so, the ^kParliament were now in a dangerous *Præmunire*; for you know that is suspended from us, and yet our state goes on in their work, enabled (as they say) by their *fundamentall* power, and constitution. I shall not here dispute the emanations of this power in ordinances, votes, and orders: they have made it appeare in their owne Declarations. Only this: I read of an ^lordinance made by the Nobles and Elders of Israel, those Lords and Commons, *That whosoever would not come, according to the Counsell* which was taken for Reformation, *all his substance should bee forfeited*, *Exra* 10. 8. Here is no King of *Iudahs* hand, nor a *Cyrus* King of *Persia's*; but an ordinance of their own to their own people; only they have King *Cyrus's* writ for their first assembling and consulting. Had Christ and his Apostles ^mwaited in their Reformation for the consent of the *Roman Magistrate*, the supreme power, they had not made that holy expedition they did. Had *Luther* and *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* ⁿstaied for the *Emperours* Reformation, they had not shed halfe that light in the ^lGerman Hemisphere. There was a time when God took part of the spirit of *Moses* and put it ^oupon the *Elders*.

Treatise.

(k) *If so, the Parliament were now in a dangerous Præmunire.*) I will not marre a meane Divine of him, to make a meaner States-man by meddling with matters in the Commonwealth. I that maintaine that every man must stay in his calling will not step out of mine owne. Let the differences

¹ Germane: *Truth Maintained*, page 38.

betwixt our Sovereigne and his Subjects, which consist in points of State, be debated by the Politicians on either side, the questions in law be argued respectively by their *learned Counsell*, and the controversies in Religion be disputed by their severall Divines. But alas! such is our misery, when all is done, the finall decision is devolved to the Souldiers sword on either side; and God send the best cause the best successe.

(1) *Onely this: I read of an Ordinance made by the Nobles and Elders of Israel, those Lords and Commons.*) By your favour, it was a compleat act of state, as confirmed by the royall Assent. True, there was no King of *Judab's* hand unto it, because at that time *Judab* had no King; and who can expect that the Sunne should shine at midnight, when there is none in that Horizon? Reasonable men will then be contented with the Moon-shine; and see that here. For *Zerobabel*, shining with borrowed beames and a reflected light from the Persian King (in which respect he is stiled, *Hag.* 1. 14, the *Governour of Judab*), concurred to this Ordinance by his approbation thereof. Besides this, there was also a triple consent of the Persian Kings.

First, the grand and generall grant from *Cyrus*, *Ezra* 1. 3, which still stood in full force, as confirmed by *Darius*, *Ezra* 6. 12, whereby the Jewes being authorized to re-build the Temple, were also by the same enabled to settle Gods service in the best manner, by what wholesome lawes they thought fitting. Secondly, a particular implicate grant, in that the Persian King knowing thereof did not forbid it when it was in his power, had it beene his pleasure; and such a *not opposing* amounts to a consent. Lastly, they had a large expresse command from King *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, chap. 7, ver. 26: *And whosoever will not doe the law of thy God, and the law of the King, let judgement be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.* And now, Sir, I have the lesse cause to be offended with you for citing mangled and dismembred peeces in my Sermon, seeing the Scripture it selfe finds as little favour from your hand; for had you compared on [one] place thereof with another you could not but have seen the Persian

Kings consent to this Reformation. Yea, so observant were the Jewes of the Persian Kings that at the first issuing forth of their prohibition to that purpose, they instantly desisted building the Temple; having their soules so well managed and mouthed with the reines of loyalty that their Kings *negative voyce* ¹checkt and stopt them as they were running full speed in so good an imployment: so little doth the instance alleadged advantage your cause.

(*m*) *Had Christ and his Apostles waited in their Reformation for the consent of the Roman Magistrate.*) I answer: First, Christ and his Apostles were Christ and his Apostles, I meane extraordinary persons immediately inspired. Secondly, the Reformation they brought was mainly materiall indeed, being the Gospell, without which there was no salvation. Thirdly, because they had not the Emperours consent to their Reformation, they pacified his displeased sword by preferring their necks unto it, not repining at the dearnesse of the purchase, to buy the safety of their soules with the losse of their lives; all the Jury of the Apostles (*John* onely accepted) followed their Master to Martyrdome: and hence we truly deduced the patterne of passive obedience.

(*n*) *Had Luther and Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius stayed for the Emperours Reformation.*) *Luther* was a Minister, and so had his share in reforming, so farre as to propagate the truth and confute falshoods by his pen, preaching, and disputations. What he did more then this was done by the flat command, at lest free consent of *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, under whom *Luther* lived. This Duke owing homage, but not subjection to the Emperour, counted himself and was reputed of others absolute in his owne Dominions, as invested with the power of life and death, to coine money, make offensive and defensive leagues, and the like. And although this wary Prince long poised himself betwixt feare of the Emperour and love of the truth, yet he always either publicly defended *Luther*, or privately concealed him, till at last having outgrowne his fears he fell boldly to publike reforming. As for the states of *Zurich* and *Basil*, wherein *Zuinglius*

¹ *Ezra* 4. 24.

and *Oecolampadius* lived, as those Cities in one Relation are but members of the Helvetian Common-wealth, so in another capacity they are intire bodies of themselves; and in these states the Magistrates did stamp the Character of civill authority on that Reformation which these Ministers did first set on foot by their preaching. But if any extravagant action of worthy men be tendred us in example, our love to their persons binds us not to defend their practice, much lesse to imitate it. We crave liberty, and if denied, will take it to leave them to themselves, who, if they had any especiall warrant to justifie their deeds, will at the last day produce and plead it.

(o) *There was a time when God took part of the spirit of Moses and put it upon the Elders.*) I will not dispute the manner how the spirit was taken from ¹*Moses*, perchance added to others without being substracted from him, as a candle loofeth no light by giving it to another. But this is falsly alleaged by you to intimate that sometimes inferiour Officers may make Reformations without the knowledge, yea, against the will of the supream power. For you must know that though the Sannedrin or seventy Elders were a constant Court and standing Counsell; yet when there was a chief Governour, they had recourse to him in actions of Moment: *Num. 27. 15, 16, 17, And Moses spake unto the Lord saying, Let the Lord the God of the spirits of all flesh set a man over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may lead them out and bring them in, that the Congregation of the Lord be not as Sheep which have no Shepheard.* See [so] that notwithstanding the power of the Elders stood still in full force, and determined not at *Moses* his death; yet he accounted Gods people no better than Shepheardlesse till they had a power Paramount placed over them, and a supream above the Elders to guide and direct them.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 12 [¶ 15, pages 303-4].

Meane time meere private men must not be idle, but move in their sphere till

¹ *Drusius in Pentetuchen* [Num. xii. 1], ex R. Aben-Ezrah [4to. ed. 1617, pag. 408].

the supreme power doth reforme. They must pray to inspire those that have power. Secondly, they must reforme themselves and their families.

[7] *Examination.* Still you drive on your design ¹through many plausible insinuations : you would keep *private men doing*, but still doing in their own ²circle : I confesse I would not improve their interest too high, nor too soon ; for the early settings forth of *private men* is apt to exceed into a tumultuary motion ; yet I would not put them so far behind as they should lie like the *lame* and the *diseased* at the *Poole of Bethesda*, ³wayting till a supream power came down amongst them. There are many publick engagements which they are capable on, and which providence will often guide them to, as in ⁴finding ⁵out wayes of facilitation, and advancement for the businesse, besides some ⁶other *arcana* and secret *preparations*. We see every thing naturally is spirited with an instinct of ayding the whole : ⁷water and ayre will part with their own interests to serve the universall, in the danger of a vacuity. The very ⁸Romans by a ⁹morall principle would contend to be first in the service of their Countrey ; and it remaines as a crime upon record that ¹⁰Gilead *abode beyond Iordan* and that *Dan remained in ships*, and *Ashur abode in his breaches*, that is, that they would sit down encircled with their own interests and affaires.

Treatise.

(p) *Still you drive on your designe thorow many plausible insinuations.*) Not insinuations, but positions ; and those no more plausible then profitable. Truth hath a precious inside, and withall a pleasing face.

(q) *You would keep private men doing, but still doing in their circle.*) And good reason too ; for if they be out of their circle, they are very troublesome spirits to conjure downe againe.

(r) *Not like the lame at the poole of Bethesda, waiting till a supream Power.*) If God in his Word will have it so, they must wait. Better to lye still in the porch, though not cured, then to rush headlong into the poole and be drowned.

(s) *Providence will guide them in finding out-wayes of facilitation.*) I protest against all out-wayes if they be any way different from the high-road of the King of Heaven. Reformation, however, must come lawfully ; and if it will not come easily, let it come hardly ; we will tug at it with our prayers (which are alwayes best at a dead lift), and will

¹ thorow : *Truth Maintained*, page 41.

² out-ways : *ibid.*, page 42.

³ morral : *ibid.*, page 42.

sweat, but not sin, to obtain it. Nor can any better *facilitation* for private men be found out then for every one of them to reform themselves. How doth an Army of ten thousand men almost change their postures from East to West in an instant, because every one turneth one; and so soone would the work be done in a publike Reformation, if particular persons would take care for their private amendment.

(*t*) *Besides some other arcana and secret preparations.*) Good Sir, play faire and above board: The surface of the earth is wide enough for us both; creep not into crannies, to put me to the pains of Pioners to mine for your meaning: I know ¹*the secret of the Lord is with the righteous*; but then it is such a secret as being concealed from prophane persons is revealed in the Word. This your expression, if cleer from fault, is not free from just suspition; for hereby you buz into peoples heads (and such tinder, I tell you, is ready to take fire) that there are some strange unknown misteries of Religion lately communicated to some private men. Strange, that others of the same forme with you for learning and Religion should know no such secrets, except you have received from Heaven some expresse packet of intelligence. You might have done well to have told us what these arcana are, unlesse being of Heavens *close Committee* you be bound to secrecy. Meane time I will be bold to tell you that if these secrets differ from Gods will in his Word, they are depths of the Divell and misteries of Iniquity.

(*v*) *We see every thing naturally is spirited with an instinct of ayding; the whole water and ayre will part with their owne interests to serve the universall, in the danger of a vacuity.*) I distinguish betwixt naturall Agents and voluntary, rationall and Christian Agents. Naturall Agents goe the neereſt way to their owne home, their Center, except countermanded to avoid a vacuity, which being yeelded to, necessarily inferres a destruction of the whole. In such a case heavy bodyes have from God a dispensation, yea, command to ascend, light bodies to descend, forgetting their particular propensity, to remember the publike good, according to the words of the

¹ Pro. 3. 32.

Pfalmist, ¹*He hath made a decree which they shall not passe.* But voluntary, rationall and Christian Agents are to regulate their actions by Gods will in his Word; the greatest and onely *vacuity* they are to feare is God's displeasure, whose glory they are to preferre before their owne temporall self-preservation; and indeed mans eternall good is wrapped up in his obedience to Gods will. Wherefore except you can produce a place in Gods Word wherein private men are commanded to make publike Reformatiōs, there is a meer *vacuity* of all you have alleadged.

(w) *The very Romans by a morrall principle would contend to be first in the service of their Country.*) It was well done of them. Their forwardnesse in serving their Country will one day condemne our frowardnesse in diserving, our rending our native soyle asunder with civill dissensions; but in suchcases as this which we have now afoot, (whether private persons may reform without the consent of the supream Power,) we are not to be guided by the practice of the Pagan Romans, but by the precept of the Christian Romans, ²*Let every soule be subject to the higher Powers.*

(x) *And it remaines as a crime upon Record, that Gilead abode beyond Jordan, and that Dan remained in ships.*) Thus it was: *Sicera*, a Pagan generall under *Jabin* a Tyrant and Usurper, hostilely invaded *Israel*; *Deborah*, a Prophetesse by Divine inspiration, incited *Barack* to resist him. In this case each single man had a double call to assist *Barack*. One from Nature to ³defend his Country, another from Gods immediate vocation. Here it was lawfull for all to be active, sinfull for any to be idle: *Jael* the woman was valiant; shall men be womanish and cowardly? Now prove that private men have the like calling in point of publike Reformation; and if they be not active, we will not onely confesse it their crime, but proclaime a curse against them with *Meros*: till this be done, this instance befreindeth not your cause.

¹ Pf. 148. 6.

² Rom. 13. 1.

In publicos hostes, omnis homo miles. Tertullianus [Ed. Rigaltii, fo. 1634, cap. i. pag. 3.]

Examiner.

And ¹though you would put private men upon such duties here as are godly and commendable, the policy is to keep them exercised in one good duty, that they should not advance another; and thus you would cunningly make one piece of Divinity ¹betray another, and make the ²friends of the Reformation do it a ³discourtesie in ignorance.

Treatise.

(y) I confesse it is an ancient subtilty of Satan, *to keep men exercised in one good duty, that they should not advance another.*) Thus he busieth some men all in praying to neglect preaching; all in preaching to neglect Catechizing; all in prayers, preaching, catechizing, to neglect practising. ⁴*Jesabels* body was all eaten up, save onely her *head, hands and feet*. But indiscreet zeal so consumes some that they have neither *hands* nor *feet* left, either to *worke* or to *walke* in their Christian calling: Yea, of all their *head* nothing remains unto them but onely their *ears*, resolving all Gods service into *bearing* alone.

But this accusation is not onely improperly, but falsly here layed to my charge, because I forbid meer private men to meddle with publike reforming, which belongs not at all unto them: That so cutting off the needlesse suckers the tree may be fed the better, and that private men leaving off those employments which pertaine not to them may the more effectually advance their owne amendment; a taske which, when it is done, the severest Divine will give them leave to play.

And because one dangerous Policy hath been mentioned by you, it will not be amisse to couple it with another device of the Divell, as seasonable and necessary in these times to be taken notice of. Satan puts many meere private men on to be fierce and eager upon publike reforming, thereby purposely to decline and avert them from their own selfe-amendment. For publike reforming hath some pleasure in it, as a Magisteriall act and work of authority, consisting

¹ to betray: *Truth Maintained*, page 44.

² discourtesie: *ibid.*, page 44.

³ freinds: *ibid.*, page 44.

⁴ ² Kings 9. 35.

most in commanding and ordering of others ; whereas private amendment is a worke all of paine ; therein a man, as he is himselfe the judge, so he is the malefactor, and must indite himselfe, arraigne himselfe, convict himselfe, condemne himselfe, and in part execute himselfe, *crucifying the old man* and *mortifying* his owne corruptions. And we can easier afford to put out both the eyes of other men, to force them to leave their deare darling finnes, then to pluck out our own¹ right eye (in obedience to our Saviours precept), and forsake our owne finnes, *which doe so easily beset us*. Besides, men may be promoted to publike reforming by covetousnes, to gather chips at the felling of the old Church government ; by ambition, to see and be seene in office ; by revenge, to wreck their spight on the personall offences of such whom formerly they distasted. Self-amendment is not so subject to private ends, but goeth against the haire, yea, against the flesh it selfe, in making men deny themselves in duty to God.

Yea, at the last day of judgement, when God shall arraigne men, and say, *Tbou art a drunkard, Tbou art an adulterer, Tbou art an oppressor* ; it will be but a poore plea for them to say, *Yea, Lord, but I have been a publike Reformer of Church and State*. This plea, I say, will then not *bold water*, but prove a *broken cisterne*. Nor will God dispence with their want of *obedience*, because they have offered him store of *sacrifice*. Such people therefore are daily to be called upon to amend themselves and their Families ; which is a race long enough for the best breathed private Christians, though they start in their youth, and runne till their old age.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 19 [¶ 26, page 307].

Lastly, with carefulnesse not to give any just offence to the Papists.

[8] *Examination*. I^a wonder you^a should here expresse an indulgence which is not allowable ; and the memory of the *Parliament* will be honourable for that ; they knew so much Divinity as taught them not to value their offence, and to proclaime to them^a both in^a *Ireland* and *England*

¹ Mat. 5. 29.

^a *England* and *Ireland* : *ibid.*, page 46.

^a would : *Truth Maintained*, page 46.

an irreconcilable war. This carefulnesse and tendernesse you plead for was the first principle which embased our Church so farre as to take up their Altars and Ceremonies to avoid offence. Saint *Paul* was of another spirit, who ^bforbore not a Disciple and Apostle : *When I saw*, says he, *that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel.*

You doe much mistake the Divinity of *Christ* in matter of offence, who never forbore to preach or publish any necessary truth ; nay, when his Disciples were scandalized and said, *Iohn* 6. 60, 61, *This is an hard saying. Doth this offend you ?* ¹sayes he. *What and if, &c.* He ²goes on and ^cpursues the offence, till they left him and his Doctrine too. And for the *Papists*, they are much of the relation and constitution ³that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* were ; *not without*, as you say, *nor within* ; and yet see if you can finde our Saviour or his Apostles letting out themselves into your restrictions and moderations and cautions. Those truths which are ^dessentially, universally, alwayes, and at all times holy, ought not to be measured by the *umbrage* and scandall of the *Adversary*. Indeed, in things meerly civill or indifferent, our use and liberty may appeare more ; but for such truths as our Reformation ^ebrings, they will be alwayes an offence to the *Adversary*. *We preach Christ*, ^fsayes the Apostle, *unto the Jewes a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishnesse* ; and yet the ^gApostle ^hpreaches, and layes these *blocks* and this *rock of offence* in the way too.

Treatise.

(2) *I wonder you should here expresse an indulgence which is not allowable.*) I wonder and am sorry withall to see a Protestant take unjust offence at this Doctrine, *that no just offence is to be given*

7. That it is utterly unlawfull to give any just offence to the *Papists* or to any men whatsoever.

to the Papists. Know, Sir, that besides those *Papists* in *England* and *Ireland* to whom you say (a) the Parliament hath proclaimed an irreconcilable war, there be also many of their Religion in *Spaine*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Poland*, &c., all *Europe* over, with whom the Parliament hath not as yet any professed open hostility, and to these no offence must be given. The eye of all Christendome is upon us ; the Sea furrounds, but doth not conceale us : Present *Papists* read the text of our actions, and their posterity will write comments upon them : we cannot therefore be too wary.

Besides, grant that this irreconcilable war you speak of

¹ saith : *Truth Maintained*, page 46.

² of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* : *ibid.*, page 46.

³ saith : *ibid.*, page 47.

⁴ goeth : *ibid.*, page 46.

⁵ shall bring : *ibid.*, page 47.

⁶ preacheth : *ibid.*, page 47.

should bind men in a *martiall way* to kill all Papists ; yet I pray take notice that in some cases we may justly kill them, whom in no case we may justly offend. Though a malefactor be condemned by the Judge to be executed, yet the Sheriffe is a murderer if he torment him to death, contrary to the sentence of law. Now giving unjust scandall to the Papists, is torturing of them, and tyranny to their souls, which may externally destroy them ; and you are the first Divine, and I hope shall be the last, which ever held this to be lawfull.

Whereas you say, *I much mistake the Divinity of Christ in matter of offence*, I should be very thankfull to you, if you be pleased to rectifie my erroneous judgement ; to which end I will crave the Readers leave the more largely to expresse my opinion in this point.

I hold that we ought not to give just offence to any man whatsoever : Indeed there is no danger of giving offence to the divell. He who fears to offend Satan offends God with his foolish fear : Because the divels very nature is all mischief and malice, nothing being good in him, save his being which he hath of God ; and he is utterly incapable of salvation. But seeing in the very worst of men there is some goodnesse, or at least a capability of grace here and glory hereafter, through repentance and faith in Christ, we may not give any man just offence, as being against the rules of Piety, Charity, and Christian Prudence.

Against the rule of Piety : because God hath said, ¹*Give no offence to any*. Against the rule of Charity : because thereby we are cruell to them which are our Brethren by nature, and may be by grace. Against the rule of Christian Prudence : because we cannot give any just offence, but also thereby we doe give them a just advantage against us. I beleeve, Sir, were you to dispute in an University against Popish Opponents, you would so warily state the question which you defend as that you would not willingly give any *upper ground* to your Adversaries, more then what they could get for themselves. Wherefore, as the wrestlers in the Olimpian

¹ 1 Cor. 10. 32 ; 2 Cor. 6. 3.

games used to annoint themselves with oyle, not only thereby to supple their joynts, but also to make their naked bodies the more slick and slippery, that so those who wrestled with them might catch no hold upon them, so ought we, who are like to have constant opposition with the Papists, to give them no more advantage then what they can earn; and if we give them more, they will be more ready to jeere us for our folly then thank us for our bounty unto them.

Yea, in this respect it is more dangerous to give just offence, and therby just advantage (for the one cannot be done without the other), to the Papists then to any meer Pagans: For Pagans being rude, dull and ignorant, though an advantage be given them, cannot in point of learning husband and improve it to the utmost. But the Papists whom we doe know and must acknowledge cunning fencers in the School of wit and learning, are so well skild as ever to keep and inforce the advantage we once bestowed on them. And though we need never feare them and all their art so long as we have God and a good cause on our side, so if we betray our cause by giving them just advantage, it is just with God to deliver us over into their hands, to beat us with our owne weapons.

And heare let the Reader be pleased to take notice, as much materiall to our purpose, that there is a grand difference betwixt the Removing of things bad in their owne nature, and betwixt the manner of removing them. If any thing be bad in it selfe, it may not be continued, it must be removed. None can dispence with the retaining thereof, though never so many or great Persons take offence at the taking of it away. If Friars bee offended thereat, let them turne their girdles with all their knots in them behind them, whilst wee neede not care for their causelesse anger. They who were so quick fighted that they could see an offence where it was never given them, let them looke againe in the same place, and their quick eyes will behold there the amends which were never tendered them.

But now, as for the manner of removing of things badd in themselves, when there is a liberty and latitude left unto us after what fashion we will doe it, either this way or that way,

we must doe it so as to give none any just offence. For where it is at our choice and pleasure to use variety of waies, our discretion must pitch on the best, whereby God may receive the most glory, the action the most luster, wee our selves the greatest comfort, and all others no just cause of offence. And here once againe let mee request the Reader to observe that in my Sermon I never mentioned any tendernes to give the Papists offence in removing of thinges bad in themselves; but this caution of not giving the Papists just offence was inserted in the proper place, when we came to shew how discretion is to appeare in the manner of a reformation.

Yea, the same thing for substance may be done, and just offence either may or may not be given according to the different manner of doing it. For instance, such Pictures which are in the suburbs of superstition, because the gate of that City is alwaies open, may without any giving of just offence be fairely taken away. But to shoot off the head of the statue of Christ, either to spite the Papists or sport our selves, giveth just offence. Though the Image be nothing, yet such usage thereof is something; the bullet shott at the picture wounds pietie: For to do serious worke in a jeering way is inconsistent with Christian gravities, and argueth not light of knowledge, but lightnesse, not to say lewdnesse of behaviour.

Another instance. Suppose that some ceremonies ancient for time, used by the fathers, (though abused by the Papists,) reduced by the Protestants, defended by our English, not opposed by forraigne Devines, be practised in our Church. And withall suppose that such ceremonies as they are harmelesse, so to be uselesse, and not without the suspition of danger, as the present times stand. In this case it will give no just offence to the Papists to take them away under the Notion of things unnecessary, and unfuting with our present condition. But to remove them as things prophane, Idolatrous, or superstitious, giveth just offence and great advantage to our Romish adversaries, by the disgrace we put on Antiquity. Besides, hereby we betray our freinds which have don good service for our Religion, namely such English Devines who with their penns have learnedly and truly asserted the lawfulnessse of such ceremonies, and this our retreating from them and leaving

them ingaged (as *Ioas* served *Vriab*¹ at the siege of *Rabab*, treacherously) shews much basenesse in us; and in such a case the dishonouring of good men is the dishonouring of God himselfe.

But if I should in Courticie yeeld so much unto you (which I never will) that it were lawfull to give just offence to grounded and dedicated Papists, yet know there be some who in their opinions and affections, the borderers betwixt us and the Papists, *almost* Protestants, *not far from* our Religion, having one foote in it, and the other likely to follow: such People when they see that we take no care and make no conscience to give just offence to the Papists, will be ready to retract their resolutions and call back their forward affections: say not that such men are better lost then found. Is this the bowels of Christian compassion, which ought to be in us? If we wilfully blast such blossomes, we are not worthy of any ripe fruite; and it is both cruelty and profanesse to cast such *doe bakt cakes* to the Doggs, which by standing a while longer in the Oven would make good and wholesome bread. Nor herein do I write only by guesse, but too much by knowledge, such as I can neither well conceale nor comfortably relate. For when the Religious paines of some reverend Devines whom I know have brought some Papists to the doore of our Church, the just offence given them by the moderne extravagances of some undiscreeet Protestants caused them to fale backe againe to Popery.

And now to returne to your Examination. All things contained therein are easily to be answered by that which we have premised.

(*b*) *Saint Paule was of another Spirit, who forbore not a*¹*Disciple and Apostle.*) *Saint Paule* perceiving a dangerous error in *Peter*, reprov'd him, both presently while the wound was greene, and publiquely, that the plaister might be as broad as the sore. But in thus doing he gave no just offence to *Peter*, but blamed *Peter* for giving just offence to other Christians.

(*c*) *He goeth on and persuetb the offence till they left him.*)

¹ 2 Sam. 11. 15.

² Gal. 2. 11.

This instance of Christs his cariage herein nothing advantage you. Give me leave to repeate what I said before: If things be bad in themselves they must be removed, though they give never so many offence, or rather though never so many or great men take offence thereat; so also if a necessary Truth bee to be introduced, it must be preached and brought into the Church, though never so many be offended thereat. And if there be but one way, and no more allowed us, how and in what manner to do it, according to that one way it must be don, not valling the offending of any. But if verity [variety] of way be permitted unto us, God expects that we should give the least, and if possible no offence to any. Now to apply the truth which our Saviour heare preached and pressed was of absolute and necessary concernment: Namely that he was the true *Manna, Messiah, and bread from heaven*. Such truths must bee preached; and if any burne with anger thereat, let not their fire be quenched till it goe out for want of fuell. The case is far otherwise in this Reformation, betwixt us and the Papists. We had all essentiall truths before; and if any ornamentall or additionall truths be now to be brought in, they must be so done as to give no just offence to the Papists.

(d) *Those truths which are essentially, universally, alwaies, and at all times holy, ought not to be measured by the umbrage and scandall of the adversaries*). If hereby you meane that necessary truths must not bee forborne to bee preached for feare of giving any offence, I clearely concurre with you. Onely I say that all such truths are in our Church already, and not now to bee newly brought in (as you intimate) by the Reformation.

(e) *And yet the Apostle preacheth, and layes those blockes and this rock of offence in the way too*). The Apostle preached Christ, and intended him to be a *rock of defence* to all. As for those who perverted him to bee a *rock of offence* to themselves, this scandall was not justly given to them, but unjustly taken by them. If Papists take offence at any such truth, it shall affect us no more then the cryes of *Baals* ¹Pro-

¹ 1 Kings 18. 29.

phets affected any of whom it is said, *there was none to answer them, nor any that regarded them.* But as for the manner of removing away any errors or bringing in any Truths, we ought to bee wary and circumspect, for our own sakes as well as theirs, to give them no just offence.

To conclude. For mine owne part, Sir, I pittie the Persons of all Papists, and heartily desire their conversion, but hate theirs, and all other errors, *with a perfect hatred.* And this my enmity to all Popish Tenents doth the more plainly appeare to be grounded on my Judgement, not on my passion, because I would have all men so cautious as not to give them just advantage, least our actions fight for them, whilst our affections fight against them. What Frier will not laugh in his Coule at this your opinion, that it is lawfull to give Papists just offence? Well, you never shall have my consent to combate as our Churches Champion against Rome for the Protestant cause untill you have learnt more skill in fencing, and not to lye at so open a guard. And if you hold it lawfull to give Papists just offence, by the next returne you will hold it lawfull to give just offence to all which are termed *Popishly affected*, the Gangrean of which expression is by some extended to taint as sound and hearty Protestants as any be in England.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 24 [¶ 31, page 310].

That it is to be desired, not hoped for, a Plato's Common-wealth, and Moores Vtopia. These phantasies are pleasing but unfeizable.

[9] *Examination.* He that looks abroad shall soone have his sight terminated; but the more he goes on, the more hee sees, and that which closed his prospect opens then into new discoveries: if you see no perfect Reformation as you stand, doe not therefore say there is none; they that stand higher, and on a holier Mountaine, ¹perhaps see ¹further. You that stand in the *Horizon of Prelacy* cannot see much beyond it; corruption is deceitfull, and makes us, like *Adam*, see all generations in ourselves. Because we will not be perfectly reformed, let us not argue our Judgements into a believe that we cannot; ²let us think it as possible to be the best as easie to be the worst; let us not think that *Plato's Common-wealth*, or a *Moores Vtopia*, which for

¹ farther: *Truth Maintained*, page 53.

ought wee know is reall and existent : There is *under the Gospel* a ¹*Royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar People*; and certainly had former Ages ²lived to see but the discoveries of ³later times, they would have admired their owne ignorance and our happinesse.

Treatise.

(f) *They that stand higher and on a holier mountaine perhaps see further*). I deny it not. But if they see a perfect Church on earth, they see it in a trance or vision.

(g) *You that stand in the Horizon of Prelacy cannot see much beyond it.*) Misse not the matter, to hitt my person. If I stand in the *Horizon of Prelacy*, I stand no more for it then it stands with Gods glory and will in his word. Because you taxe me with dimnesse of sight, I will strive by my study to get the best advantage ground I can ; I will begg of God, to animate [anoint] mine eyes with *his* ²*eyesalve* ; I will be carefull to keepe mine eyes from being *bloodshot* by animating any to cruelty in this unnaturall Warr. And know, Sir, that they who stand in the *Horizon of Presbutary or Independency* are subject also to Errors and mistakes. As delight in old Customes may deceive some, so desire of Novelty may blind the eyes of others. God helpe us all ! we are badd at the best.

(b) *Because we will not be perfectly reformed, let us not argue our Iudgments into a beleife that we cannot*). A distinction or two of perfection and your fallacy will perfectly appeare. Some Saints in the Scripture phrase are stiled perfect, but then it is Comparatively, as they stand in opposition to ³wicked men who have no goodnesse at all in them. Or else they are called perfect, as so denominated from their better part (good reason the best *Godfather* should *name the Child*), *their regenerate halfe*, which desires and delights in endeavoring towards perfection. Or, lastly, perfection is taken for integrity, sincerity, and uprightnesse, opposite to inward hippocrisie; and in such a perfection the Heart may have many defects by the by, but no dissimulation in the maine service of God. Such

¹ latter : *Truth Maintained*, page 53.

² Rev. 3. 18.

³ *Sanctorum nonnulli perfecti dicuntur respectu mundanorum, qui negligunt res divinas nec ingrediuntur unquam viam perfectionis. Amb. Com. in Epist. ad Phil. cap. 2. [ver. 15. Ed. Paris, 1590, vol. ii. col. 260, ad. fin.]*

a perfection as this, men may have, yea, must have, in this life; and without such a perfection here, no hope of any happiness hereafter.

But as for an exact, legall perfection (such as some Papists dreame of, and most Anabaptists doate on), a perfection able to stand before Gods Iustice without the support of his mercy, it is utterly impossible for mortall men to attaine unto it. In which sence in my Sermon I said that a *Perfekt reformation of a Church in this world is difficult to be prescribed, and impossible to be practised.*

Yea, let me tell you, Sir, (cautions comming from goodwill deserve to be heard, if not heeded,) if you persist in this opinion of *exact perfection*, I conceive your condition dangerous. *Elisba* told King *Ioram*, *Beware that thou passe not such a place, for thither the Aramites are come downe.* I may friendly tell you, presse not one [on] any further in this point, for spirituall pride lyeth hard by in waite, and the ambush thereof will surprise you. For my owne part, as I hate my badnesse, so I hugge the confession that I am badd. And Gods children finde both contentment and comfort in knowing they cannot bee perfect. Hence they learne (what soule so bad which hath not sometimes *some holyday thoughts*?) to loath earth, to love Heaven, to runne from themselves, to fly to their Saviour, to pittie others, to pray heartily for them, to hope comfortably of them; in a word, this doctrine abateth pride, increaseth charity, and confoundeth censuring.

Yea, I solemnely professe that I would not herein change my doctrine for yours, to have much to boote. Should I say that I could be perfect, both my head and my heart would give my tongue the lye. And one of the best hopes I have to goe to Heaven, is that I am sure I deserve Hell. I remember a strange, but true and memorable speech of Reverend Mr. *Fox*² to this effect, *that his Graces sometimes did him harme, whilst his sinne did him much good.* A wonderfull thing; yet sometimes so it commeth to passe, God making a cordiall for us of our owne wickednesse, thereby teaching us humility.

¹ 2 Kings 6. 9. ² Cited by Mr. [Richard] Capel in his Booke of *Temptation*. [*Tentations: Their Nature, &c.*, Lond. 1633, 12mo. pt. i. pages 233-4.]

(i) *There is under the Gospel a Royall Priesthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar people.*) True, Here these things are sincerely begunne, and hereafter fully perfected; for in this life there is still some basenesse even in the *royall priesthood*, impiety in the *holy Nation*, commonnesse in the *Peculiar people*. And I pray remember you are to prove that a whole Church may bee perfectly reformed in this world. For though it were granted that some men might be perfect, yet it followeth not thereupon that any one Church is existent on Earth, consisting intirely all of perfect members. Hipocrites are of so glutenous a nature they will stick close in every visible Church. They cannot be devided who cannot be discerned: except one could borrow Gods *touchstone of hearts*, such shining drosse will ever passe current in this Kingdome of Grace.

(k) *Had former ages lived but to see the discovery of latter times.*) If by former ages you meane the *time of Popery*, I concur with you. If you understand the times of the *Primitive Fathers*, I suspend my suffrage till the next paragave. But if you extend it to the age of Christ and his Apostles, I flatly dissent. Nor am I sensible of any such late *Discoveries* in Religion, though many *Recoveries*, thanks be to God, there have been in rescuing the faith from Romish superstition.

(l) *They would have admired their owne ignorance and our happinesse.*) By our *Happinesse*, I suppose you meane what lately we had before this Warre began, and what we had not the happinesse to keepe, and wee trust in due time God will restore to us againe. Otherwise, as for our present woefull condition, I would not wish our friends or envie our foes such *happinesse*.

Examiner.

Sermon, page 24 [¶ 32, page 311].

There are some now adayes that talk of a great light manifested in this age more than before. Indeed we Modernes have a mighty advantage of the Antients: whatsoever was theirs, by industry may be ours. All contribute themselves to us, who live in this latter age.

[10] *Examination.* If wee had no more light than what you insinuate were seen from the Fathers, why doe we see more and more clearly and

further? Hee that sees farre must either have a good *fight* or a cleere *light*; and sure in this age we have both: those errors which our Fathers saw for dimme truths, we see for heresies; so surely both our eyes and our light are better; for the light which our Fathers have in their lamps can discover but so much to us as it did to them; and we know our ¹discoveries are such as we are able to see the shadow which followed them, even that mystery which was working in their dayes, both in Prelacy and Ceremony. Who will deny but that the cloud of *Antichristianisme* was thick in their times? and then the light could not be so glorious as now, when these clouds grow thinner, and more attenuated by the Preaching of the Gospel.

Treatise.

To cut off all occasion and pretence of caviling, wee will shew, God willing, in what respect the Fathers for knowledge excelled and exceeded us, and in what respect wee modernes goe beyond them. They had a threefold advantage above us. 1. Of fight, 2. Of light, 3. and of a nearer object.

8. What advantage the Fathers had of us in Learning and Religion, and what we have of them.

First, Of a better fight. Being men of eminent natural parts, improved with excellent learning; and to the Easterne fathers the Greeke tongue, the language of the New Testament, was naturall, so that it costeth us much paines and sweat but to come to the place whence they started.

Secondly, Of a brighter light. As their constancie in persecution was great, so no doubt the heate of their zeale was attended with a proportionable light and heavenly illumination, God doing much for them that suffer much for him. Especially in those points wherein they encountred hereticks, they were more then men, and went beyond themselves, as St. *Atbanasius* against the *Arians*, St. *Augustine* against the *Pelagians* and *Donatists* from whom our moderne Brownists differ no more then the same man differs from himselfe in new cloathes.

3. Of a nearer Object. They living closer to Christs times could therefore better understand the *sence of the Church* in the doctrine delivered to the Apostles. Here we must know that Apostles and Apostolick men, as they wrote Gods

¹discovery is: *Truth Maintained*, page 57.

word in their Epistles and Gospels for the profit of all posterity, so for the instruction of their present age they also ¹*traditioned it* in their Preaching by word of mouth to the people of those times; not that they delivered anything *vivâ voce* contrary or different from what they wrote, or that (as the Papists stile for their traditions) they supplied and enjoined any thing as necessary to salvation, which other wise was wanting in the Scripture; but the selfe same things which they wrote in the New Testament, they also delivered in their Sermons, and in their Preaching delated upon them; wherefore the prime primative age having (as I may say) two strings to their bow, Scripture and Preaching, must needes bee allowed to have had the clearest apprehention of the meaning of heavenly misteries. And as the ²children of *Israell served the Lord all the dayes of Iehossuah, and all the dayes of the Elders who outlived Iehossuah, who had seene all the great workes of the Lord which he did for Israell*; in like manner wee may conclude that the greatest puritie and the clearest light of the Church lasted so long as any, within sight, hearing, or memory of Christ or his Apostles preaching or miracles, did survive.

Now to hold the scales even, we in like manner have a three fold advantage over the Fathers. First, a degree of experimentall light more then they had or could have, having seene the whole conduct, Mannaging and Progresse of Religion since their times, whereby (with a litle helpe of history) a Devine who is under sixtie in age, may be above sixteene hundred in experience.

Secondly, we have the benefitt of the Fathers bookes; a mightie advantage if we were as carefull to use it to Gods Glory as we are ready to bragg of it for our owne credit. And here I must complaine of many mens lazinesse. Indeed a learned man ³compareth such as live in the latter times in respect of the Fathers to *Dwarffes standing on Giants Shoulders*. But then if we will have profitt by the fathers learning, we must take paines to mount to the tops of their Shoulders. But if like idle *Dwarfes* we still do but stand on the ground,

¹ Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν. 1 Cor. 11. 23.

² Iudg. 2. 7.

³ *Nos nani sumus stantes super humeros Gygantum.* Holcott.

our heads will not reach to their girdles : it is not enough to through the bookes of the fathers togeather on an heape, and then making their workes our footestoole, to stand on the outside and Covers of them, as if it were no more but vp and RIDE, boasting how far we behold beyond them. No ; if we expect to gett advantage by their writings, we must open their bookes, read, understand, compare, digest and meditate on them. And I am affraid many that least looke into the Fathers boast most that they looke beyond them.

Thirdly. Wee have the advantage of a darknesse removed by Gods goodnesse from our eyes, which in some matters did dimme the sight of the Fathers : Namely, the mystery of Iniquity which wrought in their times, and now is taken away in the Protestant Church. That Bramble of *Rome*, (soone will it prick, which will be a thorne,) which afterwards Lorded it over the *Vine*, *Olive*, and *Figtree*, beganne very timely to play his parte. And the *Man of sin*, then but an infant (and every thing is pretty when it is yonge) was unawares dandled on the knees of many a devout Monke, and rockt in the cell of many an holy hermit, who litle suspected that then voluntary sequestering themselves to enjoy heavenly thoughts would by degrees degenerate to be in after ages the cover of Pride, lust and lazinesse. Now seing this man of sinne is *dead already* in the Protestant Church, and hath a consumption attended with the Hecktick Fever in all other places, the taking away of Popish superstition may justly be accounted the third advantage which our age hath.

By the way, we must take heed of a fault whereof many are guilty. For some are ready to challenge every thing in the practise of the Fathers which doth not please them presently to be Popish, and pretend they tast superstition in whatsoever themselves distast. O, say they, the Fathers lived when the *mystery of iniquity did worke*, and hence they infer that it is evidence enough without further tryall to condemne any cerimonies used by them, because they were used by them. The way indeede to make Short Assises, but Perjur'd Iudges ; whereas it is not enough to say, but to shew, that they are superstitious, to anatomize, and dissect the Popery contained in them, demonstrating where it crosseth the word of God ;

wheras on the contrary all wise and charitable men ought to esteeme the practises of the primitive Church not only to be innocent, but usefull and honourable, till they be legally convicted to be otherwise.

If any object that the Fathers had another disadvantage, that besides the spreading of Popery other Heresies did also spring and sprout apace in that time to the darkening of the light of the truth, let them know that such opposition only gave truth the opportunity to tryumph, and the teeth of Error filled [filed] it the brighter. Heresies *In eodem seculo quo natæ, damnatæ; quos errores patrum ætas tulit, eos et sustulit*, condemning them in Synods and Councells. And in this point to be an equall Umpire betwixt the *ancients* and us, we must consider that we live in the *Later age*; and commonly bad humors which have visited the whole body, do settle at last in the leggs and lowest parts. With us Sects and Schismes do also abound; and some Heresies first *set a broach* in the Primitive times now *runne a Tilt* with all their dredgs in our dayes.

Thus we see how the Fathers were both before and behind us for knowledge, and wee therein both above and beneath them in severall respects. See the wisdom and goodnesse of God, how he hath sweetly *tempered* things together. So good that all have some, so wise that none have all. And how easie may this controversy be accommodated, *whether ours or the Fathers light were the greatest*; where if the difference be but cleerly understood, the parties are fully reconciled. And now I conceive, having answered you in grosse, I need not apply my selfe to any perticulers of your examination.

Examiner.

The *Gospel* doth ⁿwork and wind its beames into the world, according to the Prophetickall seasons for Revelation. Many Prophetickall truths were sealed up, and those not unsealed but successively, and as our *generations* after may have a *starre* rising to them, which we have not, so we may have ⁿ*beames* and *radiations* and *shootings* which our *Fathers* had not. The *Apostles* ^ohad not all their *truths* and *light* revealed at once: some early, some late, some not till the Holy Ghost was bestowed. Revelations are graduall, and the vaile is not taken off at once, nor in one age. Wee honour the *Fathers* as men in *their Generations* famous; their light was glorious in its degree and quality, but they had not all the degrees attainable;

they had a light for their own times, and we for ours; and who cannot think we are rising into that Age ^p wherein God *shall poure his spirit upon all flesh; and ^qwherein the light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sun, and the light of the Sun as the light of seven dayes?*

Treatise.

You hover in Generalls, and seeme to me desirous that your Reader should understand more then you are willing to expresse. My opinion breifly is this: That no new Revelations, or new infused light in essentiall points of Religion, is bestowed on any now-adayes, but that the same light hath in as plentifull a measure beene given to former ages, especially to the age wherein the Apostles lived, and when *the faith was once delivered to the Saints*, and by them sett downe in the Scripture, and that then so perfectly and compleatly that it needed not the accessions of any future Revelations.

9. No new light or new essentiall truths are or can be revealed in this age.

I confesse that men, by searching the Scripture (that oyle will never leave increasing as long as more vessels be still brought) and diligent prayer to God, may and do arrive daily at a clearer understanding of many places of Gods word which they had not before. These words, *Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church*; and that place, *This is my body*, are now more truly and plainly understood then they were two hundred yeares agoe, when the Pope's *supremacy* was as falsly founded on the former as Transubstantiation was unjustly inferred from the latter. However these were not Revelations of new truthes, but reparations ofould. For the prime primitive Church received and embraced the same. The Saints in the time of Popery ¹ *sung as it were a new song*, a Song not new but renewed; not new in it selfe, but perchance to the hearers; and such are many truthes which are preached in our age in the Protestant Church.

They that maintaine the contrary opinion of moderne revelations of new essentiall truths doe a three fold mischeife therein. First, they lay an aspersiō of ignorance and imperfection of knowledge on the Apostles themselves; and this is no lesse then *Scandalum Magnatum*.

¹ Revel. 14. 3.

Secondly, they much unsettle men in matters of Religion, and produce a constant inconstancy and scepticall hovering in all oppinions; and as the *Atbenians* erected an Altar to the *unknowne God*, so men must reserve a blancke in their soules therin to write truths *as yet unknown*, when they shall be revealed. Thus men will never know when their creede is ended, and will daily waver in that truth which they have in possession, whilst they waite for a clearer and firmer, as yet in reversion.

Thirdly, they fixe on the Scripture an imputation of imperfection; and such as talke of new revelations of truth may well remember the passage in the Old Revelation, ¹ *If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this booke.* And it seemes to mee all one in effect whether men peece the Scriptures with old Traditions or new Revelations; and thus the Papist and Anabaptist are agreed, like men in a circle going so farre from each other with their faces, till their backes meete together. And I professe I should sooner trust a tradition containing in it nothing crosse to the Scripture, and comming to mee recommended from the primitive times, and countenanced with the practise of the Church in all ages, then a new upstart Revelation. The best is, wee have no neede to trust either whilst we have Gods word alone sufficient to relie on.

The result of all is this: We have now a-dayes no new truths revealed, but old ones either more fairely cleared or more firmly assented to; no new Starres of Revelation arise in any hearts. If any such doe burne and blaze there, they are but commetts which will fade at last. In a word, this age is not happie with any new truths, but guiltie of many old lyes.

Yea, it rendereth it suspitious that some men are going about somewhat, which they cannot justifie by the old knowne lawes of God, because they beginne to broach preparative doctrines Introductory of new revelations: Distrusting (as it seemes) the Scripture, the old Iudge, as not for their turnes, because they provide for an Appeale to an other Vmpirer; and if those are justly accounted dangerous members in the

¹ Revel. 22. 18.

Church, who would bring in Innovations in Ceremonies, then pretenders of new Revelations in Essentiall points of Doctrine are so much the greater offenders by how much Doctrine is more necessary and fundamentall in a Church then ceremonies. But I will answer some passages in your Examination particularlie.

(m) *The Gospel doth worke and winde its beames into the world, according to the prophetically seasons for Revelations.*) Distinguish we heare betwixt matters of *fact*, and matters of *faith*. Matters of fact being foretold in the Scripture are best understood when they are accomplished: In which respect the longer the world lasteth, the clearer men see and the plainer they understand such predictions. The *Seales* in the Revelations were successively opened, the *Trumpets* successively blowne, the *Vials* successively powred out, and the things imported in and by them are successively performed. Wherefore time is the best comentator on the prophetically parts of the Bible: *Dies diem docet*. And to day, which is yesterdaies schoolemaster, will be Scholler to to-morrow; in which respect the ¹ Prophets words are most true, *Many shall runne to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased*. But now, as for matters of Faith, they were at once, and for ever, fully, and freely, delivered at the first to the Apostles, and so from them to us; and that so perfectly and compleatly, they neede no new revelations *quoad materiam*; though *quoad modum* old truths may now have a new measure to be more clearly understood then in the darke times of Popery.

(n) *We may have Beames and Radiations and Shootings which our Fathers had not.*) For Beames and Radiation of knowledge I have delivered my opinion; but as for Shootings, God knowes wee have many, such as our Fathers never had. God in his mercy cease such Shootings, or else in his Iustice direct the Bullets to such markes as in truth have been *the troublers of our Israel*.

(o) *The Apostles had not all their truths and light revealed at once: some early, some late, some not till the Holy Ghost was*

¹ Dan. 12. 4.

bestowed.) All this is most true which you say : The Apostles at first were (as we may say) Freshmen, newly admitted into Christs Company. Then they tooke their first degree of knowledge, when sent forth to Preach the Gospel, *Mat. 10*, to the *Jewes* alone in their Masters lifetime. They commenced in a higher knowledge after Christ his Resurrection. And after his Assention, assended yet higher in Spiritual Illuminations. Lastly, after the comming of the Holy Ghost, they proceeded Doctors in deede ; I meane, they then had the completion and consumation of all understanding necessary to salvation. Now, Sir, Consider that after this time they wrote the New Testament, and therein all essentialls for us to know and doe for our soules health, so that we now doe deduce and derive our knowledge, not from the Apostles in their infancy or minority of Judgement, but from them having attained to the Top and Verticall point of their perfectest skill in heavenly misteries.

(*p*) *And who cannot thinke wee are rising into that age, wherein God will power his Spirit upon all flesh, &c.*) What proportion doth this beare with what you said not long since, prophesying that our *Marian Times* did approach too fast ? When nothing was light but the Bonafiers to burne the Martyrs. I will not deny but this *great sun* may arrise ; but the reigning vices of the time are but an ill *Morning Starre* to harbinger the rising thereof. We have taken the *St. Shippe* from those in heaven, but have no more holinesse in our selves here on earth. What betwixt the sins which brought this Warre, and the finnes this warre hath brought, they are sad presages of better times. Never was Gods name more taken in vaine by oathes and imprecations. *The Lords day*, formerly profained with *mirth*, is now profained with *malice* ; and now as much broken with Drummes as formerly with a Taber and Pipe. Superiours never so much slighted, so that what ¹*Naball* said fullenly and (as he applyed it) falsly, we may say sadly and truly, *There be many servants now adayes that breake away, every man from his Master.* Killing is now the only Trade in fashion ; and Adultery never more common, so that our

¹ 1 Sam. 25. 10.

Nation (in my opinion) is not likely to confound the spirituall Whore of *Babylon* whilst corporall whoredom is in her every where committed, no where punished. Theft so usuall that they have stollen away the word of *Stealing*, and hid it under the Name of *Plundering*. Lying both in word and print grown Epidemicall, so that it is questionable whether *Gunnes* or *Printing* (two inventions of the same Countrey and standing) at the present doe more mischeife in this Kingdome. It is past *coveting of our Neighbours houses*, when it is come to violent keeping them. He therefore that doth seriously consider the Grievousnesse and Generality of these finnes will rather conclude that some *Darkenesse of Desolation* then any Great light is likely to follow upon them. God, I confesse, in mercy may doe much both to pardon and prosper us, and can extract Light out of Darkenesse; but whether he will or no, I (though confident of his power) see little cause to hope of his pleasure herein. And though herein I must confesse, many of these inormities may (though not wholly be excused, yet) be something extenuated by pleading the unavoidable necessities which warre doth cause, yet surely wee shall answer to God for causing this warre by our crying finnes and transgressions.

(q) *Wherein the light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sun as the light of the seven dayes.*) This, for ought I can finde to the contrary, was accomplished at Christs Comming, and [at] the generall giving of the Gospel to the Gentiles with the sending of Gods Spirit miraculously upon them. Sure I am a Parallel place of the Prophet was then fulfilled, by the exposition of Saint ¹*Peter* himselfe, *And it shall come to passe in the last dayes (saith God) I will power out my spirit upon all flesh: and your Sonnes and your Daughters shall prophesie, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dreame dreames.* These words having the advantage of that *Date*, *In the last dayes*, might with the more colour have beene alleadged by you and applyed to these times to prove some speciall Revelations in our dayes, had not the Apostle marred your Mart and prevented you by applying the prophesie to the primative times.

¹ Ioc1 2. 28; Acts 2. 17.

Examiner.

But wee see the policy of 'commending the *Fathers light* to our Generation; for could you prevaile with us to set our *Dials* by that, you then might reform our *Church* by the *Canterburian* ¹*gnomon*, and so set us back to a *falsly-reputed Primitive Reformation*.

Treatise:

(r) *But wee see the policie of commending the Fathers.*) I protest before Almighty God I have neither bafe nor by respect in praising the Fathers. Saint *Paule* blamed *Peter* at *Antioach*, ²*because he was to be blamed*. I in the like manner commend the Light of Fathers, *because it is to bee commended*, not for any favour or flattery. *A falsely-reputed primitive Reformation* I abhorre from my heart, and I presume our Church is too wise to be cosened therewith. If *Canterbury* hath misbehaved himselfe, his friends for him desire no more, and foes to him should grant no lesse, then a legall triall. But insult not on any man's sufferings: Organs, I dare say, are not so offensive in Churches as the making of Musicke on men in misery. Time was when you sett as much by a Smile from *Canterbury* as he still setts litle by a Scoffe from you.

Examiner.

Sermon, pages 13, 14, 15, 16 [¶¶ 15-25, 303-7].

The Qualification for Reformers. The decent buriall of such Ceremonies as are taken from the Fathers. The honourable Reservation to our first Reformers.

[11] *Examination.* That it may appear I look not onely at the worst of the Sermon, there are excellent truths in it; and it is pitie they are not ³*better* ²*situated*: I could alwayes wish to see a *Diamond* set in Gold.

These are good Positions; and in their Pages not without their enamill of wit; yet there is a Policy to write faire in one leafe, though you make ⁴*a blot* in another, but I cannot let these passe without some observation.

Treatise.

(s) *And it is Pitty they are not better scituated: I could alwaies wish to see a Diamond set in Gold.*) I cannot blame you, especially if the Diamond be their owne. But what

¹ *gnomon*: *Truth Maintained*, page 67.

² *situated*: *Truth Maintained*, page 68.

³ Gal. 2. 11.

meane you by this Expression? Would you have had the Truths in my Sermon to have beene set in the Gold of rich and glittering language? Truly I could not go to the cost thereof, especially on so short warning wherein the Sermon was made. However a Diamond is a Diamond though set in Horne, whereby the luster thereof may be somewhat dimmed, but the worth thereof no whit diminished. But in one respect I must confesse these Truthes were *ill scituated*: that they stood too neere to a captious Reader who tooke causelesse exception at them.

(t) *Yet there is a policie to write faire in one leafe, though you make a blot in another.*) Shew me, Sir, where these blotts bee. For as yet I am more troubled to know my fault then my defence.

Examiner.

First, for the Qualification: 'I dare say never age afforded more eminent in this Kingdom; their *Calling lawfull*, their *Pietie exemplary*, their *knowledge radiant*, their *courage experienced* ¹thorow a legion of difficulties, their *prudence* in the conduct of a businesse, though opposed with the Policy and Malignity of a grand and potent Enemy.

Treatise.

(v) *For their qualification, I dare say.*) If you dare say it, I dare not to gainsay it. Their calling no doubt is lawfull, if the supream power concurreth with them. Of their pietie, which consists in their hearts, God alone is Iudge. I will not dispute against their *radiant Knowledge*, nor fight with their *experienced Courage*, and it were folly in me to oppose their *Prudence*. Let not the perfections of King Davids ²Subjects be *numbered*. God make their *Knowledge*, their *Courage*, their *Prudence*, an hundred fold more then it is; and may the Eyes of my Lord the King see the same, to his comfort and Honour.

Examiner.

And for the decent buriall of ³*Ceremonies*, and *superstitions of the fathers*: they shall have a *Parliament of Senators*, and an *Assembly of* ⁴*Divines* to lay them

¹ through: *Truth Maintained*, page 69.

² 2 Sam. 24. 3.

³ Divines: *Truth Maintained*, page 69.

in their Grave ; and, I dare say, a godly Congregation in the Kingdom to sing a Psalm at their ¹Funeralls : and will not this be a ²very decent buriall ?

And for *the honourable reservation to the Reformers and their memories* : our ³Divines and Reformers now have ever made ⁴resorts and appeals to the truths they delivered ; and in those times when *Beza*, and *Calvin*, and ⁵P. Martyr were set lowest, till the *Master of the feast* came lately and bid them *sit up higher* ; a *Caietan* and *Bellarmino*, and a *Councell of Trent*, I am sure, had ⁶more honour from the ⁷Divinitie of the other year or your times : so farre we admire the *Reformers* as to love their *Truths*, and to pittie their errors.

But I will not say much : ⁸errors may be more provoked than remedied with overhandling ; let us be wise in the Colours of good and evill ; though it be an honest, yet it is a dangerous mistake ⁹to think ¹⁰too many our Friends, and ¹¹too few our Enemies.

Treatise.

(w) *As for the decent buriall of Ceremonies, and superstitions of the Fathers.*) You are cunning to improve your selfe on my words. In my ¹²Sermon, I made a double supposition : First, *If there be found in the Fathers practice any Ceremonies smacking of Paganisme or Popery.* Secondly, *If the same can be justly Challenged to be continued in our Church* : Now (as if two Suppositions made a Position) you flatly infer and perump-torily conclude, such Superstitions are in our Church. I should be loth to sell wares to such a Chapman, and to trust his honesty in measuring of them out, who hath such a flight in slipping his fingers that give him *an inch* and hee will take *an ell*. You might have don better to have tould us what the perticulers of these superstitions are.

(x) *And will not this be a decent buriall ?*) The pleasant-nesse of your witt doth please me : some mirth in these fadd times doth well. But you might have been pleased to have taken notice that by *the decent buriall of superstitious Ceremo-nies* (if any such can be proved to be in our Church) I ment the removing of them in that manner as might give no just offence to any, as I have largely discoursed of before. How-

¹ funerall : *Truth Maintained*, page 69.

² resorte and appeale : *ibid.*, page 70.

³ Devinity : *ibid.*, page 70.

⁴ *Nimis remediis irritantur delicta.* Tacitus. μέμνης' ἀπιστεῖν Σώφρων ἀπιστία.

⁵ *Plures amicos quam sunt, arbitratur.* Plin. [lib. 3. Epist. xi. ad calcem.]

⁶ to : *Truth Maintained*, page 70.

⁷ Devines : *ibid.*, page 69.

⁸ *Peter Martir* : *ibid.*, page 70.

⁹ Paragraffe 24 [page 307].

ever, as you say, let but a Parliament lay them in the ground and I shall not moorne for their death but rejoyce at their solemne and legall Interment.

(y) *Had more honour from the Devinitie of the other yeare or your times.*) The more shame for such, if any, who undervalued such Worthy Men. And blessed be God that they have recovered their former esteem. For my part they have not with me regained any new degree of Honor, but still keepe the selfesame place in my valuation of them whereof they ever were peaceably possessed.

Examiner.

[12] *Conclusion.* If I be now examined what *Reformation* I aime at, I answer, my endeavour here was only to take out of the way such rubbish as others would bring in. If we can but clear the passage we go far in the work; and in the meantime let us, like *Ioshuas spies, bring no evill report upon the land we are going to.*

Treatise.

(z) *My endeavour here was only to take out of the way such rubbish as others would bring in.*) Whether rather you have not brought in such Rubbish which others have taken away, be it reported to the judicious Reader.

(a) *Let us, like Ioshuas spies, bring no evill report upon the Land we are going to.*) By *Ioshuas spies*, you meane those who accompanied *Caleb* and *Ioshua* to spie the Land of *Canaan*; and these were guilty of a threefold Fault.

First, they spake truth with an ill intent to disharten the *Israelites* in their reporting of the strength of the Country. Secondly, they spake more then truth, raising the walls of the *Canaanitish Cities* by their *Hyperbolyes* as high as ¹*Heaven*. Lastly, they suppressed the most materiall point, not incouraging the people (as *Caleb* and *Ioshua* did) by the assured assistance of God against their enemies. But I conceive myfelfe (against whome your words are darted) to be innocent in the foresaid perticulers.

¹ Dut. 1. 28.

Examiner.

But ^bsuppose this *perfect Reformation* or *Church* were ^camong the ¹χρύφια, the ²τῶν πολιτειῶν σοφίσματα, the *Ragione di sacro dominio*; he were no ^dwise nor faithful *Divine*, who would not preserve that ^esecret for holy advantages; 'tis *Gods* own design and his *Apostles* to hold out a *perfection* to us: *Be perfect as your heavenly father* (and some Pastors) *for the perfecting of the Saints*. I ^fcommend *Bodin* and *Tacitus* for their *politicall faithfulness*: they writ far, yet would not ^gsun the ^hImperiall χρύφια, nor make them ⁱpopular.

Treatise.

(*b*) *But suppose this perfect Reformation were, etc.*) It seemes you suspect the strength of your outworkes, that you so seasonably retire to your Castle; now at last condemning this doctrine, not as false, but unfitting to be preached.

(*c*) *Were among the χρύφια.*) I thinke you would say *Κρύφια*, or otherwise, Sir, my learning will not extend to understand this your new greeke.

(*d*) *He were no wise and faithfull Devine.*) So then you conclude me a foolish and deceitful Minister; and I had rather you should call me so ten times then my guiltie conscience should tell me so once, for concealing of a necessary truth.

(*e*) *Who would not preserve that secret for holy advantages.*) First, the question is, whether or no it lay in my power, if I would, to keepe this Point secret. What your people at *Heslerton* in *Yorke-shire* are, you best know. In this Doctrine I was not the teacher, but the remembrancer of my people at the *Savoy*, from whom had I closely covered it with both my hands, they would have seene it through all my fingers. Besides, what hope can one have to keepe it secret when (as you say) so *great and glorious a light* is shining now-a-dayes?

But if I could, I ought not to suppress it. Let Popish tenents be shutt in a cloister, and sicke the Churches imperfection may safely bee preached and cannot honestly bee concealed. opinions keepe their Chamber: God never lighted this Truth for us to put it under a bushell, it being alwaies seasonable to bee divulged, and now dangerous to bee concealed.

¹ Aristotle [see *Politica*, lib. 4, cap. 10, § vii.]

[cap. ix.]

² Arist. *Politica*, lib. 5, cap. 8 [§ ii.]; *Reip[ublicæ] blandimenta*. Liv. lib. 2.

³ *Non vulgare*. Tacit. *Ann.* [Bk. i. § 6]. *Nec proferre decet in publicum*. Arnol. Clapm.[arius] lib. 6, cap. 19 [ed. Leyden, 1644, p. 333].

These *holy advantages* (I would not count them advantages were they not holy) arise from Preaching this point. First, it awakens men from their Idle dreames of their conceited perfection of a Church here; and too many I feare have made this common-wealth here woefully *militant*, under pretence here to make the Church happily triumphant.

Secondly, to teach all Christians (Majestrates and Ministers most especially) as industry, so patience, daily to doe, and constantly to suffer, no whit disheartned in their endeavours to perfection. Knowing though things bee badd, after their best labours to amend them, that this proceeds from the inevitable *vanity, to which the creature is subject*.

Thirdly, to weane men from this world, making them to love and long *for the time of the restitution of all things*, when this world as a watch out of tune shall not onely bee taken assunder and scoured, but also have all the wheelles made new and then bee perfectly reformed.

Yea, Sir, let us try whether you or I proceeding on our contrary principles shall more effectually perswade a reformation: you will tell the world that a perfect reformation in this life is attaineable, even to the anticipating of Heaven heare; and this you will presse with all your power and flowers of Retorick, and all little enough to performe so unfavorable an untruth. Now see, sir, what mischeifes will follow hereupon.

1. Because one falsehood requires more to support it, you must call in other auxilliary falsities to defend this, and so engage your selfe in a multitude of errors.

2. Seeing flights and shifts can never last long, your forgery will be detected.

3. You are lyable to *Heavens Pillorie* to bee punnished for holy fraud.

4. You will scarce be trusted afterwards, though telling truth, being once convicted and ever suspected of falsehood.

As for those whom you have deceived unto the utmost of their endeavours of Reformation, on your false perswasion that the perfection thereof may bee had in this world, though their labours therein bee very forward at the first, yet soone will they wither and weaken with the graine in the Gospel that

wanted Roote (no Roote and a false Roote are the same in effect); and Gods blessing cannot be expected on the deceitfull proceedings.

As for mee who have no cunning in such hunting, but please my selfe with *Iacob* to bee a plaine man, I would goe another way to worke, and tell them the worst first: that indeede it is vaine to expect a perfect reformation in this world. However, let them comfort themselves that wee serve such a Master *who accepts of the will for the deede, and knowes whereof we are made: Hee remembreth that wee are but dust.* And therefore let us doe our best, and struggle against our infirmities, being confident that God in Christ will pardon what is amisse, and reward what is good in us. And I doubt not but such doctrine by Gods blessing will both take deeper impression in mens hearts, and bring forth better fruits of amendment in their lives.

(f) *I commend Bodin and Tacitus for their politicall faithfulnessse: they writt far, yet would not Sun the imperiall χρύφια nor make them popular.)* I confesse it to bee unfitting, yea, dangerous to impart *misteries of State* to private people; for such Jewels are to bee lockt in a safe and sure Cabinet, the bosoms of Polititians. Not so in necessary Points of Divinity; for though every private man hath not a *State to governe*, hee hath *a soule to save*, and therefore must be partner in all wholsome doctrines.

Indeede in some cases Preachers may though not finally suppress, yet seasonably conceale, or rather warily deferre the publishing of some points of Religion. First, when they are not of absolute concernment to salvation, and the Minister by his Christian discretion plainly foresees that all the good which rationally can bee expected to redound from Preaching such a Truth will not countervaile the ill which in probability will inevitably follow thereupon. Or else, when the Auditors are not capeable as yet of such difficult Doctrines. Christ himselfe did fitt his *Wines* to his bottles, powing in not what hee could give, but they could take, least otherwise hee should rather spill his liquor then fill his vessells.

Neither of these cases now alledged take place concerning the publishing of the Doctrine of the *Impossibility of the*

Churches perfection in this world. For we may by Gods blessing justly expect and promise to our selves and others much good and comfort from the preaching thereof, as we have largely proved before. Nor dare I so much to disparage the times we live in (now it being above a hundred yeares since *Luthers* reformation) as to count them to have age so much, and Knowledge so litle, as not yet to be capable with safety and profit of so plaine and true a Doctrine. Some shortly expect *the day of Iudgment*, and sure then the world is already come to *Age* to understand Truths, except shee come not out of her *Mynority* till just shee be ready to die and to be dissolved.

(g) *Would not Sunne the Imperiall χρύφια.*) Godly secrets in Religion in some respects may be *Sunn'd*. First, that thereby they may be tryed (all Truths have Eagles eyes) whether or no they can behold and beare the Sunne Beames. Secondly, because our Saviour hath said, ¹ *What I tell you in darknesse, that speake in the light; and what you beare in the Eare, that preach you upon the House toppe.* Lastly, that by proclaiming them the Godly may have an opportunity to receive them, and the wicked be rendred unexcusable for refusing them, when such Truths are made generally knowne.

(b) *Nor make them popular.* I distinguish on the word *Popular*. If it be taken, as generally it is (use having confined a word, of generall acception in it selfe, to an ill sence), to Court the good will of people for any private or sinister end, it is utterly unlawfull; for *Popularity*, which is necessary love in a Prince, is unlawfull lust in a Subject, who may not Court the Kings wife, for to him alone are the People married in a Politicke Relation. All honest men therefore disclaime to make *Truths Popular* in this sence, to impart them to the vulgar to gaine any vaine applause. Yea, consider herein whether you rather be not faultie in making the Imperiall χρύφια to bee *Popular*, who incite and encourage ordinary *People* to make a *Publique Reformation*.

But Truths in Divinity must be made Popular, that is, bee communicated to all people in true sinceritie for the saving of their Soules.

¹ Math. 10. 27.

The ¹Apostle calleth it the *Common salvation*, and therefore it must be preached to all in common: our Sermons must as wel be *ad Populum* as *ad Clerum*.

Otherwise such Monopolies are illegall and destructive to the State of the Church, for any Ministers to engrosse any wholsome Doctrine to themselves, and not imparte it to their Parish, except in the cases afore mentioned.

Examiner.

[13] *Apology*. I have now done (I will not say) *refuting*, but *committing* errors: I am afraid my haste at this time hath made me mend one fault only with another.

Treatise.

I will not oppose yours, but annex my owne conclusion. If I should deny my owne many Imperfections, my practise would confute what my Pen hath maintained. Reader, for the matter of what I have written I require thee, in Gods name, do me Iustice. For the manner, method, or words thereof, I request thee, as I am a Man, shew mee favour. Thinke not the worfe of the Truths for my sake, but thinke the better of me for the Truths sake which I have defended. And conceive me not to be of a brawling and controverfiall disposition, who do desire and will pray for an Agreement from my Soule, so long as my speech shall serve me. Yea, if I should chance to be stricken dumbe, I would with *Zacharia* make signes for table bookes and write [that] *the name of that which* I desire above all earthly things is PEACE. God send it, *Amen*.

¹ Iude 3.

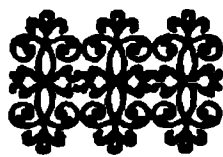
FINIS.

JACOBS VOW.
A
SERMON
PREACHED. BEFORE
HIS MAJESTY, AND THE
PRINCE His Highnesse, at St. *Maries*
in OXFORD.

The tenth of May, 1644. being the day
of Publique Fast.

By THOMAS FULLER B. D.

And published by speciall command.



OXFORD,
Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD,
Printer to the University, 1644.

[I am so much a friend to all Church-men that have anything in them befeeming that sacred Function that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights; whom, the more I looked upon as Orphans and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My duty the more to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church, although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them, who may live to repent no lesse for My sufferings then their own ungrateful errours, and that injurious contempt and meannesse which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.—Εἰκῶν βασιλική, § xxiv. pp. 141-2, ed. 1649, in *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, Hague, 1650, 12mo.]



[Introduction.]



THIS Sermon and that immediately following it, both preached in places garrisoned by the Royalists, are the only two military Sermons of FULLER of which there is any record, and they form themselves into a distinct group.

The tract against JOHN SALTMARSH was not the only publication that FULLER put forth from the city of Oxford. His reference in that tract to his last will and testament (page 336) refers to his intention to take the field. A sentiment of justice to his Sovereign had prompted this resolve, which had further been encouraged by the martial spirit that animated the University,—a spirit which had turned the “filken hoods” of the collegians into military “scarfes” and the colleges into barracks :—

“ ‘Mongst us there’s scarce a verse, nay line, without
Charge to the Front, to th’ Reere, and Face about.
This metamorphosis is strange, but we
Embrace it as we would our Liberty.”

FULLER had, accordingly, become Chaplain in the division of the Royal army employed in the West, under the worthy and religious Lord HORRON. Upon that general’s defeat at Cheriton Down, 29th March, 1644, his chaplain retreated to the bravely-defended garrison at Basing House, and afterwards for the second time to Oxford. During April and May the Royalist generals at the latter place were organising their forces for further operations ; and meanwhile FULLER was called upon to preach before CHARLES I., who was well acquainted with his services both in the pulpit and in the field. The last paragraph of the Sermon (page 431), where FULLER speaks of the interest which the King had in the welfare of clergymen, is an indication of personal intercourse.

The Sermon was preached upon the May fast-day. On the day preceding its delivery, Dr. WILLIAM FULLER, Dean of Ely, and divers Doctors and Clergymen, who had been long imprisoned in London, came to Oxford on exchange (Dugdale’s *Diary*, page 67). The court was somewhat shorn of its brilliance in consequence of the departure, a few weeks earlier, of the Queen and her attendants to Exeter, and of the dissolution of the “mongrel” Parliament. Amidst the godlessness consequent on the presence of large bodies of troops in the garrison-city, the element of devotion then, as always, was distinctly manifested in the Royal quarters ; and to an audience consisting of the King, his family and attendants, of the collegians and townsmen, and of refugees who had

passed over the rivers Trent, Thames, and Severn,—FULLER's Sermon was addressed. Prince CHARLES, then thirteen years of age, was also an auditor, perhaps an interested auditor, of this earnest discourse. One may conjecture whether he recalled it when, about eight years afterwards (12th Nov., 1652), "Dr. CLARE preach'd on 28 Gen. v. 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's Vowe, it being the first Sondag his Majesty came to Chapell after his escape" (Evelyn's *Diary*).

The old Wednesday fast-days "for Ireland," to which allusion has already been made at pp. ccxxxiii.--iv., continued to be zealously observed by the adherents of the Parliament, who intended that the King's appeal to arms should be regarded as an indication of the increase of the displeasure of the Almighty on the nation,—to avert which was the chief intention of the fast. The King therefore ordered (5th October, 1643) that that fast should be discontinued; but the Royalists (who according to TWYNE's *Mustings of the University* kept the fast at least as late as 29th March, 1643) continued for some time to observe the day as a *festival*. In the new Royal proclamation reference was made to the ill-use of the Wednesday-fast by "many seditious lecturers;" and it was commanded that a solemn monthly fast should be religiously observed on the *second Friday* in every month in all churches and chapels, 'with public prayers and preaching in all places where it may be had, to the end that a happy peace might result (Husband's folio *Collection*, 1646, pages 353-4). WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, FULLER's fellow-Prebendary, is said to have preached the first sermon, 13th October, 1643; which after his death in the ensuing year was published by royal command (Nichols's *Life of Chillingworth*, page 289; Rushworth, vol. ii. pt. iii. 365). In the Forms of Prayer which were drawn up (4to. 1643) in accordance with the proclamation, the fast was said to begin "on the 10th November next." Its purpose was described to be "for the averting of God's judgements upon us for the ceasing of this present Rebellion, and restoring a happy Peace in this Kingdom." On these two fasts, which were thus each month being simultaneously kept in the kingdom, FULLER penned the following meditation (No. xvii. § iii.) in his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*, 1647 (pages 137-8):—

"When the *Iewish Sabbath* in the Primitive times was newly changed into the *Christians Lords-day*, many devout people twisted *both* together in their Observation, abstaining from servile-Workes, and keeping both *Saturday* and *Sunday* wholly for holy Employments. During these Civill Warres *Wednesday* and *Fryday Fasts* have been appointed by different Authorities. What harme had it been if they had been both generally observed? But alas! when two Messengers being sent together on the same Errand fall out and fight by the way, will not the worke be worse done then if none were employed? In such a *Paire of fasts* it is to be feared that the divisions of our Affections rather would increase then abate Gods Anger against us. Two *Negatives* make an *Affirmative*. Dayes of Humiliations are appointed for men to deny themselves and their sinful lusts. But doe not our two Fasts more peremptorily affirme and avouch our mutual malice and hatred? God forgive us! We have

cause enough to keepe ten, but not *care* enough to keep one monethly day of Humiliation."

Jacobs Vow, it seems, was a suggestive title, having relation to a devout resolution which CHARLES I.—"our religious Jacob,"—had publicly vowed; and in commemoration of it he had instituted a weekly service which had been religiously observed every Tuesday up to the date of FULLER's Sermon (page 422). The "just occasion" of this Vow, by a strange oversight, has not been put on record in the pages of history; nor, indeed, can any notice of the public weekly exercise be found in the local annals of HEARNE (in his Twyne's *Account of the Musterings of the University of Oxford*, 9th August, 1642, to 15th July, 1643); in the almanack-diaries of Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, who had been in attendance on the King since the latter part of 1642; in A WOOD; or in other contemporary writers. Nothing has resulted from an examination of *Mercurius Aulicus*, and other news sheets of the time. There are two or three occasions in the monarch's life fitted by their solemnity for the conception of such a vow, as, *e.g.*, when he broke his word with respect to Lord STRAFFORD, "that base, sinful concession," as the King called it.

One important Vow has been associated with Charles I., but the first recorded reference to it belongs to a period a little later than the date of FULLER's Sermon; and if it is the same vow as that to which the preacher alluded, certain links are at present missing. This was the celebrated vow to restore to the Church all the cathedral and other impropriations, as also the lands, &c., which had been taken away from religious houses, &c. It was penned at Oxford on the 13th April, 1646, shortly before the arrival of the disbanded troops from Exeter, and of the King's flight into the quarters of the Scotch,—an epoch in the monarch's history that gave rise to the just reflection of HUME: "As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the subject of compassion." GILBERT SHELDON and Bishop DUPPA alone seem to have been acquainted with this vow, and its preservation is due to the former. It was as follows:—

I, A : B :, doe here promise and solemnly Vow, in the presence and for the service of Almighty God, that if it shall please his Divine Ma^{tie} of his infinite goodnes to restore me to my just Kingly Rights, and to re-establish mee in my Throne, I will wholly give backe to his Church all those impropriacons w^{ch} are now held by the Crowne; and what Lands soever I now doe or should enjoy which have beene taken away eyther from any Episcopall See or any Cathedrall or Collegiate Church, from any Abby or other Religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the Church under such reasonable Fines and Rents as shall be set downe by some conscientious Persons, whome I promise to choose w^h all uprightnes of Heart to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my vow, and to blesse Mee in the designes I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Oxford, the 13th Aprill, 1646.

CHARLES R.

This is a true Copye of the King's Vow, w^{ch} was preserved thirteene
yeares under ground by Mee

GILBERT SHELDON.

Aug. 21st, 1660.

The best account of the circumstances attending the penning of this remarkable paper is to be found in Professor BURROWS's *Worthies of All Souls*, 1874, page 179, where the writer, after remarking that the vow had strangely enough been lost to history, not being found, as far as he was aware, in any History of England written during the last 150 years, says that his attention "was drawn to it by the mention of certain 'buried papers' in a MS. letter of Bishop DUPPA's (of 1660) which he found in the [Tanner MSS. vol. xlix. fol. 17, in the] Bodleian Library. A reference to LE NEVE's *Lives of the Bishops* supplied the clue. This book, written in the early part of the eighteenth century [1720], gave in full the paper which follows [*i.e.* the Vow] as having been just then published for the first time in the Appendix to ECHARD's *History of England* [1718]; and in the Clarendon State Papers (2176 Bodl. Lib.) the authentic copy quoted by ECHARD is still to be seen. The existence of the Vow was found afterwards to be mentioned in the Biographical Dictionary in the notice of SHELDON. Perhaps, if not wholly forgotten, it has been thought an unimportant fact." Professor BURROWS further remarks upon the light which this document throws on the character and conduct of the King. "If one who preferred to run any risk rather than sacrifice his Church deserves the name of a martyr, that sacred name ought scarcely to be denied him. . . . Nor will the impression of his just right to the title be weakened by discovering that he had bound himself in the most solemn manner, before a competent witness, to perform, if he survived, an act of justice to the Church, which no one else, it need hardly be said, has shown any signs of even meditating."

In my *Life of Fuller*, pages 329-30, I have noted an earlier date for the printing of the Vow, viz. in 1715, in NELSON's *Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, Append. No. iv. page 24; and have also mentioned the document in connection with SPELMAN's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, edit. 1853, page 231; the Rev. J. M. NEALE's *Hierologus*, 1843, page 25; and some passages which seem to bear upon it in JUXON's Sermons in MARAH's *Memoirs* of that Bishop, pages 185, 190, and in FULLER's *Church-History*, Book xi. fo. ed. page 236. A copy of it was, in 1836, in possession of Wm. UPCOTT (*Orig. Letters, MSS., &c.*, privately printed, 1836, 4to. p. 9). One other work may be cited, viz. DISRAELI's *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.*, 1851, vol. ii. page 438. The passage in which this writer refers to the Vow affords—when read in connection with Professor BURROWS's remarks—a striking illustration of the curiosities of literature:—

"At this moment [of the King's meditated flight from Oxford with four or five thousand men, to perish in the field] the feelings of CHARLES were wrought up to their highest tension; and it may serve as an extraordinary evidence of the visionary turn of his mind, and the awful superstition of his soul, that CHARLES entertained some wayward fancy

that should he ever re-possess his throne, he would perform a public penance for the sin, as it seemed to him, which lay heavy on his soul—the death-warrant of his great Minister. At this moment he wrote down a secret vow, solemnly offered to God, of his future resolutions to restore to the Church all the Cathedral and other Ecclesiastical lands formerly held by the Crown, and now, as he conceived, appropriated by sacrilegious hands. This singular document, the effusion of some melancholy and feverish hour, when pressed for farther concessions for the establishment of the Presbyterian Government in England, was buried under ground for security, during thirteen years, by Archbishop SHELDON.”

It may be added that the Vow and other “buried papers” seem to be referred to, as Professor BURROWS justly supposes (page 221, as before,) in a letter dated 11th August, 1660, addressed by Bishop DUPPA to SHELDON, then Dean of His Majesty’s Chapel. He penned the letter at the critical moment when CHARLES II. was hesitating about filling up the vacant sees, and urged his correspondent to make these papers public, “which can’t but have,” said he, “a powerful influence upon so dutiful a soul as his” (the King’s). The vow was accordingly made known, with SHELDON’s attestation, on the 21st of the same month; and early in the following month the sees began to filled.

The prominence given in this Sermon to the subject of tithes (pages 426 *seq.*) lends colour to the opinion that the preacher had been discussing that matter with the King, whose opinion is pointedly given (page 431). A brief but admirable historical treatise on tithes is to be found in a quarto pamphlet entitled *Tithes examined and proved to bee due to the Clergy by a Divine Right*, written in 1606 by GEORGE CARLETON, B.D. A short time afterwards, in FULLER’s youth, a great controversy had arisen in ecclesiastical circles through the publication of SELDEN’s treatise, *The Historie of Tithes, that is, The practice of payment of them. The positive laws made for them. The opinions touching the right of them*, 1618, in which that eminent lawyer historically proved that tithes were payable *jure divino*, and not otherwise. This was the book of SELDEN that clergymen most disliked (*Worthies*, § Suffex, page 111); and, in consequence of it, it was said that “never a fiercer storm fell on all Parsonage Barns since the Reformation” than what it raised up (*Church-History*, book x. cent. iv. page 70, ¶¶ 39, 40). Many divines applied themselves to answering this work, such as the Rev. STEPHEN NETTLES, Dr. RICHARD TILLESLEY, RICHARD MOUNTAGU, &c.; but the writer of the “late Historie” of tithes, to which FULLER refers (page 430), took his cue from it.

In common with many writers, Fuller laments the prevalence of customs that were injurious to the just disposing of this sacred revenue. When commenting on WILLIAM I.’s charter to the English clergy, which seemed to give the tenth loaf of all the bread of the land into their hands, he says that “the municipal laws, which were afterwards made, did so chip and pare this loaf with their *modus decimandi*, that in many places (Vicaridges especially) a small shiver of bread falls to the share of the Minister, not enough for his necessary maintenance” (book iii. cent. xi.

page 5, ¶ 12). Some of these local modes of tithing are referred to in MOUNTAGU's *Diatribæ upon the first part* of SELDEN's History, p. 106.

Complaints as to the position of the clergy in relation to their tithes were common in FULLER's days. From the character of the Good Parishioner in *The Holy State* we find it stated that while amongst the Romans *Decimum*, the tenth, was ever taken for what was best or biggest, "it falls out otherwise in paying of Tithes, where the least and leanest are shifted off to make that number" (3rd ed. pages 85-6). And he says elsewhere that in some places the *modus decimandi* had "almost tithed the Tithes" (*Church-History*, book ii. cent. ix. page 113, ¶ 14). In another essay he describes the not uncommon case at that time of a minister of narrow means, whose necessity bolted him out of his own study, sending him to the barn instead of his book; or making him study his Easter-book more than all other writers ("Of Ministers Maintenance," *Holy State*, page 223).

The ancient right of the clergy to tithes began to be re-affailed during the sittings of the Long Parliament; and the historical references to the subject in the *Church-History* are affected by those discussions. In the second book, which was written when the storm against tithes had spent itself, the writer insists not, as in the present Sermon, on the arguments from the Old and New Testament to prove them to be by divine right; such arguments, he suggestively says, might be adduced when all tempests of tumultuous spirits were allayed, and when the question might be debated ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ (book ii. *ut antea*, ¶ 11). He here quotes an anecdote of his uncle, Bishop DAVENANT, and an Anabaptist who refused the payment of tithes; and passes on to record the solid answer of "a most eminent Sergeant-at-Law of this Age" to the "impertinent clamours" of those who would not pay tithes because only due *jure humano*: "My cloak is my cloak by the Law of Man; but he is a Thief by the Law of God that taketh it away from me" (¶¶ 12, 13). The learned lawyer here referred to was Serjeant MAYNARD, remembered by FULLER elsewhere as "no less eminently known for his skill in law than his love for the clergy by pleading so effectually for their tithes" (*Appeal of Injured Innocence*, part iii. page 41).

Not less earnest is the preacher in denouncing exemptions and impropriations (page 431) by which tithes, being transferred from one to another, were made open sale of. This practice was first "maintained by the wit of ALEXANDER DE HAILES, and after by THOMAS of Aquine" (Carleton's *Tithes*, page 34). Of the poverty of the clergy which in consequence ensued, an idea may be formed from the essay "Of Ministers Maintenance" already quoted, and from Heylyn's *Cyprianus Ang.*, p. 115.

This Sermon was published in 4to., and contains pp. ii. 27, the text being spread out on the back of the title-page, the sermon beginning on A 3, and the last page, viz. page 27, containing 17 lines in smaller type than the former part of the sermon. The copy now printed is taken from a most careful transcript of the unique original, kindly supplied by its owner, EDWD. RIGGALL, Esq., of Bayswater, London, who purchased the Sermon at the sale of the Surrenden Library (Sir E. DERING's).

Jacobs Vow.



GEN. chap. 28. vers. 20, 21, 22.

Then Iacob vowed a Vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keepe mee in this way that I goe, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come againe to my fathers house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God. And this Stone which I have set up as a Pillar, shall be Gods house: and of all that thou shalt give mee, I will surely give the Tenth unto thee.

WHICH words are the Vowe of that holy Patriarke *Iacob*, who being mortally hated of his brother *Esau* for deceiuing him (as he tearmed it) both of his Birth-right and of his Blessing, was forced to flie for his life: and by the aduise of his Mother, with the expresse consent and commandement of his Father in the first verse of this chapter, hee trauailed towards *Padan-Aran* vnto his vnckle *Laban* for succour; in hope there not onely to have his life secured from his brothers rage, but also to be prouided of a Wife, amongst his owne kindred, which might be a helper and comforter vnto him: yet he went not forth like a Woer, nor like either his father *Isaacs* sonne, or his grandfather *Abrahams* seruant,¹ with Camels, and Men, and Iewels, and other prouision for such a iourney (for then perhappes hee had neuer made this Vowe); but hee went all alone like a poore Pilgrime, with his staffe in his hand; and so came wearie and late (the Sunne being downe) vnto a

certaine place neere vnto *Haran*, where he tooke vp his lodging for that night: and as Saint ¹*Cbrysoftome* saith, *Ibi dormiuit, ubi nox eum comprehendit*, He slept there where he was benighted, not in any towne or house or tent, but *Sub dio*, making the earth his bed, heauen his canopie, and a stone (which hee found in that place) the pillow whereupon he reposed his head: and yet hauing a wearied bodie, and a quiet conscience (which are two good Engines to draw on sleepe), he slept as foundly vpon that hard pillow as if hee had lien vpon a bed of Downe. And in his sleepe he dreamed of a certaine Ladder reaching vp from earth to heauen, vpon which the Angels of God ascended and descended, and the Lord himselfe stood at the toppe of the Ladder; who made vnto him a large and a most gracious foure-fold promise, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth verses. 1. That he would giue vnto him and his seed that land vpon which he then slept. 2. That hee would multiply his seede as the dust of the earth. 3. That in his seed all the Nations of the earth should be Blessed. . And lastly, That he would be with him and keepe him whitherfoeuer hee went, and bring him againe vnto that land, and not to forsake him vntill he had performed all that he had promised vnto him.

When *Jacob* awoke out of his sleepe, and perceiued that the Lord was in that place, and he not aware of it, and that that place was *no other but the house of God, and gate of beauen*, verse 17, he was stricken with feare and reuerence, as euery one ought to bee that commeth within the gate of Gods house; and tooke the stone that lay vnder his head, and set it vp for a pillar, and powred oyle vpon the top of it, and called the name of that place *Bethel*, that is, *the house of God*.

And entring into a serious consideration of this gracious Promise, which farre exceeded all that hee could either aske or thinke, hee did not through vnbeliefe make any doubt of the performance thereof; but certainly believing that it should be accomplished in due time, like a thankfull Pil-

¹ Homil. 54. in Gen. [Ed. Paris, fo. 1721, vol. iv. p. 527; ed. Savile, fo. 1612, i. 423.]

grime or a man euen ouer-ioyed with vnexpected, but yet assured hopes, he began to studie with himselfe what hee should render vnto the Lord for all these benefits promised vnto him ; and not finding any better meanes to expresse his thankfulnessse, he vowed a Vow in my Text, saying, *If God will be with me, &c.*

Of which Vow there be two parts. The first is, *Petitio*, a Request, which he desired of God. The second is, *Pro-missio*, a Dutie, which he promised to performe to God.

The *Petition* in these words : *If God will be with me, and will keepe me in this way that I goe, and will giue me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come againe to my fathers house in peace.* The *Dutie* which hee promiseth to performe in lieu of this benefit is three-fold : 1. *That the Lord shall be his God ;* 2. *That the stone which he had set vp for a pillar should be Gods bouse ;* 3. *That of all that God should giue him, he would giue vnto God the Tent.* Of which points in order as they lie in the Text.

And first of the *Petition* or request, which (as you see) is very moderate, and reasonable : for whereas God had promised vnto *Iacob* foure things, *Iacob* doth not desire all, nor halfe, nor the thirde part of that which was promised ; but contenteth himselfe with the last and least of all those foure things, and desireth nothing but only necessaries for the present : not *Quailes* or *Manna* for delight, but onely bread for necessitie, that is, necessarie food ; not purple and fine linnen for pompe, but onely raiment to put on, that is, necessarie cloathes ; not the attendance of many seruants, but onely the protection and blessing of God, without which neither his food, nor raiment, nor anything els could doe him good, nor himselfe either be well or be.

But what is the reason why *Isaac*, who was exceeding rich, sent forth his sonne *Iacob* (who by Gods prouidence was now lately made his Heire) so exceeding poore that he is faine to petition for foode and raiment ; whereas *Abraham* his father sent forth his very seruant vpon the like iourney richly furnished and sumptuously attended ? Was *Abrahams* seruant better than *Isaacs* sonne ?

To omit the diuers Allegories which ¹Saint *Augustine* and ²*Gregorie* have obserued vpon this passage, the reasons, as ³*Theodoret* and others haue well summed them vp, might be these.

1. *Vt fratris conatus melius declinaret*; that going poorely, and priuately, his brother *Esau* might not so easily misse him, nor know which way to pursue after him.

2. That this miserie might moue his brother to compassion and reconciliation.

3. *Vt animus esset reuertendi*; that carrying no wealth with him to maintaine or detaine him abroad, he might haue the more mind to returne vnto his father home againe.

4. And lastly, that hee might haue the better experience of Gods mercie; as indeede he had; for which hee returned thanks vnto God at his returne in the thirty-second chapter.

Iacobs pouertie may teach vs that although worldly prosperitie be the good blessing of God wherewith he often enricheth his owne children, yet hee euer, at one time or other, chafteneth those whom he loueth, and traineth them vp in his schoole of affliction, and nurtureth them with his *Ferula* of wants and crosses. *Virga tua & baculus tuus*, saith the ⁴Psalmist, &c. They must as well be humbled and instructed with his rod of correction as supported with his staffe of comfort. *Abraham* and *Isaac*, *Iob* and *Dauid*, and *Iacob* also in my Text, after his returne from *Padan-Aran*, were all rich, and our Lord himselve was Lord of all; and yet none of them wanted either their wants or crosses. And the children of *Israel*, Gods owne people, were not onely pinched with wants in the wildernesse, but were pricked with ⁵thornes in their eyes and goades in their sides, euen in the land of Promise.

Whence wee may learne that *Aduersitie* is the blessing of God vpon his children, as well as *Prosperitie*. *Res prospera donum est consolantis, res aduersa donum est admonentis Dei*, saith

¹ Aug. Ser[mones] de Tempore, [No.] 79 [Ed. Basle, 1543, vol. x. col. 760-2].

² Greg. Mor. lib. 5, cap. 21. [22, vol. ii. 131, ed. Antw. 1615, fo.]

³ [Ed. Paris, 1642, vol. i. Interr. lxxxiii.-iv. pp. 60-1].

⁴ Psal. 23. 4.

⁵ Ios. 23. 13.

¹S. Augustine: *Prosperitie is the Gift of God comforting, Aduersitie the gift of God admonishing.* Prosperity may bee the more pleasant, but *Aduersitie* many times is the more profitable; which made *Dauid* out of his own experience ingeniously confesse that it was ²good for him that hee had beene afflicted. And so it is good for vs all to be afflicted sometimes, els we should forget both God and our selues, and bee too much wedded to this world, and say with Saint *Peter*, ³*Bonum est esse hic*, and begin to build such Tabernacles here vpon earth as would hinder vs from our euerlasting Tabernacles of blisse in heauen. And thus much of *Iacobs* pouertie and want.

But now being in so great want as hee was at this time, why doth he preferre so poore a Petition vnto God, who is so rich in mercie? And whereas God had now lately appeared vnto him here in *Betbel*, and promised the whole land of *Canaan* to him and his, why doth hee desire so poore a pittance as food and raiment, which would onely keepe life and soule together? The very foules of the aire are furnished with these.

And yet *Iacob* desires no more; to teach vs how moderate wee should be in the desire of earthly things. We may and ought to be euen couetous of things spirituall and heauenly: so saith the Apostle, ⁴*Couet after the best gifts*: but of temporall and earthly things we may not be couetous more then is necessary for our callings and estates; because, as our Sauour teacheth, ⁵*A mans life doth not consist in the abundance of the things which hee possesseth.* Therefore the Apostles rule is, that hauing but ⁶*διατροφὰς καὶ σκεπάσματα*, onely food and raiment, wee must be content therewith: for *Victus & vestitus sunt diuitiæ Christianorum*, saith ⁷Hierome: *food and raiment are the riches of Christians*: and our patterne of Prayer doth warrant vs to petition onely for our daily bread: that is, as it is excellently expounded in ⁸that *Royall Meditation vpon the*

¹ [Ep. ccx. ad Felicitatem et Rusticum.]

² Psal. 119. 71.

³ Mat. 17. 4.

⁴ 1 Cor. 12. 31.

⁵ Luke 12. 15.

⁶ 1 Tim. 6. 8.

⁷ [Epist. l. ad Paulinum Presbyterum, de Studio Scripturarum, vol. iv. part ii. col. 575, ed. Paris, 1706.]

⁸ Written by the kings Maiestie [James I., "for the benefit of all his Subiects, especially of such as follow the Court." Works, ed. Mountagu, 1616, fo. pp. 582-3].

Lords Prayer, onely for such temporall things as are necessary for our *Esse*, or, at farthest, for our *Bene esse*. And they that cannot be content with these, but with the Horfe-leaches daughters still cry, *Giue, Giue*; and will needes be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtfull lusts, which drowne the soule in perdition and destruction, 1 *Tim.* 6. 9. *Iacob* hauing once seene God in *Betbel*, and set his heart vpon him who is the true treasure, neither admired nor much desired (more then was necessary) this worldly trash.

Where we may see that howsoever worldlings doe not onely admire, but euen adore riches, and honours, and earthly pleasures, as their sole trinitie, yet the Children of God, knowing that earthly honors and riches are but shadowes of heauenly, and the pleasures of sinne not so much as shadowes of heauenly pleasures, vse these things when God giueth them, but neither abuse nor admire the same. And why should men admire shadowes, painted fires which flame, but warme not? and may fitly be compared vnto Glo-wormes, or peices of rotten-wood, which in a darke night shine like stars, but when the Sunne ariseth and sheweth what they are, the one appeareth to be a poore worme, the other nothing but a rotten sticke: So these glorious outward things shine like Starres in the eyes of the Children of darknesse; but the Children of light, whose eyes are purged from those skales of darknesse, doe plainly see that in regard of true content they be *Vanitas vanissima*, wormes and stickes, before which ¹*Solomon* incomparably preferred wisdome; and *Agur* in the *Prouerbs* of *Solomon* prayed expressly against riches (in the thirtieth chapter) aswell as pouertie. *Mendicitatem & diuitias ne dederis mihi: Giue me neither pouertie nor riches, but feed me with food conuenient for me.* And this is the reason why *Iacob* in my Text petitions neither for riches, nor honour, nor any other outward thing, but onely for bread to eat, and cloathes to put on.

And yet one thing more is to be obserued in *Iacobs* Petition out of these words of my Text, where he saith, *If*

¹ 1 Kings 3. 9.

God will be with me, and keepe me in this way that I goe, and bring me againe to my fathers house in peace: wherein besides foode and raiment, you see hee desireth the protection and blessing of God in his whole iourney going out and comming in; without which, neither his bread could nourish, nor his cloathes keepe him warme, nor any thing else doe him good. For ¹*Man doth not liue by bread onely, but by euery word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God*, that is, the blessing of God vpon bread: For as in Phisicke a diseased man is prescribed to boile certaine medicinable hearbes in running water, and then to drinke a quantity of that water, and so is cured of his disease; and yet wee know that it is not the water, but the decoction or infusion which cureth the Patient: so it is not the bread that nourisheth, nor the abundance of outward things which enricheth or contenteth, but the infusion of Gods blessing, which is the staffe of bread; without which a ²man may starue for hunger with bread in his mouth, and die like the children of *Israel* with the flesh of Quales in their teeth.

Whereas on the contrary, *Daniel* feeding vpon bare pulse, strengthened by the blessing of God, which is the staffe of bread and of all other nourishment, was ³fatter and fairer then they that were fed with the Kings diet: For it is the ⁴blessing of God that maketh rich; and a little that the righteous hath is ⁵better then the great reuenues of the vngodly. And wee may obserue in our owne experience many a man, who with a ⁶dinner of greene hearbes, as *Solomon* speaketh, that is, short diet, course clothes, hard lodging, and a poore estate, looketh fatter, liueth merrier, sleepeth sweetlier, enioyeth more hearts ease and true content, and in trueth liueth better then others that weare a chaine of golde. And therefore wisely did *Iacob* desire nothing but food and raiment, and Gods blessing vpon them, which hee knew would serue his turne. And thus much of the Petition, or Request which *Iacob* desired of God.

¹ Mat. 4. 4.² Dan. 1. 15.³ Pro. 16. 8.⁴ Leuit. 26. 26; Ezek. 4. 16; Psal. 78. 30, 31.⁵ Pro. 10. 22.⁶ Pro. 15. 17.

Now I come to the duties which he promifeth to performe to God, in the next words, *Then ſhall the Lord be my God, &c.*, wherein *Iacob*, who was afterward ¹furnamed *Israel*, hauing receiued but euen the promise of a benefit, preſently voweth the performance of a duetie; to teach all true *Israelites* that *Beneficium poſtulat officium*; and that the thankfulneſſe of the receiuer ought to anſwere vnto the benefit of the beſtower, as the Eccho anſwereth to the voice: wee doe no ſooner receiue the one, but we are immediately bound to returne the other. So doth *Dauid*, ²*Thou haſt deliuered my ſoule from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling*: There is the benefite receiued; and then it followeth in the very ³next words, *I will walke before the Lord in the land of the liuing*: there is the duetie returned. So likewise in my Text, *If God will be with me, and giue me bread to eate, and cloathes to put on*: there is the benefit petitioned for, and promise, *Then ſhall the Lord be my God, &c.*: there is the returne of a duetie vowed.

Now wee all haue receiued the ſame or the like benefits, both ſpirituall and temporall, whereby we are all bound vnto the like thankfulneſſe; but where is the performance of the ſame, or the like duties? We owe as much or more vnto God for his benefits then *Iacob* did; but who voweth or paieth vnto him the like duties that *Iacob* did? What heart can thinke or what tongue can expreſſe our infinite obligations?

Fiſt, for ſpirituall fauours: Infinitely are we bound vnto God for our Creation; more then infinitely (if more might be) for our Redemption and our effectuall Calling vnto the participation thereof. What ſhall we then render vnto the Lord for all theſe benefits done vnto vs? *Totum me debeo*, ſaith ⁴S. Bernard, *pro me facto: quid igitur rependam pro me redempto*? *I owe every whit of my ſelfe* (vnto God) *for my Creation: what ſhall I then render vnto him for my Redemption*? And ⁵Saint Ambroſe ſaith, *Nil eſt quod dignum*

¹ Gen. 32. 28.

² Pſalm 116. 8.

³ Verſe 9.

⁴ [Ed. Antw. 1620, col. 949 a.]

⁵ Ambr. *ſuper Luc. Ser. 5.* [*Expos. Luc. lib. vi. Paris, 1686, tom. i. coll. 1389-1390, ¶ 26.*]

referre possumus pro suscepta carne Maria, quid pro cruce obita, quid pro verberibus, & sepultura reddemus? We are not able to be sufficiently thankfull for taking our flesh of the (Virgin) Marie, what shall wee then returne vnto him for his suffering vpon the Crosse, for his stripes, for his buriall?

And as for temporall benefits, we are farre before *Iacob*. He wandred vp and downe the world like a poore Pilgrime, with his staffe in his hand; he kept sheepe, and was parched with the heat of the day, and frozen with the cold of the night; and in my Text, the bare earth was his bedde, a hard stone his pillow; he had nothing; he desired nothing but onely bread to eate, and cloathes to put on, and the protection and blessing of God vpon him in his iourney; and yet hee, euen for these, vowed a Vow vnto God. Wee sit vnder our owne Vines, and our owne Fig-trees, in peace and rest; ¹*We lie upon beds of Iuorie, and stretch our selues vpon our couches; we are clad in purple and fine linnen, and fare delicately euery day; we eat calues out of the stalles and lambes out of the flockes; wee drinke wine in boules, and annoint our selues with costly ointments, and inuent instruments of Musicke (like Daud): But who is either sorrie for the affliction of Ioseph, the extreame miseries of our Brethren in neighbour-Countries, or who is sensible of our owne great prosperitie and our incomparable happinesse, or who for all this voweth one Vow to God?*

When our Sauour CHRIST had ²cleansed ten Leapers, there was but one found amongst all those ten, and he a stranger too, that returned to giue God thanks. I feare there is scarcely one of an hundred amongst vs that is but euen so thankfull vnto God for all his benefits as that stranger was onely for his cleansing.

When this good Patriarke *Iacob* returned rich from *Padan-Aran* in the thirty-second chapter of this booke, he neither forgate what he was then, nor what he had beene before; and therefore in a thankfull remembrance of Gods great mercies towards him he payed one part of this Vow in that place, and worshipped God, saying, ³*O Lord, I*

¹ Amos 6. 4, 5, 6.² Luke 17. 17.³ Gen. 32. 10.

am not worthy of the least of all thy mercies ; for with my staffe I passed ouer this Iordan, and now I am become two bands.

Many a one there be in this honourable Court who haue passed ouer, not the riuer of *Iordan*, but the riuer of *Trent*, or *Thames*, or *Seuerne*, with their staues in their hands, that is, poore estates in comparifon, and haue beene deliuered from many dangers, and are now euen laden with riches and honours ; And yet I doubt there bee not manie, that for all this, haue vowed with *Iacob* to haue the Lord for their God, or to build him an House, or to pay him the Tenth of all that he hath giuen them.

One Religious Vow you see weekly payed in this place by our royall *Iacob*, I meane our Tuesdayes Exercife ; which was deuoutly vowed vpon as iust an occasion as euer Vow was made. And hitherto (God be thanked) it hath beene religiously performed. God grant that this our *Iacob* may long and long liue a happie King of this happie Island, euen as long (if it bee his will) as the olde Patriarke *Iacob* did, to pay this tribute and the rest of his Vowes vnto the King of Kings. And can wee that are his seruants haue a better patterne to imitate then the Religious example of so Royall a Master ? Therefore I will conclude this point with that zealous exhortation of another King, *Psal. 76. 11: Vouete & reddite Domino Deo vestro: Vow vnto the Lord your God, and keepe it, all yee that are round about him ; bring presents vnto him that ought to be feared.* And thus much of the generall of *Jacobs Vow*.

Now I come to the particular duties vowed ; and they are three : First, that the Lord should be his God ; that is, that hee would worship the true God, and no other. Secondly, that the stone which hee had set vp for a pillar should be Gods house ; that is, he would dedicate that place vnto the publique worship of God. Thirdly, for the maintenance of both these he would giue the Tenth of all that hee had. All which were necessary duties, and euery one of them hath a necessary relation and dependance vpon other : For if God must be worshipped, then must hee haue a place to be worshipped in,

which is here called an House, and our SAVIOVR faith, ¹ shall of all nations bee called the House of Prayer: And if a House of Prayer, then a maintenance for that House, and them that shall say Prayers in it. Of these in order; and, first,

Of the first: *Then shall the Lord be my God.* To haue the LORD for our GOD is the very summe of the first Commandement, the meaning whereof, as all Interpreters expound it, is to loue God aboue all, to make him our treasure, and infinitely to preferre him and his Seruice before our selues and all other things in the world. A duetie whereunto euery man is bound, as well as *Iacob*; and euery man that is not an *Atbeist* will confesse, and professe as much. But how they performe this dutie, or either loue or preferre God aboue all, who so farre preferre themselues, their honours, pleasures and profits, vnto Gods Seruice, that they spend more houres of time, and pounds of money vpon the one, then minutes or pence vpon the other, and bestowe more cost euen vpon points and shooe-strings in one day then vpon the worshipping of God in a whole yeere, iudge ye. *Aures omnium pulso, conscientias singulorum conuenio*, as Saint *Augustine* speaketh. If the Lord be their God, where is his feare? where is his loue? where is his honour? There goeth more to this then the hearing of a Sermon once or twise a weeke, especially as it is vsually heard, which is scarce worth the name of a hearing; and *Iacob* meant more then so in my Text. For to haue the Lord for our God is to loue him aboue all, as I said before, and to serue him *semper*, & *ad semper*, with an vniuersall obedience, both in regard of time and place; and with *Dauid* to haue respect, not vnto some one, or two, but vnto ²all his Commandements. They which serue God on the Sundaies, but not on the weeke-dayes; in the Church, not in their Chambers, Closets, Callings, and whole course of life; and that, not for praise, profit, pleasing of men, or custome, but out of a good and honest heart and a conscience of their duties; doe not performe this part of *Iacobs* Vow, to haue the Lord for their God. And thus much of the first dutie.

¹ Mark 11. 17.

² Psal. 119. 6.

The second followeth in the next words, *And this stone, which I haue set vp for a pillar, shalbe Gods House.* A dutie necessarily depending vpon the former; for if God must be worshipped, then must he haue a place to be worshipped in, here called an House.

Now, some thinke that this place where *Iacob* slept and set vp this Pillar, was *Mount Moria*, and that he called it *Betbel*, or the House of God, Prophetically by a *Prolepsis*, because the Temple should afterwards bee built there: yet there may be two other reasons why *Iacob* calleth this pillar Gods House, as before he called the very place *Betbel*.

1. Because God had manifested his presence here in an extraordinary manner, as he did afterwards both in the wandering tabernacle and in the fixed Temple, where he was therefore said to ¹dwell, as in an House.

2. Because *Iacob* consecrated this place vnto the Seruice of God, and (*chapter 35, and verse 14*) set vp an Altar for his worship in stead of this Pillar; and (as may probably be thought) would haue built a House for Prayer, and sacrificed in this place, if himselfe and the Church had beene then settled here, and had opportunitie and meanes to haue done it. But being a Pilgrime, and in his iourney, he did what he could for the present; he anointed a Pillar, erected an Altar for Sacrifice, and dedicated a place for an House of Prayer; whereby we may see what great care this holy Patriarke had of the place of Gods worship. His first care was for the worship it selfe, which hee vowed in the former words; his next care is of the place of his worship, in these words.

To teach vs that as our first care should be of the worship of God, so our second care should be of the place of his worship. The object of our first loue must be God himselfe; the object of our second loue must be the House of God. *O Lord, I haue loued the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth* (saith *Dauid*), *Psalme 26. 8. Thy seruants take pleasure in her stones, and fauour the very dust thereof*, *Psal. 102. 14.* And *Psal. 84. 10: One day in thy Courts is better then a thousand. I had rather be a doore-*

¹ 1 Kings 8. 13.

keeper in the house of my God then to dwell in the tents of wickednesse: And he rendreth the reason why he so exceedingly loued the House of God, in the very ¹next verse; for there *the Lord is the sunne and shield; there bee will giue grace and glorie: and no good thing will be with-hold from them that liue a godly life.* God is in all places by a generall prouidence; but hee dwelleth in his house by a speciall presence. Hee distilleth the droppes of his mercie vpon euery part of the earth; but he powreth it downe vpon that holy ground which is dedicate to his Seruice. There he shineth like the sunne; there hee defendeth like a shield; hee filled the Temple at *Ierusalem* with his glorie; hee made many gracious promises to them that praied therein, or towards it; and still ²*where two or three are gathered together in his Name, bee will be in the midst amongst them;* and no good thing will he with-hold from them that worship him in the beautie of holinesse, and wait for his ³*louing kindnesse in the midst of his Temple.*

Private Conuenticles are not to be compared with the publique Assemblies of the Church, that is both the throne of Gods glorie and his Mercie-seat.

Which euer so inflamed the holy men of God in former ages with the zeale of his House that they spared neither cost, nor paines, nor euer affected anything so much as the building and beautifying thereof. *I will not suffer mine eyes to sleepe, nor my eye-lids to slumber* (saith *Dauid*), *untill I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mightie God of Iacob*, Psal. 132. 4, 5. The good Centurion in the Gospel ⁴builded a Synagogue at his owne charges. Great *Constantine*, that mirrour of deuotion, bare twelue baskets of earth vpon his owne shoulders towards the founding of a Church. And when that noble Captaine *Terentius* had done such seruice in *Armenia* that the Emperour *Valens* bade him aske whatsoever hee would, for a reward of his seruice, his onely suite (as ⁵*Theodoret* reporteth) was *ut Orthodoxis una præberetur Ecclesia*: And when the Emperour tare his petition, and bade him aske somewhat els, hee still persisted in his suite, and called

¹ Verſ. 11.² Mat. 18. 20.³ Psal. 48. 9.⁴ Luke 7. 5.⁵ *Hist. tripart. lib. 8. cap. 13. [Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. cap. xxix. Ed. Paris, 1642, fo. p. 702.]*

God to record that hee would make no other fuit but that. And how zealous our owne forefathers haue beene in this kind of deuotion, I need not speake: the zeale of Gods House did euen eate them vp; the goodly Monuments whereof, yet extant in all our Cities and many Countey-Parishes (which haue spared vs both the labour, and charge of building Houses vnto God), speake for them. But some of those Houses which they haue built, and euen the fairest of them, since their Butteresses and Pillars (I meane their maintenance) hath beene pluckt away, begin to droope alreadie, and in time, (if it be not preuented,) will moulder away, and drop downe: And yet who pittie the ruines of Sion, or repaireth any one wall or window thereof? *Will your selues dwell in sieled houses, and suffer the Houses of God to lie waste? Shall Pater noster build Churches, and Our father pull them downe (as the prouerbe is)? or suffer them to fall? O let not that be told in Gath, nor published in the streetes of Askalon, lest the Philistines reioyce, lest the uncircumcised triumph.*

Therefore to conclude this point: Seeing wee need not with *Jacob* in my Text vow to build, let vs all out of our zeale vnto Gods House vow to beautifie, or at least to keepe vp those Houses which are built to our hands. And thus much of the second duetie, which *Jacob* vowed in these words, *This stone which I haue set vp, &c.*

The third followeth in the last words, *And of all that thou shalt giue me, I will giue the Tenth vnto thee.* A duetie necessarily depending vpon the two former, as I said before: For if God must be worshipped and haue an House, then must there of necessitie be a maintenance: therefore *Jacob* in the third place, for a perpetuall maintenance of the worship and house of God, and them that shall attend therein, voweth for himselfe and all the posteritie as well of his Faith as Flesh, vnto the end of the world, the paiment of Tithes: *Of all that thou shalt giue mee, I will surely giue the Tenth vnto thee.*

But what is the reason why *Jacob* here voweth to giue vnto God rather the Tenth then any other part of his goods? Surely howsoever some other causes may bee alleadged, yet the

¹ Hag. 1. 4.² 2 Sam. 1. 20.

true reason is because *Jacob* knew, either by the light of Nature or by the tradition and practise of his Ancestors, that this *quota*, the very tenth, and no other part, was, is, and for euer must be as due vnto God as either his House or his worship: therefore he ioyneth these three together, being all relatives which depend one vpon another; *Se mutuo ponunt, & auferunt*, and they are all equally due vnto God: And due vnto him, not by any common right, as other things; but by a speciall proprietie and right of reseruatiō: whereby Almighty God from the very Creation of the world, and donation thereof vnto the vse of men, reserued vnto himselfe, and separated from common vse vnto his owne Seruice, some out of euery one of these fiue things, which should neuer after be alienated or taken away without Sacriledge.

1. A forme of Diuine worship, which may neuer be giuen to any other.

2. A time for this worship, which is the Saboth day, neuer to be abrogated.

3. A place of worship, which is his House, neuer to be prophaned.

4. A Priest-hood, which may neuer bow knee vnto Baal.

5. And lastly, for the maintenance of all these, Tithes, which hee therefore calleth his owne inheritance, neuer without Sacriledge to be impropriated. ¹*De omni substantia quam Deus homini donat, decimam partem sibi reseruauit: Of all the substance which God hath giuen vnto man, he hath reserued the Tenth part vnto himselfe:* They be the very words of Saint Ambrose. And S. Augustine saith, ²*Deus sibi tantum decimam vendicans, nobis omnia condonauit: God challenging only to himselfe the Tenth, hath giuen all things vnto vs.* And that hee reserued to himselfe the tithes for this purpose, euen from the beginning, as well as any of the other foure things, may appeare by this: That for any thing we know to the contrary tithes were payed euen from the beginning of the world; for some thinke that *Caine* and *Abel* offered the very tithe as they

¹ Ambr. Ser. 34, in feria tertia post 1. Dominicam, quadrages. in vlt. edit. col. [Serm. xxv. De Sancta Quadragesima ix. § 2: App. vol. ii. Ed. Paris. 1690, col. 425.]

² Aug. de temp. Ser. 219. [Serm. 1. De reddendis decimis, vol. x. coll. 1077-8, ed. Basle, 1543.]

were instructed of their father *Adam*. But howsoever that be, certaine it is that there is no sooner mention made of any Priest, *κατά τάξιν*, of an order fit to receiue them, then there is mention of paying of tithes vnto him. For *Abraham*, the father of the Faithfull, no sooner met with *Melchisedec*, a Priest of an Order, but for an example vnto all his posteritie, euen all the Faithfull vnto the end of the world, hee gaue him tithes of all the spoiles, *Gen. 14*. And gaue it him, not as an arbitrarie gift, but as a necessarie due vnto God; for hee sware not to take so much as a Shooe-latchet of the King of *Sodom*s; And yet hee tooke the tithe, to offer, not as his, but as Gods due. And *Jacob* in my Text, amongst other Morrall dueties (for here is nothing Ceremoniall), voweth the paying of tithes: and in the twenty-seventh of *Leuiticus*, which is the first place where tithes are mentioned vnder the Law, God doth not then begin to referue them and to say, *All the tithes of the land shalbe the Lords*; but claimeth them as his due of old by ancient inheritance, ¹saying, *All the tithe is the Lords; it is holy vnto the Lord*; not, it shall be. And so being his owne of old, he onely assigneth them vnto the Leuiticall Priest-hood for that time. And thus you see them due both before and vnder the Law.

Now let any man shew when and where they were abrogated by the Gospell. Not by our Sauour CHRIST, who speaketh of them twise or thrise; and so had iust occasion to haue abrogated them, if he had had any such intent; yet hee abrogateth not, but rather confirmeth them: *Matth. 23. 23, Hæc oportuit facere*: These things ought you to haue done. Nor by the Apostle; for S. *Paul* is so farre from abrogating that on the contrary he both commandeth and establiseth them, and prooueth them due. He commandeth them, *Gal. 6. 6: Let him that is taught in the word communicate with him that teacheth, ἐν πᾶσι ἀγαθοῖς, in all good things*. Indeed he nameth not the very *Quotum*, how much they were to communicate, as taking it for graunted that the *Galatians* themselves knew that to be the trueth, both by the light of Nature, and by the Scriptures, and by the perpetuall practise

¹ Verse 30.

of the Church, and by the practise of the Heathen themselves who vsed to offer their Tithes to their Idoles.

And 1 Cor. 9, hee plainly establisheth for a perpetuall ordinance the paying of Tithes ; for, saith he, ¹*Euen so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should liue of the Gospel.* Euen so, that is, as appeareth out of the ²former verse, *As they that ministred about holy things in the Temple liued vpon those holy things, and they that waited vpon the Altar, liued of the Altar :* Euen so must the Ministers of the Gospel liue vpon the self same maintenance. Now, how liued they ? Indeed the Priests of the Law had other emoluments, which were Ceremoniall and temporarie : but their principall, morall, certaine, and perpetuall maintenance was out of those ordinarie and annuall Tithes, which are Gods standing Inheritance ; therefore of them must the Priests of the Gospell liue : Euen so (saith the Apostle) hath the Lord ordained : here is no abrogation, but a ratification of this eternall ordinance.

And lastly (which in mine opinion is the most impregnable place), Heb. 7, the Apostle strongly prooueth that the Tithes must for euer remaine due vnto God : For being to prooue the excellencie of CHRISTS Priest-hood aboue the Priest-hood of *Aaron* and *Leui*, hee prooueth it by the perpetuitie thereof, because CHRIST remaineth a Priest for euer after the order of *Melchisedec* ; whereas the Leuiticall Priest-hood was alreadie ended ; and to prooue the perpetuity of Christs Priest-hood, he vseth no other *Medium* but this perpetuall tithing, *Verse 8: Here men that doe receiue Tithes*, that is, *Leui*, who died both both in regard of person and office ; *but there*, that is CHRIST in *Melchisedec* *receiued them*, of whom it is witnessed that hee *liueth* : therefore if Christs Priest-hood be perpetuall, then must his tithing be perpetuall, or els the Apostles argument is to no purpose.

And thus you see it proued by these three places of Scripture, that these Tithes, which *Jacob* vowed in my Text long before the Law, are still due vnto God and his Church in the time of the Gospell *iure Diuino* : And this hath beene both

¹ Verse 14.

² Verse 13.

the constant opinion of all Antiquitie and the perpetuall practise of the Church, whatsoever any late Historie doth report to the contrary. Therefore it is absurde to say that these Tithes were onely Leuiticall, and that there is now nothing but a competencie due by a Morall equitie: For how can they be only Leuiticall, which were vowed by *Jacob* in my text, and paid by *Abraham*, and by ¹*Leui* himselfe in the loines of *Abraham*, five hundred yeeres before the Leuiticall Law began? And to speake of a Competencie now is a meere conceit: For who shall presume to prescribe an vncertaine Competencie, where God himselfe hath set downe a perpetuall certaintie which hee neuer yet altered? Or why should any man think that God, who provided a standing, certaine, and liberall Maintenance for the Leuitical Priest-hood in the time of the Law, which was lesse honourable, should leaue the Ministry of the Gospell, which exceedeth in honour, vnto an vncertaine and beggerley competencie? especially foreknowing and foretelling that in these last dayes Charitie should waxe cold, and men be louers of themselves and their pleasures more then louers of God and his Church. And yet hee requireth Hospitality at our hands too, which he knew the worlds competency could not affoord.

Therefore it must needs follow for a certaine conclusion, wherewith I will end, that all true *Jacobites*, or true *Israelites*, which liue vnder the Gospell, are bound to performe all *Jacobs Vow* in the time of the Gospell, and not onely to haue the Lord for their God, and build or at least maintaine his houses, but also of all that he hath giuen them to giue the Tenth vnto him. And therefore as *Solomon* saith, *It must needs be a destruction for any man to deuoure these things that are sanctified*; the vsurping, and deuouring whereof (as I verily beleeeue) hath beene the destruction of many Houses amongst vs. *Noluimus partiri cum Deo decimas*, saith ²*Saint Augustine*; *Modo autem totum tollitur: We would not giue our Tithes vnto God, and now all is taken from vs.* And *Malachi* saith, *They are cursed with a Curse, all the whole nation of them, that robbed the Lord of Tithes and Offerings.* And *Dauid* curseth

¹ Heb. 7. 9.² *Serm. de temp.* 219, cap. 39 [ut antea].

the deuouerers of these holy things, with the most bitter curse that euer he cursed any creature: ¹*O my God (saith he), Doe vnto them that say, Let vs take the Houses of God into our possession, as vnto the Midianites, as to Sifera and Iabin, which perished at Endor, and became as dung for the earth. Make their Nobles like Oreb, and Zeeb: yea, all their Princes as Zeba and Zalmunna. Make them like a wheele, and as the stubble before the wind. As the fire burneth the wood, and as the flame setteth the mountaine on fire; so persecute them with thy tempest, and make them afraide with thy storme, &c.* God keepe all our Nobles and Princes and People from this bitter Curse! For the auoiding whereof, and obtaining the contrarie blessing, me thinkes many should not onely, with *Iacob* in my Text, vow to giue their owne Tithes, but vow to redeeme these captiue-tithes out of the hands of other men who haue vsurped the same, and to restore them vnto the Lord againe, who is their right owner; then which they cannot almost offer a more acceptable Sacrifice or Seruice vnto him.

And yet how these houses of God are taken and still helde in possession, and his Inheritance still embezelled in these dayes, the cryes of the poore Leuites euery where doe witnesse not onely in those places where all is gone, and onely a Competency (as it was then supposed) of ten pounds a yeere left (which is scarce a Competency now for a Hog-heard), but also in many other places where the tithes are not quite impropriated, but yet so gelded by pretended prescriptions and vnconscionable, nay vnreasonable customes *de modo decimandi*, & *de non decimando*, and they many times confirmed by prohibitions, that the poore Leuite hath in some places not the tenth, in some, not the twentieth part of the tithe. I would to God that the Body of the Honorable Parliament were as willing as the Relligious and Royall Head thereof to take this grievance into their serious consideration; that this Parliament might have the honour to enact some wholesome Law for the honour of God, the advancement of his Church, the peace of their owne consciences, and the reliefe of the

¹ Psal. 83.

poore Clergie in this behalfe ; that so we might all (as we are all bound) pay *Jacobs Vow* unto the God of *Jacob*, and receive from him *Jacobs* blessing. Which God graunt for his Sonne IESVS CHRIST his sake, who is our eternall Priest ; to whom with the Father and his Blessed Spirit bee all Honour, Praise, and Thankes-giving for ever and ever. AMEN.

FINIS.

FEARE OF
LOSING
THE
OLD LIGHT.
OR,
A SERMON
PREACHED IN
EXETER.

BY
THOMAS FULLER, *B.D.*



LONDON,
Printed by *T.H.* for *Iohn Williams*, at the signe of the
Crowne in *Pauls Church-yard.* 1 6 4 6.

[“ More discontents I never had
Since I was born then here ;
Where I have been, and still am sad
In this dull *Devon-shire*.
Yet justly too I must confesse,
I ne'r invented such
Ennobled numbers for the Presse
Then where I loath'd so much.”

HERRICK'S *Hesperides*, ed. 1859, page 25.]

[Introduction.]



WITH his patron, Lord HORTON, FULLER seems to have remained until the Royal cause began to decline. It was to this military employment that the latter was in part referring when he said, in connection with the preparation of his *Church-History*, that during the first five years of the actual civil war (1642-6), he had "little list or leasure to write, fearing to be made an *History*, and shifting daily for my safety. All that time I could not *live to study*, who did onely *study to live*" (*Appeal of Iniured Innocence*, folio ed., part i. page 25). The weariness of an apparently unending war, and the stronger attraction of literary pursuits, led him "betimes" to make the City of Exeter his refuge. There in 1645 he put forth his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*,—the first book which was printed in that city.

In the descriptions of Exeter, which we find in his own writings, FULLER speaks from personal observation :—"A round city on a rising hill, most capable of fortification both for the site and form thereof. Her walls, though of the old edition, were competently strong and well repaired." Again : "The houses stand sideways backward into their yards, and only endways with their gables towards the street. The city, therefore, is greater in content than appearance, being bigger than it presenteth itself to passengers through the same." (*Church-Hist.*, Bk. vii. sect. i. p. 393; *Worthies*, § Exeter, p. 273.) But we get more details of the position, &c., of the city from another contemporary authority, RISDON, who wrote *circa* 1630 thus :—"It is pleasantly seated upon a hill, amongst hills, saving towards the sea, very beautiful in building, and for quantity, matchable with most cities, which was first encompassed with a wall of stone by King ARTHUR, in a manner circular and beautified with battlements, and many turrets interposed, being before inclosed only with a ditch, and fortified with stakes, whereof an ancient charter maketh mention. . . . This city hath six gates, the compass of whose wall's measure is a mile and a half, having suburbs extending far in each quarter; well watered is it likewise, being full of springs, and hath certain conduits, which be nourished with waters deduced from out of the fields, and conveyed by pipes of lead under the ground into the same, having four special streets, which all do meet in the midst of the city, called corruptly *Carfax* [*Carfax*, in a MS. copy of RISDON in the hands of the Rev. J. I. DREDGE, Buckland Brewer], but perchance more properly *Quaterways*, which divideth the city into four quarters, in every

of which there be fundry streets and by-lanes" (*Survey*, ed. 1811, 8vo., pp. 103-4). The following description of it is found in a foreign work of a later date, accompanied with a neat plan: "Locum occupat ad Orientalem Iscæ partem: fossis & mœnibus cincta validissimis: adfunt & frequentes interpositæ turrets. MD passus habent ambitum. Sunt & suburbia quæ in longum procurrunt. Situs omnino peramœnus in molliter acclivi & clementer edito colle. Incolarum opulentia, magnificentia ædificorum & convenarum commercia hic tanta, ut alibi non sint potiora. . . . Sex ornatur portis" (Hermannida's *Britannia Magna*, 16mo., Amstel. 1661, pp. 351-2). There are some valuable papers on Exeter during the Great Rebellion in Cotton's *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records of Exeter*, 8vo. 1877, pp. 73 seq.

The gates of Exeter to which FULLER (page 442) refers were zealously guarded during the military occupations of the place. Dykes and drawbridges were made at each gate to prevent their being blown up.

Exeter at the time when FULLER reached it was an important Royalist garrison. The part which it played in the civil war may be seen from the following dates and events:—

1642, October. Garrisoned for the Parliament under HENRY GREY, Earl of STAMFORD.

1643, 5 Sept. Capitulated to Prince MAURICE after eight months' siege; Sir JOHN BERKELEY made Governor. "Amongst City-sieges, remember that of *Exon*, which for the space of about fifteen weeks together did faithfully conflict and struggle with a double disease: partly with a strong crafty pestilentiall enemie encompassing her without, and partly with a malignant putrid fever in her own blood within; and all this in the lowest and most hopeles juncture of time that ever this Parliament did see, or I hope shall see, until our perfect deliverance: and therefore that City, though it be now ravished by strangers, may truly be said to have kept her *virgin*-honour and motto (*Fidelis in æternum*) still, because she cryed out for help, though no man came to her rescue" (John Bond's *Occasus Occidentalis: or, Job in the West. As it was laid forth in two severall Sermons at two Publike Fasts for the Five Associated Western Counties*, 4to. London, 1645, page 63).

21 Sept. Sir JOHN BERKELEY, Knt., admitted a Freeman.

13 Nov. £100 presented by the City to BERKELEY "as a remembrance from this House," he having then to go out of the city (Act-Book). Another gift of £100 was afterwards made out of thankfulness and respect to him.

1644, 1 May. Queen HENRIETTA MARIA made the city her refuge.

13 June. A siege threatened by the Earl of ESSEX.

16 June. Birth of a princess, HENRIETTA ANNE; baptised 21 July. She left the city 15 April, 1648, and went to the Queen in France (Herbert's *Memoirs*).

29 June. The Queen's flight from the city.

- 1644, 26 July. King CHARLES, in pursuit of the Earl of ESSEX, reached Exeter from Honiton; Lord HORRON being in his suite. The King's "coming with his army into the West," welcomed by the Parson of Dean Prior (*Hesperides*, p. 33). "The *Western-men* were never so well in heart as with their own *Beville Greenville, Ralph Hopton, Killigrew, Godolphin, &c.*: when they chang'd these for other Generals and Colonels, their Purfes were shut, their Courage fell, and their duties were slackned" (Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 209).
- 27 July. The King left the city.
- 1 Sept. Surrender of ESSEX at Fowey.
- 17 Sept. The King's victorious return to Exeter, Lord HORRON then being General of the Horse.
- 23 Sept. The King left the city, after ordering the household of his infant daughter. FULLER was made Chaplain to the Princess (*Anon. Life*, p. 33).
- 1645, Jan. "As for the greatest of all these five [Western] Counties, in it one large City, and four great Towns, all accounted as maritime, were strongly fortified and well defended; but that labour hath proved but a labouring in the fire, all those places being now lost except one poor Plymouth onely" (Bond's Sermon, *ut supra*, page 62).
- 14 June. Battle of Naseby. Decline of the King's cause. "The sickness or the plague is now raging in manie places to the greate danger of this Cittie" (Act-Book).
- 29 Aug. Prince CHARLES visited Exeter from Launceston; his coming celebrated by HERRICK. Left on 15th Sept.
- Nov. Investment of the city by FAIRFAX.
- 1646, 27 Jan. The city summoned to surrender.
- Winter. The poor people, "pinched for provisions" during the investment, were fed by incredible numbers of larks found on the south side of the city towards the sea (*Worthies*, § Exeter, page 273).
- 19 Feb. Lord HOPTON, Commander of the Royal army under the Prince, defeated by FAIRFAX at Great Torrington, Devonshire. Surrender of the remnant of his army at Truro, 14 March. Exeter in consequence more closely invested.
- 31 March. The city summoned to surrender. "Upon the reading of a letter this day received from the Governor, intimating a speciall occasion of much concernment to this Cittie to conferr with some others att his house to-morrow morning att eight of the clocke. And his desire to call a Chamber forthwyth and to appoint two or three of this company to attend that business. It is agreed that Mr. MAIOR, Sir HUGH CROCKER, Mr. WALKER, and Mr. MALLOCK, shalbe desired to p'forme that service on the behalf of the Cittie, it being by the relation of Mr. Recorder [Sir PETER BALL] from the said Governour concerning hes summons

this day sent for the rendering of this Cittie, the managing whereof is left to the discretions of the said Committee. . . . Upon the further information of the said Recorder to the said Governor that in case a treatie shalbe concluded uppon at the said meeting, that this house would name two p'sons for that purpose on the behalf of the Cittie, they name two Mr. WALKER and Mr. KNOTT and ask that two more may be admitted Mr. KENDALL and Mr. FOARD" (Act-Book. See Cotton's *Gleanings*, &c., page 110).

1646, 3 April. Treaty begun.

9 April. Articles of surrender signed. Of these Articles, says FULLER, "I had the Benefit, living and waiting there on the Kings Daughter at the Rendition thereof: Articles which both as *penned* and *performed*, were the best in *England*;— thanks to their *Wisdom* who so warily made, and *Honesty* who so well observed them!" (*Appeal of Iniured Innocence*, part i. pages 13-14).

18 April. £100 was given to Mr. DANIEL POTTER, who brought the news of the rendition of Exeter. (*Lords' Journals*, viii. 278; *VI. Report Hist. MS. Commission*, p. 112.)

It is recorded that FULLER preached constantly to the "truly loyal Citizens" of Exeter. He entered into relations with the King and with the Councillors of the city. The former, at the suggestion of the pious and beautiful ANNE, Lady DALKEITH (afterwards Countess of MORTON), gave him a place in the household of the Princess HENRIETTA ANNE, and would have bestowed upon him a benefice at Dorchester. The Corporation of Exeter gave him a Lectureship which was worth £20 per annum. This Lectureship had been established by Dr. LAWRENCE BODLEY, the brother of the celebrated Oxford Librarian. By his will, 1615, LAWRENCE BODLEY, who was one of the Canons-residentiary of the Cathedral, bequeathed to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the city of Exeter the sum of £400 to be invested for the continual and yearly maintenance of a sufficient preacher within the said city for ever, to be chosen by the said Mayor and his Company of the Chamber, and by them to be always appointed to exercise and preach a sermon weekly on the Sabbath days for ever in such convenient place or places in the city as should by them be procured and thought most fit and profitable for edification; the said preacher to be allowed, for his sufficiency and conformity according to the law of the realm, either by the Lord Bishop of the diocese or by the Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY for the time being.

There are several notices of this lectureship in the Act Books of the Corporation. On the 23rd June, 1642, it was agreed and ordered by the Chamber that Dr. BODLEY's lecture, which had been continued long in St. Lawrence parish, should be then removed to St. Mary Arches, to be continued there during the pleasure of this House only, and to begin there on the next Lord's day, and that Mr. HENRY PAINTER, the present Lecturer, should have a copy of the Act.

Mr. PAINTER, who had formerly been in charge of St. Petrock's parish,

was also Lecturer of the Rectory of Hennock (*Act-Book of the Chamber*, 21 June, 1642). He and Mr. PEAL, of Dorset, members of the Assembly of Divines, are described by JOHN BOND ("late Lecturer in the City of Exon") as "a paire of workemen that were some of the charets and horsemen of the West; both of them were eminent for piety and abilities" (*Occasus Occidentalis*, 1645, page 69). PAINTER's conduct as Lecturer dissatisfied the Chamber, who, on the 19th November, 1643, resolved that as he had of late much neglected the performance of Dr. BODLEY's lecture, as it ought to be done, "and hath also left this cittie for divers weeks past," he should be "dismiste of the said Lectureshipp from henceforth." Mr. PAINTER was B.D. His death was a recent event when BOND preached the above-quoted Sermon. In it PAINTER is described as "the Champion and the Oracle of persecuted Ministers and people in those parts; yea, the *bammer* of schismatics, and the *salt* of the most Western City; which did not only preserve it (in great part) from the *putrefaction* of Prophanesse, but from the *rawness* of novelties. In a word, he was so publike a good that for him that whole city hath cause to *weare blacke*" (page 69).

On the occasion of the official dismissal of this Lecturer, the Chamber chose "Mr. WM. PFULLER to p'forme the said lecture from henceforth on the sabbath dayes in the Afternoone during the will & pleasure onlie of this house, the said lecture to be preached on the Sabbath dayes in the Afternoone in his own p'son;" and he was to have all the benefit that had been or should be appointed for that service, as Mr. PAYNTER had.

The next entry relating to this Lecture is as follows:—

21 March, 1645-6: "Whereas Mr. WILL^m PFULLER Clark, about two years since was elected to preach the lecture heretofore founded by Dr. BODLEY will [?], who hath now lefte this cittie, It is this daye agreed by xiiij. affirmative voices that the grante made to hym shall ceasse, which is intimated by Sr. JOHN BERKELEY K^t. our Governour to be the desire of the said Mr. WILL^m. PFULLER. Alsbe this day Mr. THOMAS PFULLER Bachelour of Divinitie [several words are here deleted], is by full consent elected to p'forme the said lecture, according to the direcon of the foresaid Doctor BODLEY, to have and exercise the same att the will and pleasure of the Maior and Comon Counsell of this Cittie and noe longer."

The thirteen "affirmative voices" made up the entire number of those who were present at that fitting, Mr. JOHN CUPPER, or COOPER, being then "Maior" (his term of office extending from September, 1645, to September, 1646). He with another member of the Chamber was deputed early in 1642 to take a Petition to Parliament touching the injury to their trade by the disturbances in London, and oppositions by Bishops, &c., in Parliament. He was Sheriff of the City in 1643. The others present were: Sir HUGH CROCKER, NICHOLAS SPICER, ROGER MALLACK, ROBERT WALKER, JOHN MARTIN, Sheriff, RALPH GERMAN, CHRISTOPHER BRODRIDGE, THOMAS KNOTT, ALLAN PENNYE, JOHN BUTLER, JOHN PARR, THOMAS PITT, JOHN LAWES. These, therefore, are "all the members of that ancient Corporation" whom FULLER addresses in his dedication.

The extracts from the Act-Book relating to the Lectureship thus continue :—

17 June 1646. “. . . . Alsoe this day Mr. THOMAS FULLER is dismissed from further performance of the Lecture founded by Dr. BODLEY.”

It was on the 1st of the same month that FULLER, lodging with his stationer, WILLIAMS, in London, deposited his petition for composition with the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall, claiming the benefit of the articles of Exeter, where, as he says, he had been attendant on the Princess; and he had therefore left Exeter at least three weeks before the date of his so-called “dismissal” in the above minute. Colonel HAMMOND was the new Governor of the city; and under his rule several adherents of the Parliament were re-introduced into the Chamber, in the place of Royalists.

On the 25th of June of the same year “Mr. FERDINANDO NICHOLLES,” who had been Rector of St. Mary Arches from 1634, was chosen “to perform the lecture founded by Doctor BODLEY, and alsoe to continue the same during the will and pleasure of this house;” and he was to have the benefit of the Rectory of Hennock, purchased for that purpose, to enjoy the same as before, and not otherwise. There is an account of this Mr. NICOLLS in Calamy, who has related how he rebuked some Exeter aldermen who fell asleep in church. NICOLLS wrote *The Life and Death of Mr. Ignatius Jurdain, One of the Aldermen of the City of Exeter; Who departed this Life July 15th, 1640*, 2nd edit. Lond. 1655, 24mo.; a memoir commended to the reader by THOMAS MANTON.

The sermon on *The Feare of Losing the Old Light* was thus preached at the ancient church of St. Mary Arches (or *de Arcubus*, so called from its Norman piers), in the street of that name, on some Sunday afternoon shortly before the surrender of the City,—an event, it seems, which had more than once been imminent during FAIRFAX's investiture. From FULLER's quaint apology (pages 457-8) for so often in former discourses taking his leave of the citizens, it would appear as if the sermon was preached when the surrender had been determined upon.

The publisher of the sermon, JOHN WILLIAMS, who issued most of FULLER's previous works, was FULLER's host in the year 1646. Royalist authors resorted to his shop, “the Crown,” in St. Paul's Church-yard. He published HERRICK's verses and PEARSON's Lectures on the Creed. FULLER, who was long dependent on the proceeds of the sale of his books, for some time gave up to WILLIAMS everything that he wrote. Mr. NICHOLS, the accomplished editor of some of FULLER's works, described WILLIAMS as a man of probity: this was at a time when, in the opinion of a shrewd Scotchman, the most trusty of the London stationers were very rogues (Baillie's *Journals*, ii. 240).

The original sermon is in 4to. It has never been reprinted. The present reprint is taken from a copy in the Editor's hands, pp. iv. + 26. A crown and rose in a floreated ornament is on the title-page. “T. H.” of the imprint is perhaps THOMAS HUNT, of Exeter, for whom *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, 1645, was printed.]

TO THE
Right Worshipful
Mr. COOPER, Mayor
of the City of EXETER,
and to all the Members of
that ancient Corporation.

WHAT the sin against the holy Ghost is in Divinity, the same Ingratitude is in Morality; an offence unpardonable. It argues a base Disposition in those who are glad to receive what others give, but loath to confesse what they Receive.

I must acknowledge my engagement unto you to bee great: Is not Exeter a little one? and my soul shall live, where I safely anchored in these tempestuous times. It is a high advancement in this troublesome Age for one with a quiet conscience to be Preferred to Life and Liberty: It fared better with me; for whilst her Infant Highnesse, (on whose Soule and Body God crowd all blessings Spirituall and Temporall, till there shall be no roome to receive more,) though unable to feed her selfe, fed me and many more of her servants: other accommodations were bestowed upon me by your liberality.

In expression of my gratitude I present this Sermon unto you, hoping it shall receive the same entertainment from your eyes as it formerly found from your eares, and still be read with as much favour as it was once heard with attention. And then, this widowes mite of mine will be made a tallent by your courteous acceptance thereof.

May the shield of Divine providence, which onely is of prooffe against the fiery arrowes of his shooting, defend you from the noysome pestilence, and encompasse you with a wall of Help and Deliverance: yea, may God himselfe stand watchman at the Gates of your City to forbid the entrance of any thing that may be prejudiciall unto you, and give full and free admittance to whatsoever may tend to the advancement of your happinesse here and hereafter. So resteth

Your servant in all

Christian offices,

THOMAS FULLER.



Feare of Losing the Old Light.



REVEL. 2. 5.

And will remove thy Candlestick out of his place except thou repent.

1. **T**HIS Epistle was wrote to the Angel of the Church of Ephesus; to him eminently, not exclusively; to Him chiefly, not only; to Him, yet so to Him as a Letter of Publique concernment, directed to the Prolocutor, with intent that He (according to his office) should acquaint all the Christian Members of the Ephesian Church with the contents thereof. Yea, the very word *Angel* imports no lesse, signifying a messenger, imployed by appointment and intrusted for the benefit of others.

2. Ministers ought not to monopolize the spirituall intelligence which they have received from God, but to communicate it to others. And the more precious the knowledge is which they have, the greater is their obligation to impart it. David saith, *Thy word have I hid in my heart, that I might not sin against thee*; and yet the same David had said, *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation*. Ministers must, and must not hide Gods word in themselves: must, as faithful Stewards; must not, as crafty Hucksters; must, out of carefulnesse to observe it; must not, out of covetousnesse to ingrosse it.

¹ Psal. 119. 11.

² Psal. 40. 10.

3. The Epistle confits of three principall parts.

1. A commendation of the Ephesians former Piety and Patience.
2. A Reproofe of their present backsliding, that they *bad forsaken their first love.*
3. A Threatning of them with future misery, in case they did not quickly amend.

Preachers must vary their voices, interchangably using frownes, smiles, swords, salves, cordials, corrasives, as occasion is offered. If *all the Body* of our Sermons be Praising, where is reprovng? if all be Reproving, where is Comforting? Physitians advise Nurses not alwayes to give the same receit to their Infants sick of the wormes, but rather to make use of severall Medicines, lest otherwise the Wormes accustomed to the constant taking of the same thing, by degrees turne that Physick into their food, and so are encreased by what was intended for their destruction. It is wisdom in Ministers to try all wayes to work on the hearts of their Hearers full of ill Humours, and whose corrupt Nature, if ever used to one Receit, will improve their badnesse upon it, and bee the more confirmed by what was prescribed to confute them.

4. See here, no Church in this world can be free from all Faults. Even Ephesus, the best of the Seven, had somewhat amisse in it. As long as there be spots in the Moone, it is vaine to expect any thing Spotlesse under it. The earnest of Perfection (which is Sincerity) may be received in this life, but the full Payment thereof must be expected in another. Such as Fancy a Possibility of a Perfect Church here must not onely mold a New forme, but make a new matter, cause frailty to be firme, folly to bee wise, flesh to be Spirit, Men to be Angels, Saints being too little in this Life, as full of their Infirmities. Witnesse the Church of Ephesus: For though *He that was* praiseth them for what they had bin, yet *He that is* reproveth them for what they were, and *He that is to come* threatneth them with what they shall be. *And will remove thy Candlestick out of his Place, except thou repent.*

5. *I will sing* (saith ¹*David*) *of Mercy, and Iudgement.* Of these two, *Iudgement* the most solemne, *Mercy* the most pleasing Musick. Behold them both in the Text: Judgment pronounced in the Commination: *And I will remove thy Candlestick out of his place:* Mercy promised in the Condition: *except thou repent.* Yea, the Text consists wholly of Mercy, and Mercy, there being Mercy in the very Commination; God not surprizing this Church with sudden Destruction, but in some manner arming it against himselfe by forewarning it. Satan never barks before he bites, never tels before hee tempts, because he desires and endeavours the ruine of mankinde. But God who intends their Amendment, not confusion, alwayes warnes before He wounds, that so by tendering them the Opportunity of a seasonable Submission they may prevent the misery of their finall destruction. *And I will remove the Candlestick out of his Place, &c.* By *Candlestick* is meant not the dull and dead Candlestick, but it quickned and enlivened with a Candle, namely the *Word of God.* Which amounteth to this effect, that God would Un-church *Ephesus*, and deprive it of the Benefit of the Gospel, which enlighteneth mens Soules in their wayes to heaven. In the Commination three Doctrines are observable, whereof this the first.

6. 1 *Doctrine:* God alone is the manager of the motions of the Candle of the Gospel. ²*Hee that causeth it to raine upon one City, and causeth it not to raine upon another City: one Piece was rained upon, and the Piece whereupon it rained not, withered:* He it is that vouchsafed the Gospell unto *unrepenting* ³*Corazin and Bethsaida*, and denyed it to Tyre and Sidon; bestowed it on unthankfull Capernaum, and withheld it from Sodom, which would have made better use thereof. God alone it was that forbad Paul to ⁴*preach the word in Asia*; yea, when he ⁵*assaid to goe into Bitinia*, the Spirit suffered him not, but he was diverted with a Vision, *Come over into Macedonia, and help Vs.*

¹ Psal. 101. 1.⁴ Acts 16. 6.² Amos 4. 7.³ Mat. 11. 21.⁵ Acts 16. 7.

7. Nor can any other Reason bee rendred hereof, save onely the ¹*Councell of his Will*. This appeareth plainely in the People of the Jews. ²*The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor chose you because ye were more in number then any People (for yee were the least of all People); but, Because the Lord loved you, &c.* Fewest of all People: being soone summed up in Abraham and Sarah, no more then two Cyphers in point of Procreation, without a Miracle. And as their Number was inconsiderable, so their Nature was intollerable; for when they wandred forty yeares in the wildernesse, their intricate windings in their Progresse seemed strait in comparison of their crooked Conditions, and their wayes towards God were more indirect then their walking on Earth. Yea, in every outward respect, some of their neighbouring Nations did surpasse them. The Ægyptians excelled them in Wit, the Phæniceans exceeded them in wealth, the Edomites in Antiquity, the Persians in Industry, the Arabians in Activity, the Syrians in Cunning, the Assyrians in command, the Philistims in strength, and the Anakims in stature; notwithstanding all which, the Lord loved the Jews before and above them all: *even so, Father, because it pleaseth thee.*

8. And blessed be God that it is in his power alone to order the Motions and Stations of the Gospel. *Good successe have He with his Honour.* He that hath the most might and right holdeth the Candle. It cannot be put into a better Hand. Had some Envious or Covetous men (such as our Age affordeth too many) bin imployed in so great a trust, absolutely to dispose of the Gospel, when, where, and to whom they pleased, O what strange worke would they have made! Our Saviour said, ³*How hardly shall they that have Riches enter into the Kingdome of God!* But in this Case, how Hardly should they which want wealth be saved! their Poverty being unable to Purchase Gods Word for themselves, and such Misers charity unlikely freely to bestow it upon them. Such Simoniacall Patrons as Sell so deare their Presentations to Church-livings, what unconscionable rates would they set on the Gospel it selfe, if it were in their Power to

¹ Ephes. 1. 5.² Deut. 7. 7.³ Mark 10. 23.

make merchandise thereof! But this *marres their Mart*, that the giving of the Gospel to any Place or Persons, sooner or later, the continuing it longer or shorter, the removing it slowly or suddenly, are all and every one only and absolutely placed in his power and pleasure, who speakes in my Text, *And I will remove the Candlestick out of his place, except you repent.*

9. [2 *Doctrine:*] Come wee now to the second Doctrine contained in the Commination, which may thus bee propounded: God will not finally extinguish, but onely remove the Candlestick of his word. The Dove will not wholly flye away, but onely build her a new Nest; the Setting of the Gospel in one Place will be the rising thereof in another; what is lost in a Kingdome, will be found in the World; Particular Churches may, the Church cannot fall away. And it is worth our observing that when the word hath beene sleighted and neglected by some, immediately it hath bin embraced and honoured by others.

10. Thus the Gaderens: *the whole multitude of their countrey besought Christ to depart from them.* Strange that this wind should blow from all parts of the Compasse, that Wanderers should entreat *the Right Way* to leave them. Sure the Patient is more sick in Minde then Body that is importunate to send away his Physitian. Well, their Sute is granted: *Ask and ye shall have:* the Gospel is a Guest which will not stay where it perceiveth it Selfe not to be welcome. Away goeth our Saviour to the other Side, (opposite to the Gadarens in Position and Disposition,) where behold his entertainment: *And it came to passe that when Iesus was returned, the People gladly received Him, for they were all waiting for him.* Thus Gods word is a Commodity of quick Vent; it will not lye long on the Merchants hand for want of Chapmen, but if one will not, another will have it. Another Instance is presented us in the Jews who despised the Preaching of S. Paul at ²Antioch: *And when the Jews were gone out of the Synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath.* The Leavings, yea, the

¹ Luke 8. 37.

² Acts 13. 42.

Loathings of the Jews, were the Longings of the Gentiles ; the ones fragments, the others feast. They requested not the Apostles to make new Provision for them, (conscience desires not what is novell, but what is needfull,) but would be pleased with the Repetition of what He had formerly delivered; and indeed, a Sermon being newly broached tasteth the best at the second draught. The Result of all is this: Those feet of Gods Ministers, who finding themselves unworthily used, do *shake the dust off from them* (according to Christs ¹command) in witnesse against an ungratefull Place; I say, those very selfe-same Individuall feet shall elsewhere bee welcomed as *the ²Beautiful bringers of the Gospel of Peace, and glad tidings of good things.*

11. And here it will bee neither improper nor unprofitable to observe some Passages concerning the Motions and Postures of the Candlestick in my Text. And first, we may take notice that the Persecution gave the Occasion to the speedy propagation of the Gospel. Had Satan bin contented to suffer the Saints to dwell peaceably in Jerusalem, probably Christianity had not made its Progresse so fast and so far into the world. But it was Death to Him to see Good Men live in quiet, and therefore his malice mustered all his might to ³disperse them after the martyrdome of *Stephen*, whereby hee scattered the fire of the Gospel instead of quenching it. Infant Christianity, like infant ⁴Christ, *encreased in stature, and in favour with God and Man.* Yea, it is uncertaine whether Martyrs which did dye, or Confessors who did flye, contributed more to the advance of Religion; the former by their patient suffering confirming more, and laying the Truth the thicker; the latter by their Painfull preaching converting more, and spreading the Truth the broader. Thus the Devill did the Church an ill office, and God made it a good turne. Wee will pay our thanks where they are due, not to his malice who intended it to our mischiefe, but to his strength, wisdom, and goodnesse who disposed it for our happinesse.

12. Secondly, wee hitherto cannot finde a Countrey, from

¹ Mat. 10. 14.

² Rom. 10. 15.

³ Acts 8. 1.

⁴ Luke 2. 52.

which the Gospel did totally depart, to which it ever afterwards returned. The *white* ¹*horse* in the Revelation (which generally is interpreted the word of God) *went forth conquering, and to conquer*. *Went forth*, still in a Progressive, not Retrograde motion, like the Sun in the Firmament, which ²*commeth forth as a Bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a Giant to run his course*; his retreating ten Degrees on the Diall of ³Ahaz being extraordinary and miraculous. Wherefore seeing it seems not to stand with the State of the Gospel, to goe away *animo revertendi*, it will bee our wisest course carefully to retaine what wee have no President to recover.

13. Thirdly, Christendome is *a Zoar*, a little one, in comparison of the Pagan part of the world. Call for a Map, as our Saviour did for *a Penny*, and see how small a circuit thereof hath the Image and superscription of Christ upon it. Thus it is meet that all the Earth being Gods *Demeanes*, his Private Garden should bee lesse then his common grounds about it. There was a place in the city of Jerusalem, called *the Daughter of Zion*, so named, saith an ⁴Author, because it was a parcell of buildings which branched or issued out of old Zion, as a Colony thereof; and surely pretty it was to behold this Babe in the arme of her Mother. But, oh that I might but live to see a Daughter of Christendome borne! I meane a Plantation of Piety amongst the Pagans, a Copy like our Originall, (save onely that it be not written with such red Inke,) in matter of doctrines, and knowledge of Religion.

14. Fourthly, Christianity hath beene these last hundreds of yeares little effectuell in converting of Heathen. For, be it reported to Serious Consideration whether those Indians, rather watered then baptised, driven into the Church, as the ⁵*money changers out of the Temple*, deserve to be accounted solid Christians. Abate these, and then we shall finde small impressiion and Improvement of the Gospel in these latter Ages on Paganisme. I have not heard of many fish (understand me in a mysticall meaning) caught in *New-England*,

¹ Revel. 6. 2.² Psal. 19. 5.³ 2 Kings 20. 11.⁴ Adricomius, *Theatro Terræ Sanctæ*, page 152, numb. 26 [Ed. fo. 1628].⁵ John 2. 15.

and yet I have not beene deafe to lissen, nor they I beleeve dumb to tell of their Achievements in that kind. I speake not this (God knoweth my heart) to the disgrace of any *Labourers* there, being better taught then to condemne mens endeavours by the successe; and am so sensible how poorely our Ministry prevaileth here at home, on professed Christians, that I have little cause and lesse comfort to censure their Preaching for not taking effect upon Pagans. Onely I speake this to the intent that we all should enter into a strict Scrutiny in our owne soules, what may be the Reason of this unusuall barrenesse of our Christian Religion. Surely it is no infirmity in the Doctrine it selfe, disabled with Age, like *Naomi* that could have ¹*no more Sons in ber wombe*: the fault is not in the Religion, but in the Professors of it, that of late wee have beene more unhappy in killing of Christians then happy in converting of Pagans.

15. Lastly, from Jerusalem (whence the Gospel first started) this Candlestick is observed to have a favourable inclination to verge more and more Westward. This putteth us in some hopes of America, in Gods due time; God knows what good effects to them our sad war may produce: some may be frighted therewith over into those Parts (being more willing to endure American, then English *Savages*); or out of curiosity to see, necessity to live, frugality to gaine, may carry Religion over with them into this Barbarous countrey. Onely God forbid we should make so bad a bargaine as wholly to exchange our Gospel for their Gold, our Saviour for their Silver; fetch thence *lignum Vitæ*, and deprive our selves of the *Tree of life* in lieu thereof. May not their planting be our subplanting, their founding in Christ our confusion; let them have of our light, not all our light; let their candle bee kindled at ours, ours not removed to them, as God threatned the Ephesians in my Text, *I will remove thy Candlestick out of his place, except thou repent*.

16. [3 *Doctrine*:] The third and last Doctrine couched in the Commination is this: God never removes the Gospel from a Nation, untill they or their Ancestors first remove

¹ Ruth 1. 11.

themselves from his service. Where the Gospel is given, it is Gods Mercy, not mans Merit; where it is denyed, it is Gods Pleasure, no Injury to man; where it is removed, it is Gods Justice, and mans punishment, who hath beene unthankfull for it, and unprofitable under it. Thus the Jews our elder brethren were disinherited for their Infidelity; at this day wandring in all lands, yet having no Land, *sine Rege, Lege, Solo, Salo*, (I had almost said *Cælo* too,) stumbling at Him that should stay them, unhappy if they knew their condition, and more unhappy because they are ignorant of it.

17. *Objection*: But this is hard dealing, so just that it is unjust, that children for the default of their Parents shall be debarred from the meanes of their Salvation. Will God banish the sound of a ¹ *Proverb* out of Israel, and practise the Sense thereof in his owne proceedings, *setting the childrens teeth on edge*, (even to their ² *gnashing* in Hell fire,) *for the Sowre grapes which their fathers have eaten?*

18. *Answer*: The Day of Judgement wil be the day of the manifestation of the righteousness of God, whose actions which now are just shall then appeare so, to the clearing of his wayes, and convincing of others wickednesse. The Damned shall want *a drop of the water* of a colourable excuse *to coole their tongues with*, discontented with their condition, but satisfied with the cause thereof, so that they may blaspheme, but not complaine. Untill then let us be content *to tarry the Lords leasure*, suspending our Censures, and admiring what we cannot understand. *David* saith to God, *Thy way* ³ *is in the Sea*; and the sense is the same though inverted, *There is a Sea in thy way*, and that a bottomlesse one, (not like the Adriatick, *Acts* 27. 28, wherein the Marriners sounded and found it twenty fathoms; and when they had gone a little farther, they sounded againe, and found it fifteen fathoms,) but in this Ocean the farther we faile the deeper we sinke; and therefore let us make what speed to the Shoare, except the Pilot here had more skill, or his tackling more strength.

19. Meane time, how carefull ought Parents to be, left by

¹ Ezek. 18. 3.

² Mat. 8. 12.

³ Psal. 77. 19.

their wickednesse they wilfully deprive their Posterity of the Gospel. Here, O let me plead for them who cannot speak for themselves; yea, I know not how to call my Clients, being as yet unnam'd, unborne, unbegot, I meane such little little *Levi's* which as yet lye hid in the *Loynes* of their Grand-fathers: Oh let not their Soules be slain before their bodies be borne, by wilfull debarring them, by the prophanenesse of this present Age, from the future benefit of Gods word. Let that sturdy father, carelesse of himselfe; be conjured into Piety by that potent charme,

¹ *Per spem crescentis Iuli.*

Who can reade the horrid History of so many thousand Childrens corpses, drowned (as they say) in one fishpond in Italy by those Votaries, their mothers, and is not instantly ready, if the fact be proved, to arraigne, condemne, and execute the Memory of such Monstrous Murderers? What then shall we say to such Parents as plunge the Soules of Millions in the Pit of Perdition, sacrificing the Spirituall lives of their Sons and Daughters to Devils? so that as they walke on in their wicked wayes, the floore whereon they tread may bee said to be paved with slaughtered Infants, and that they trample on a Charnel-House of childrens Soules of their owne killing, because the candlestick of the Word was removed from them for their fathers offences.

20. See a sad spectacle hereof in the Church of Ephesus, to which God at this Day hath done what hee threatned in the Text. Indeed, some hundreds of years after the writing of this Epistle, Ephesus still continued the Staple of Religion and learning, where some Generall Counsels were celebrated. Till at last, growing notoriously erronious in doctrine and vicious in manners, it is at the present reduced to a miserable condition, shrunke almost invisible in our Moderne Maps, save that some charitable Geographers, in reverence of what she hath beene, allow her a bare remembrance in their larger Descriptions. The few Christians therein and thereabout grow contented vassailes to the Turke, and the soundest of them are infected in the Point of the Progression of the holy

[¹ *Æneid*, Bk. vi. line 364.]

Spirit, with many other grievous errors. Generally in those Parts God hath permitted his Arke to fall downe before Dagon; the Alchoran hath banished the Bible; the Candle of the word is put out, and in the roome thereof the Moone of Mahomet is risen, whose Light is worse than darkenesse it Selfe. All which had beene seasonably prevented, if the Ephesians had beene but as carefull to take as God was kinde to tender the Caution in my Text. *And will remove the Candlestick out of his Place, except you repent.*

21. Now for application, to leave Ephesus and come to England: Know then, in the first place, our Land hath equalled Ephesus in favours received. No Iland in the world so farre distant from Jerusaleme saw the Light of the Gospel so soone; yea, it was morning here when it was midnight in Germany; *the last was first*; our Countrey placed in the *Rere of the world* marched one of the formost in receiving the Christian Religion. And since the Word was here once planted, hitherto it was never totally lost, but still grew amongst the barren Mountaines in *Wales*; as Piety hath ever an ambition to keepe company with Poverty. Yea, here Religion hath enjoyed her selfe as purely and plentifully as in any other place; and though often sick of severall Superstitions, yet these were not the Peculiar Diseases of England, but the Epidemicall Infections of those Ages.

22. Secondly, England (what by her finnes, which have caused this war, and which this war hath caused) hath equalled Ephesus in faults committed. In one particular hath exceeded Her. For, the holy Spirit commendeth Ephesus in the next verse *for bating the Nicolaitans, whom he also bated*. These Nicolaitans were so called from ¹Nicolas, one of the seven Deacons, who (as Ecclesiasticall History reporteth) having a Beautifull wife, and being taxed for being causelessly Jealous of Her, to confute his Accusers prostituted his wife to the unchaste embraces of any, thereby to wipe off the Aspersions of Jealousie. So then, those who evidence their opposition to any Error in Judgement, or demonstrate their distance from

¹ Acts 6. 5.

any vice in practife, with fuch violence and furious indiscretion that they fall into the oppofite error, or reele into the contrary Vice, are moft truly and properly, though not Literall, spirituall Nicolaitans. And in this Senfe, how many wee have of this Sect in our Kingdome, not hated, but favoured and fostered, I am grieved to thinke and unable to number.

23. But now the third Parallel I dare not speake, and I dare not conceale. Yet, why fhould I not speake it? In Spaine, great rewards are given to fuch as firft are the meffengers of Bad newes, provided they doe not difperfe it to the Difadvantage of the publick, but impart it onely to the State, which may mend ill accidents before they become worfe. Sure then, though I defire no favour, I deferue no frowne, if from the fimplicity of my heart, without finifter intents, I fhew the danger likely to ceafe [feize] on us, if not providently diverted by speedy repentance. Plainely tis this: I feare we fhall be like Ephesus in future punishment, and that the *candlestick will be removed out of his place.*

24. *Objection*: There is no danger of the departure of the Light which now daily encreafeth. Preaching now a dayes is like Silver in the reigne of ¹Solomon, fo plentifull *that it was nothing accounted of.* The Gofpel formerly going afoote now rides on horfebacke. Wherefore concerning the removing of the Word, you fancy cauflefse feares, then fear your cauflefse fancies; it now shineth brighter then ever before.

25. *Answer*: As all is not Gold that glifters, fo all is not light that fhines, for Glowormes and rotten wood fhine in the darke. Firebrands alfo doe more harme with their Smoake then good with their Light. And fuch are many Incendiaries, which without either authority of calling, or ability of learning invade the Ministeriall function. Whofe Sermons confift onely of two good Sentences, the firft, as containing the Text, and the laft, which muft bee allowed good in this refpect, becaufe it puts an end to a tedious and impertinent difcourfe. Notwithstanding all pretended new lights, and plenty of preaching, I perfift in my former Suspicion. Yet am I not fo much affrighted with all the Prodigies reported to have

¹ 1 Kings 10. 21.

appeared in the Ayre as with the portentous Sins which I dayly behold committed on the Earth. And this I say: God commonly moves the candle before he removes it. The light seemes sicke and faint before it dyes. In Mines, before a dampe commeth, candles begin to burne blew, as by instinct mourning their owne funerall before hand. Some such sad symptomes discover themselves in our Candle, in the preaching of the word, if seriously considered.

26: First, it is an ill signe that so many wantonly play with the Word. When children begin to try Conclusions with a Candle, sporting themselves *at in and out with it*, their Parents use to take it from them, leaving them to doe penance in the Darke for their wantonneffe. I am afraid God will serve us in like manner: so many have dallied with the Scripture, producing it for the maintenance of their upstart monstrous Opinions. Secondly, so many Theeves in the Candle, such variety of Sects and Schismes, which waft and mispend the light, is another ill boding Symptome. Yet whilst others wonder that they are so many, I wonder they be no more; for untill a good Peace be setled, (which God Speed,) and whilst the great *Bond of Discipline is broken*, every stick in the Fagot will be absolute and set up for it selfe. Lastly, if the wax be taken away from the candle, (as in many places it is, and Tithes denied for the Ministers maintenance,) the light must decay; the five foolish¹ Virgins having so much wisdom as to know that their Lamps could not burne when they wanted oyle; except any doe thinke Ministers may be like the miraculous² Bush, which did burne and not consume, that so they may alwayes worke, and yet never waft. Put these together, (and others I could instance in,) and though Ministers, Gods Doves, delight not to be Ravens to croake Funerals; though they, Gods fixed Stars, would not be Comets prefaging sad Events; though these³ Ambassadors, *praying you to be reconciled to God*, are loath to bee Heraulds to proclaime war: Yet be these things seriously considered, and may they not amount to make us *Jealous* over England *with a godly jealousy* what for the future will become of us?

Mat. 25. 8.² Exod. 3. 2.³ 2 Cor. 5. 20.

And this I will boldly adde, that an awfull feare of lofing the Candlestick is the best Hope we have to keepe it.

27. But I forefee a Pofterne Doore ready to be opened, that escaping thorow it my Auditors may decline whatsoever this Day I have delivered. Some will fay, what Jofiah was ¹promised, we presume on: *the Evill will not come in our Dayes.* The Gospel will laft my life in the Land; and if we are not to care for to morrow, much leffe will wee carke for the Day after our Death. Befides, if a generall Judgement fhould come in my Time, I fhall beare but my fhare, and fhift as well as another.

28. Well, Beloved, tis true this inconvenience attends all generall difcourfes, (fuch as this Dayes Sermon is,) that as *filius populi* hath no father, fo publique reprooves are feldome particularly applyed by any to themfelves. But, that I may catch fome fifh I muft weave my net clofer, and draw the threds thereof neerer together. Bee it granted what we hope and thou believft, that the light of the Gospel will laft thy life, yet how long or little time thy life will laft, there is the Queftion. Nor will it be any violence to my Text, in a fecondary Sence, to expound this *Candle*, of the Life of every man, which how long fince it hath beene kindled we know, but how foone it may bee quenched God knows. Some wares in England, are ufually fet to fale *by the candle*; that chapman carrieth them, who giveth the moft before the candle is burnt out. Such is all our condition at this time: Heaven now is to be had, Happineffe to be purchafed; ²*Buy the truth, and fell it not*, lofe not a good bargaine, bid bountifully; be not body wife, and foule foolifh; the candle weares, the candle wafts, casualty may, fickneffe will, Age muft extinguifh it. If once the light be out it is too late; there is ³*no worke, nor devife, nor knowledge, nor wifdome in the grave, whither thou goeft.*

29. I fhould now come to the Condition, *except thou repent.* But it is high time for me at this prefent to leave preaching, and more then high time for us all to begin practifing of this point of repentance. *Let us rend our hearts and not our gar-*

¹ 2 Chron. 34. 28.

² Prov. 23. 23.

³ Ecclef. 9. 10.

ments, and turne unto the Lord our God. The melting of marble, so that it become fusill or runable, is recounted one of those Mysteries which are lost in our Age, though formerly knowne to, and performed by the Ancients. But O let us labour that the Art of melting stony Hearts (such as ours are by Nature and custome of sinning) be never lost or forgotten, but kept in use, and put in daylie practise. That so the Candlestick may remaine amongst us, not onely forty dayes, the time prescribed for ¹Niniveh's Repentance; or fifteen yeares, the lease of ²Hezekiahs health restored; or terme of our life outright, a gift granted to good ³Josiah; or for an hundred and twenty yeares, so long was allotted for the ⁴amendement of the old world; or for foure generations successively, which Lease of Lives on the Throne of Israel was bestowed on ⁵Jehu; but so long as the *Gnolam* the Eternity of this world shall last, as long as the ⁶Moone endureth in heaven.

30. Men naturally decline Death; and the Quick at the day of Judgement desire *not to bee uncloathed, but cloathed upon, that mortality may bee swallowed up of Life.* The same is our request, that there may bee no interruption or intermission of our Light; that it may bee not put out, but tooke up; not destroyed, but devoured in the transcendent Splendor of Glory. Then it will be no thrift *to burne Day; and there shall bee no night there, and they need no candle,* no use of preaching, Sermons shall cease, and God alone shall bee the Text, the Hallelujahs of Angels and Saints the Comment upon it.

31. And now I am to take my finall farewell of this famous City of Exeter. I have suffered from some for saying severall times, that I thought this or this would bee my last Sermon, when afterwards I have preached againe. Yet I hope the Guests are not hurt, if I bring them in a course more then I promised or they expect. Such would have forborne their censures had they consulted with the Epistle to the Romans. In the fifteenth Chapter, verse 33, the Apostle seemes

¹ Jonah 3. 4.² 2 Kings 20. 6.³ 2 Chr. 34. 28.⁴ Gen. 6. 3.⁵ 2 Kings 10. 30.⁶ Psal. 72. 7.⁷ 2 Cor. 5. 4.⁸ Revel. 22. 5.

to close and conclude his Discourse, *Now the God of Peace bee with you all, Amen.* And yet presently he beginneth afresh and continueth his Epistle a whole Chapter longer. Yea, in the sixteenth Chapter, verse 20, S. *Paul* takes a second solemne *vale*, *The grace of our Lord Iesus Christ be with you all, Amen*; and notwithstanding still he spins out his matter three verses farther, till that full and finall Period, verse 27, *To God onely wise bee glory thorow Iesus Christ for ever, Amen.* Thus *loath to Depart* is the tune of all loving friends: The same I may pleade for my Selfe, so often taking my farewell, wherein if any were deceived, none I am sure were injured.

Now this is all: The Rabbins have a conceit that Manna relished so to the pallats of the Jews just as the eater thereof did fancy or desire. Consult with your selves, and wish your owne spirituall and temporall conveniencies, wish what you will, for Body, Soule, both; You, yours, your Private, the Publique; confine not your happinesse with too narrow measure of your owne making. And my constant Prayer to God shall be, that he would be pleased to be to you all in Generall, each one in particular, that very thing which You for your owne Good doe most desire. *Amen.*

FINIS.



A
SERMON
OF
ASSVRANCE.

Foureteene yeares agoe Preached
in CAMBRIDGE, since in
other Places.

Now by the importunity of Friends
exposed to publike view.

By THOMAS FULLER B.D. late Lecturer
in *Lombard Street*.

LONDON,
Printed by J.D. for John Williams at the Signe of the
Crowne in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1647.

["A Soul perswaded of this (assurance of Gods love) may sing merrily with the sharpest thorn at its breast; so David, Psal. 57. 7, *My heart is fixed, my heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise.* What makes him so merry in so sad a place as the Cave, where now he was? He will tell you, v. 1, where you have him nestling himself under the shadow of Gods wings, and now well may he sing care and fear away. A soul thus provided may lie at ease on a hard bed. Do you not think they sleep as soundly who dwell on *London-Bridge*, as they who live at *White-ball* or *Cheap-side*, knowing the waves that roar under them cannot hurt them? Even so may the Saints rest quietly over the floods of death itself, and fear no ill."—GURNAL's *Christian in Compleat Armour*, 6th edit. fol. 1679, pp. 14, 15.]

[Introduction.]



A GROUP of Sermons now come into notice which FULLER preached as Lecturer in certain churches of London, and as Chaplain in private households. The Lectureships which were held by him, and which extended over several years, divide themselves into two distinct periods : first, some temporary appointments during the tenure of which he suffered the penalty of his connection with Royalism ; second, more fixed appointments during which, under the toleration afforded by the Commonwealth, he also acquired a benefice.

The first of these periods covers FULLER's occupancy of pulpits at St. Clement's, East Cheap, in St. Clement's Lane, near Lombard Street, and St. Dunstons in the East, corresponding with that era of the civil commotions which ends with the Sermons in the present volume.

These City Lectureships are not to be confounded with the Incumbencies. The latter were when vacant filled up by the Committees of Religion, and only candidates whose qualifications CROMWELL's "Tryers" had certified received admission. The Lecturers, on the other hand, were directly appointed by the parishioners at their vestry meetings. As these Lectureships gave employment of an independent nature, they were sought after by distressed clergymen ; and many of the "cavalier parsons" held them. The right of election by parishioners was derived from an ordinance of Parliament, 8th September, 1641, which had then been introduced to counteract the measures of LAUD. It was ordered—

"That it shall be lawful for the Parishioners of any Parish, in the Kingdome of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to set up a Lecture, and to maintain an Orthodox Minister, at their own Charge, to preach every Lord's Day, where there is no Preaching ; and to preach One Day in every week where there is no weekly Lecture." (*Commons' Journals*, page 283).

FULLER, who was shut out from his former position at the Savoy, was perhaps one of the first of the Royalist clergy who thus at St. Clement's, under the decree of his political antagonists, again fell with huge satisfaction into the exercise of his profession. The address to the reader of this Sermon (page 467), as well as the description of himself ("late Lecturer") in the title-page, shows that he did not long hold the appointment. He became, however, very popular with the merchants of the parish, several of whose names appear as patrons of his *Pisgab-Sight* and *Church-History*, and whose memory moreover is perpetuated in the dedication of PEARSON's Lectures on the Creed.

Under the zealous countenance of religious merchants, "who hungered," says FULLER's biographer, "after the true and sincere word, from which they had been so long restrained," the City Lectureships benefited the parishes in which they were held. They also proved advantageous to the clergy, who in the year 1647 began to reappear in London, under the protection of the parliamentary order for Lectures above cited. Their labours tended to relieve the spiritual destitution of the metropolis.

In FULLER's time St. Clement's was a small church void of monuments. Its history may be gathered from the annexed copy of an inscription on a brass on the north side of the present church :—

"This Church is dedicated to ST. CLEMENT the third Bishop of ROME. The Benefice was originally in the Gift of the Abbot of WESTMINSTER, but in the first year of the reign of Queen MARY, was given by her to the Bishop of LONDON. After the Fire of LONDON the Church was rebuilt by Sir CHRISTOPHER WREN, and was re-arranged in 1872 by WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD, F.S.A. Among the distinguished men formerly connected with the church were Bishop PEARSON, the Author of the Exposition of the Creed; Thomas FULLER, the Church Historian; and as Organists, PURCELL & BATTISHILL.—W. J. HALL, M.A., Rector; J. S. MARRATT, G. HORSLEY, Churchwardens, 1872-3."

The church books were not destroyed in the Fire. The churchwardens' accounts prove that FULLER was preaching at the church early in the year 1647, beginning in March. In that year one of the first entries is an item for money paid to their lecturer, as follows :

"Paid for 4 sermons preached by Mr. FULLER £01. 06. 08."

The extracts from sermons cited in Spencer's folio show that FULLER was also preaching there in 1648, 1649, 1650, and subsequently; the first-named date showing that the preacher's suspension was not of long duration. This preacher would doubtless, therefore, have his due share of the money referred to in the following entry, occurring in the church-wardens' accounts for 1648 :—

"Paid diverse ministers for preachinge 22 Sabbath daies, beginniſſe the 12 of November, 1648, and ending the 12 of April, 1649, £022. 00. 00."

The *Sermon of Assurance* was a favourite discourse of the preacher, who had first delivered it at St. Bene't's Church, Cambridge. It has, however, been much altered, for it is more mature both in style and sentiment than his earlier sermons on Ruth, preached at the same place.

Amongst the benefactors whom FULLER met with after his departure from Exeter, during a season of actual poverty or distress, was Sir JOHN D'ANVERS (page 465), afterwards one of the Regicides, who seems to have taken him into his household at Chelsea, perhaps as an occasional resident or visitor rather than as chaplain, and to have given him an annual salary. These, therefore, may be the favours, for the continuance of which FULLER begs in the dedication of this Sermon, page 466. The most grateful of men, he has himself put on frequent record his sense of indebtedness to his benefactor. In former days D'ANVERS, by reason of the nobility of his birth, had been Gentleman of the Privy

Chamber to CHARLES, when Prince of WALES; and he had been returned for the University of Oxford in 1621, 1625, 1627-8, and in the Short Parliament of 1639-40. In the Civil War he had, though advanced in years, become a Colonel in the interest of the Parliament. CLARENDON's account of the Knight (*Hist. Rebel.* ed. Oxf. 1843, book ix. page 696) should be read with an allowance, the more so as it has been supplemented in the same spirit by GEORGE BATE, ECHARD the historian, the author of *The History of King-killers*, and others. CLARENDON's statement is that D'ANVERS, being neglected by his elder brother the Earl of DANBY, had by a vain expense in the way of living, contracted a vast debt which he knew not how to pay; and that being proud, formal, and weak, he had been seduced into the counsels of the Parliament. It was decided in a Parliamentary inquiry, which D'ANVERS himself advanced (see his Petition to the House of Commons, *VI. Report Hist. MSS.*, page 93), that his brother, to whom he was heir, and who had died in 1643-4, had by his will deprived him of certain estates in consequence of his affection to the cause he had espoused;—a decision which dispossessed Lady GARGRAVE his sister of Nostel, co. York, and Sir PETER OSBORNE, of considerable property. (*Division of Plunder of the Self-Denying Republicans*, 1646.)

The association of FULLER with a man about whose character we have only the testimony of hostile pens, is difficult to understand. It appears, however, pretty certain that in the above-named authorities the Knight's real character has not been given. A very different view of him, at a somewhat earlier time, is derived from some pleasing letters from GEORGE HERBERT to him in WALTON's Life of that faintly poet. From those letters it appears that D'ANVERS, who had married HERBERT's mother ("for love of her wit") was ever most kind to his step-son. In one of them, written from college, HERBERT begs for money to buy divinity-books, being then, in consequence of his expenditure in this direction, scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other (*Remains*, ed. Pickering, 8vo. 1848, pp. 11, 303-310). D'ANVERS, it is noticeable, was the overseer of HERBERT's will. DONNE eulogised the Christian discipline of Lady D'ANVERS's household. Putting aside the subsequent king-killing propensities of D'ANVERS, there seems to have been many elements of goodness about him; and whatever his hope of gain may have been, he only received out of the state spoils a commissionership of Delinquents' Estates. AUBREY relates that he was a faithful friend in the war time to many besides himself. Of other Royalists whom D'ANVERS befriended besides FULLER, an instance may be mentioned in JOHN THORNBOROUGH, Vicar of West Lavington, Wilts; as to whom WALKER (*Sufferings*, pt. ii. page 384) says that he was "a man of *Eminent Learning*, of a *Sweet* and obliging *Temper*, and beloved of all that knew him and conversed with him. Sir JOHN DANVERS (though a *Regicide*), who was of his [THORNBOROUGH's] Parish, did, after his expulsion from his *Vicaridge*, get him the *School* there; which yet by the violence of his *Prosecutors* and the Iniquity of the Times, he could not long Hold, but was thence also *Expelled*. . . . After which Sir JOHN DANVERS procured him the *Rectory* of *Hilperton* in the same county; but

he (though very *Powerful* in those Times) was not able to *Protect* him there." The intimacy of D'ANVERS and FULLER may be one out of several cases that could be cited to prove that the social intercourse of families during the Civil War was not greatly disturbed by political or religious differences; party-feeling being marked by an amount of courteous civility which has been too much overlooked by the writers on that age of dissension. FULLER had certainly a good opinion of his benefactor, and he appreciated the indirect protection which the connection afforded him.

Such, then, was the "worshipful" knight who—to use the words of the grateful FULLER—by a yearly and ample exercise of his bounty raised his fortunes at a time when they were, as he expressively puts it, not only tottering but utterly prostrate. This interesting biographical fact is derived from the engraving of Solomon's Temple in our author's *Pisgab-Sight* (book iii. page 352) in a joint dedication to HENRY D'ANVERS, son of Sir JOHN, and to FRANCIS ST. JOHN, eldest son of Sir OLIVER ST. JOHN, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas. The dedication, which was penned in the year 1649 or 1650, is as follows:—

"HENRICO D'ANVERS, Iuveni generosæ indolis (gratioris quod e pulchre corpore) honoratissimi patris (qui annua ac liberali largitione, res meas non nutantes modo sed plane jacentes erexit) hæredi: nec-non peregrinationi comiti indiuiduo

FRANCISCO de St. IOHANNE, Jurisconsultissimi patris ad togati honoris apicem euecti, primogenito, qui (uti spero) generis claritatem nouo splendore illustrabunt, Templi contra-facturam dedicat. T. F."

A pedigree of D'ANVERS's family, derived in part from the Funeral Certificate of "Old" Sir JOHN DANVERS (ob. 19 Dec. 1594), will be found at page 490. The Sermon following this is also inscribed to D'ANVERS (see page 495), whose subsequent history is sketched in the Introduction to the Sermon *Life out of Death*, 1655, in volume ii. of this collection.

There was only one edition of this sermon, which perhaps appeared early in 1647-8. The Editor has a copy dated 1647, whence this reprint is taken. He purchased it some years ago in a volume of discourses containing VINES's funeral Sermon on the Earl of Essex, 1646; CUDWORTH's, before the House of Commons at Westminster, 31 March, 1647; GREENE's, before the House of Commons, 24 Feb. 1646-7; and RUTHERFORD's Fast Sermon before the House of Lords, 25 June, 1645. There are copies of the same sermon dated 1648, which are not so rare as the few which remain of those dated 1647; but those of both years, as the collation of them proved, are precisely alike, except in the change of the figure. The sermon was in 4to., pp. viii. + 31. The crown, which is on the title-pages of most of WILLIAMS's publications, is an exact copy of that on the original sermon. A similar crown appears on the title-pages of HERRICK's *Hesperides*, 1648; and a larger form of it is found on the title-page of FULLER's *Church-History*, 1655, and of PEARSON's *Exposition* of the Creed, 4to. 1659.]

TO
The Honovrable,
and nobly accomplished Knight,
Sir IOHN D'ANVERS, all
*the blessings of this, and a
better life.*

SIR,

1. **W**EE read how *Zachariab* being struck dumbe called for Table-bookes thereon to write his minde, making his hands to supply the defect of his mouth: It hath been the pleasure of the present Authority (to whose commands I humbly submit) to make me mute, forbidding mee till further order the exercise of my publicke Preaching; wherefore I am faine to imploy my fingers in writing, to make the best signes I can, thereby to expresse, as my desire to the generall good, so my particular gratitude to your Honour.

2. May this Treatise but finde the same favour from your *Eie* as once it did from your *Eare*, and be as well accepted when read as formerly when heard. And let this humble Dedication be interpreted a weake acknowledgement of those strong obligations your bounty hath laid upon me. Well may you taste the fruits of that tree, whose root your liberality hath preserved from withering.

3. *Sir*, these hard times have taught mee the Art of frugality, to improve every thing to the best advantage: by the same rules of thrift, this my Dedication, as returning thanks for your former favours, so begs the continuance of the same. And to end, as I began, with the example of *Zachariab*, as his dumbnesse was but temporary, so I hope by Gods goodnesse, and the favour of my friends, amongst whom your Honour stands in the highest ranke, the miracle may be wrought, that the dumbe may speake again, and as well by words publikely professe as now by his hand he subscribes himselfe,

Your Servant in all

Christian office,

THOMAS FULLER.



To the Christian Reader.



I SHALL be short in my addressees unto thee; not onely because I know not thy disposition, being a stranger unto thee; but chiefly because I am ignorant of my owne present Condition, remaining as yet a stranger to my selfe. Were I restored to the free use of my Function, I would then request the concurrence of thy thanks with mine to a gracious God the giver, and honourable Persons the dealers of this great favour unto me. Were I finally interdicted my Calling, without hope of recoverie, I would bespeake thy pitty to bemoane my estate. But lying as yet in the Marshes betweene Hope and Feare, I am no fit subject to be condoled for, or congratulated with.

Yet it is, I trust, no piece of Popery to maintaine that the prayers of others may be beneficial and available for a person in my Purgatorie condition. Which moves me to crave thy Christian suffrages, that I may be ridde out of my present torment on such tearmes as may most tend to Gods glory, mine owne good, and the edification of others. However matters shall succede, it is no small comfort to my Conscience that in respect of my Ministeriall Function I doe not die Felo de se; not stabbing my Profession by mine own lazinesse, who hitherto have, and hereafter shall improve my utmost endeavours by any lawfull meanes to procure my restitution.

When the Priests would have carried the Arke after David, David forbad them to goe further, If (said hee) I shall finde favour in the eyes of the Lord, hee will bring mee againe, and shew mee both it and its habitation. But if he thus say,

I have no delight in thee: behold here am I, let him doe to mee as seemeth good unto him. Some perchance would perswade me to have the Pulpit carried after me, along with me to my private Lodgings, but hitberto I have refrained from such exercises, as subject to offence, hoping in due time to bee brought backe to the Pulpit, and endeavouring to compose my selfe to Davids resolution. And if I should bee totally forbidden my Functi^on, this is my confidence: that That great pasture of Gods Providence, whereon so many of my Profession doe dayly feede, is not yet made so bare by their biting, but that, besides them and Millions more, it may still comfortably maintaine,

Thy Friend and servant

in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS FULLER.



A Sermon of Assurance.



2 PETER I. 10.

Give rather diligence to make your calling and election sure.

I. **M**ANS life may not unfitly be compared to a Candle. Curiosity may well be resembled to the *Tbiese* in the Candle, which makes men to spend much pretious time in needlesse disputes, the conclusions whereof are both uncertaine and unprofitable. The *Schoolemens* Bookes are stuffed with such questions, about the distances and dignities of Angels, as if men were to marshall them in *Ranke* and *File*, how that heavenly *Hoste* doe march in glory one before another. When men heare improbable matters from farre Countries related unto them, it is their usuall Returne, *It is better to beleeve them then goe thither to confute them.* But let us not credit many unlikely-hoods concerning Angels, which the boldnesse of Schoolmen have obtruded upon us, but rather labour in Gods due time to goe to heaven, there with our owne happy experience to confute them.

II. Well it is said of *Socrates*, that he was the first of the *Grecians* which humbled speculative into morall Philosophy. How well would the paines of that Minister be employed who should endeavour to bring downe and abate many superfluous contemplative *Queries* into *practicall Divinity!* It were liberty enough if the *Sermons* of all Preachers were bound to keepe Residence onely on such subjects which all Christians are bound to beleeve and practice for their soules health: Amongst which the Doctrine in my Text, may justly challenge a principall part. When *Naomie* heard but the mention of the name

of Boaz, the *Man*, said ¹shee, *is neere unto us, and of our affinity*: So no sooner doe you heare this Text read unto you, *Give rather diligence to make your calling and election sure*, but every well affected heart is ready to claime blood and challenge right therein. Questions about Angels are neither *kiffe nor kinne* to my soule; but this a precept of that consequence, of that concernment, we all ought to share a part and interest in the speedy and reall practice thereof.

III. Some difference there is betwixt us and the *Romanists* in reading the Text, who following the vulgar Latine adde *per bona opera: make your calling and election sure by good workes*. A clause altogether omitted in our English Translations, because in the Greeke nothing appears answerable thereunto. Good reason, therefore, that we should correct the transcript by the Originall, and purifie the streame to the clearenesse of the fountaine. God grant that though on these just grounds we exclude good works out of the Text, wee may admit, embrace, and practice them in our lives and conversations.

IV. My Text may not unfitly bee compared to *Ebuds* dagger, short, but sharpe. And although now it be false into a lame hand, (the unworthynesse of the Preacher in this place,) to manage it; yet enforced with the assistance of Gods arme it may prove able to give the deadly blow to foure *Eglon sinnes*, tyrannizing in too many mens hearts.

1. *Supine negligence in matters of Salvation.*
2. *Busie meddling in other mens matters.*
3. *Preposterous curiosity in unsearchable mysteries.*
4. *Continuall wavering, or Scepticalness concerning our Calling and Election.*

(1) *Supine negligence* is dispatched in that word, *Give diligence*. This grace of Assurance is unattainable by ease and idlenesse.

(2) *Busie meddling* in other mens matters is destroyed in the Participle *Your*. *Each one ought principally to intend his owne assurance.*

(3) *Preposterous curiosity* is stabbed with the order of the

¹ Ruth 2. 20.

words, *Calling and Election*, not *Election and Calling*. Men must first begin to assure their *Calling*, and then *ascendendo* argue and inferre the assurance of their *Election*.

(4) *Continuall wavering* is wounded under the fifth ribbe, in the conclusion of my Text, *Sure*. Wee will but touch at [the] three first, and land at the last, as the chiefe subject of our ensuing Discourse.

v. This *Grace of Assurance* is not attainable with ease and idlenesse. Christianity is a laborious Profession. Observe Gods servants cleane through the Scripture resembled to men of painefull vocations: To *Racers*, who must stretch every sinew to get first to the Goale: to *Wrestlers*, a troublesome employment; so that I am unresolved whether to recount it amongst Toiles, or Exercises (at the best it is but a toilesome Exercise): to *Souldiers*, who are in constant *Service* and *dayly Duty*, alwaies on the *Guard* against their Enemies. Besides, we Ministers are compared to *Shepherds*, a painefull and dangerous profession amongst the Jewes; to *Watchmen*, which continually wake for the good of others. So that besides the difficulties of our Christian calling, we are incumbred with others, which attend our Ministeriall function. Let none therefore conceit that Salvation with the Graces accompanying it (whereof this *Assurance* we treat of is a Principall) is to be compassed with facility, without constant care and endeavour to obtaine it. How easily was the man in the Gospell let downe to our Saviour in the house, whilst foure men for him uncovering the rooffe thereof let him downe with cords lying quietly on his couch! Some may suppose that with as little hardship they may bee lifted up to heaven, and that whilst they lazily lye snorting on their beds of security (never mortifying their lusts, never striving for grace, never struggling against their corruptions) they shall bee drawne up to happinesse, or it let downe to them, merely by the cords of Gods mercy and Christs merits. Such men without amendment will one day finde themselves dangerously deceived, and that it is a laborious taske to gaine either the surenesse or assurance of salvation, wherein, according to the Apostles prescription, *wee must give diligence*.

vi. *To make your.*) Each Christian is principally to endeavour the Assurance of his owne Calling and Election. Indeed it were to be wished that Parents, besides themselves, were assured of the true sanctity (so by consequence of their Calling and Election) of themselves multiplied, the children God hath given them ; of the second part of their selves lying in their bosome, their wives, of true grace in their friends and family. How comfortable were it, if Ministers were ascertained of true grace and pietie in the breasts and bosomes of the people committed to their charge ! But the best way to passe a rationall verdict on the sincerity of sanctity in another, is first to finde an experimentall Evidence thereof in ones own heart. A Phylosopher complained that it was an exceeding hard thing to find a wise man. *True*, said another ; *for he must bee a wise man that seekes him, and knowes when he hath found him* ; and hence ariseth the difficulty, because two wise men in effect must meet together, the *Seeker*, and the *Finder*. It is a hard thing in like manner to bee assured of unfained faith and undissembled Devotion in another mans heart. Because first, that party must have a feeling of the operation of grace in his owne soule (otherwise blinde men are incompetent Judges of colours) before he can make his presumptions of holinesse in another from those sacred symptomes and fruits of piety which he findes in his owne Conscience. Let it therefore be every mans maine worke, first to make a scrutiny in his owne soule, to make his own *Calling* and *Election* sure.

vii. How contrary is this to the common practice of most in the world ! It is a tale of the wandering Jew, but it is too much truth of too many wandering Christians : whose home is alwaies to bee abroad : Professours in spirituall Palmestry, who will undertake to read the *Life-line*, the line of eternall life, in the hands of mens soules ; though for all their skill they often mistake the hands of *Esau* for the hands of *Jacob*, approving many hypocrites for their holinesse, and condemning sincere soules for counterfeits and dissemblers.

viii. *Calling* and *Election*.) Men are not to lanch into the Depths of Predestination at the first dash, but first soberly to begin with their *Calling* or *Vocation*. Surely the very Angells

which climbed up the ladder in *Jacobs* ¹*dreame* did first begin at the last and lowest Round. First, looke to finde thy justification and sanctification; then thy adoption and vocation; lastly, thy election and predestination. But alas! as the *Hebrews* read their letters backward: so it is to be feared that too many preposterously invert the order of my Text, and instead of Calling and Election, read Election and Calling; first grasping at those mysteries (both in their practise and discourse) which are above their reach, as if their soules feared to be runne a-ground if failing in the shallows of Faith and good workes, they never count themselves safe but when adventuring in those secrets wherein they can finde no bottome.

ix. We are now come to the youngest part in the Text, to which we intend a *Benjamin's* portion. Being to discourse of the certainty of *calling* and *election*, not in respect of Gods predestination, it being from all Eternity sure in him (²*from the beginning of the world God knoweth all his workes*), but in reference to man's apprehension concerning the assurance thereof. And now lest our discourse, like ³*Jordan* in the first *moneth*, should over-flow, wee will raise these Bankes to bridle it, and consider:

1. That assurance of *Calling* and *Election* is feasible in this life to be attain'd.
2. What this assurance is.
3. How a Christian buckleth and applieth it to his soule.
4. Wee will satisfie some doubts and difficulties in this behalfe.
5. Wee will conclude with comfortable uses to all sorts of Christians.

x. Of the first. That assurance of ones *Calling* and *Election* may, without any miraculous revelation, be in this life acquired, appeareth plaine in the Text; because the *Apostle* in the simplicity of the *Dove-like* Spirit exhort's us to the attaining thereof. Now surely it had been no better than *bold fraud* (which heaven hath a *Pillorie* to punish) to put men upon a *labour in vaine*, to seeke that which is not to be found.

¹ Gen. 28. 12.² Acts 15. 18.³ 1 Chro. 12. 15.

Thinke not therefore that the assurance of *Calling* and *Election* is like the Philosophers *stone*, which so many have searched for, yet all have lost their estates before they could find it out; but no doubt by God's blessing it is in this world attainable. And yet the *Papists* maintaine that whilest wee live in this world and faile in our desires and affections to the rich *Indies* of Heaven and happinesse, no further Land is discoverable beyond the *Cape of good hope*, and that it is arrogancy and presumption (without an immediate expresse by revelation from Heaven) for any to conceive himself assured of his salvation.

xī. For the second, this assurance of ones *Calling* and *Election* is a (separable) fruit or effect, not of every true, but only of some strong Faiths, whereby the party is perswaded of the certainty of his Calling and Election. I say separable, to manifest my dissenting from such worthy Divines who make this Assurance to bee the very Being, Essence, Life, Soule, and Formality of Faith it self. Whence these two Opinions, as false as dangerous, must of necessity bee inferred: First, that every one who hath true faith, and are eternally to bee saved, have alwaies some measure of this Assurance. Secondly, that such who are devoid of this Assurance are likewise deprived of all sincere faith for the present. But God forbid any Preacher should deliver Doctrines so destructive to Christian comfort on the one side, and advantagious to spirituall Pride on the other. Such will prove *Carnificinæ*, the racks and tortures of tender Consciences. And as the¹ carelesse Mother kill'd her little childe, for she overlaid it; so the weight of this heavie Doctrin would presse many poore but pious soules, many faint but feeble infant-faiths, to the pit of Despaire, exacting and extorting from them more than God requires, that every Faith should have assurance with it, or else be uneffectuall to salvation. No; the formality of Faith consists in mans renouncing and disclaiming all sufficiencie in himselfe, casting, rolling, and relying his soule totally and entirely on the mercies of God and merits of Christ, though not assured sometimes of the certainty of his salvation. Like a man in a tempest cast out of the ship, and lying on a planke

¹ 1 Kings 3. 19.

or board, placeth all his humane hopes on that planke or board, thereby to escape drowning, though he have no certainty that the same shall bring him safe to the shore.

xii. As for those reverend Divines who have written and maintained the contrary, that Assurance is the very soule of faith, and faith dead and uselesse without it: far be it from me, because dissenting from their opinions, to raile on their Persons, and wound the memories of those which are dead with opprobrious termes. Rather let us thank God for their learned and religious writings left behinde them, knowing that the head of the knowledge of this Age stands on the shoulders of the former, and their very errors have advantaged us into a clearer discovery of the truth in this particular.

In the next place: a Christian thus collecteth this *Assurance* of his *Calling and Election* by composing this practicall *Syllogisme* in his soule.

The Major: *He that truely repenteth himselfe of his sinnes, and relyeth with a true faith on God in Christ, is surely Called, and by consequence Eleſted before all Eternity to be a vessell of honour.*

The Minor: *But I truely repent my selfe of my sinnes, and rely with a true faith on God in Christ.*

The Conclusion: *Therefore I am truly Called and Eleſted, &c.*

The *Major* is the *sense of the Scripture* in severall places, the very effect of Gods promises, and the generall scope of the Gospell: so that if Satan should be so impudent as to deny the truth of this Proposition, he may be beaten with that weapon whereat once he challenged our Saviour, *It is written.*

xiii. All the difficulty is in the *Minor*. Happy that man, blessed that woman, who without self-delusion, without flattering their owne soules, can seriously make this Assumption, *But I, &c.* For such I dare be bold to make the Conclusion; yea, it makes it selfe for them without my Assistance. But alas! many out of fearefulnesse dare not make this *Minor*, conceiving this Assumption to bee presumption in them. And although they might truely doe it (being in a better

condition then they conceive themselves), yet overwhelmed with the sense of their finnes and Gods severity they assume the contrary, and, poore soules, often apprehend and conclude their owne damnation in their wounded consciences: whereas others with a more dangerous mistake of common illuminations for discriminating grace, falsely make the *Minor*, and causelessly inferre their blessed condition without just ground for the same. Such few as goe rightly to worke doe produce these three witnesses, to assert the truth of this *Minor* proposition:

xiv. First, the testimony of their Conscience, that Attourney Generall to the King of heaven, whose Yea or Nay ought to bee more with us then all the Oathes in the world beside. One knoweth whom it is that he loveth and whom he loveth not, whom it is he trusteth and whom he trusteth not; and in like manner his Conscience tells him whether he doth or doth not truly repent, whether seemingly or sincerely he casteth himselfe on God in Christ.

xv. Secondly, the witnesse of the holy Spirit in their hearts, ¹*which beareth witnesse with their Spirit, that they are the children of God.* Now wee must with sorrow confesse that this doctrine of the Spirit dwelling in the heart of Gods servants is much discountenanced of late, and the Devill thereupon hath improved his owne interest. To speake plainly, it is not the fiercenesse of the Lion, nor the fraud of the Fox, but the mimicalnesse of the Ape, which in our Age hath discredited the undoubted Truth. But what if the Apes in *India* finding a glow-worme mistooke it to be true fire, and heaping much combustible matter about it, hoped by their blowing of it thence to kindle a flame; I say, what if that Animal, *γελωτόποιον*, that *Mirth-making creature*, deceived it selfe, doth it thence follow that there is no true fire at all? And what if some Phanaticall Anabaptists by usurpation have intitled their braine-sicke fancies to be so many illuminations of the spirit, must we presently turne ²*Sadduces* in this point, and deny that there is any spirit at all? God forbid. We confesse the Apostles in the Primitive Church were our elder

¹ Rom. 8. 16.

² Acts 23. 8.

bretheren, and with *Isaac* carried away the inheritance of the spirit in so great a proportion as to be enabled thereby to miraculous operations: Yet so, that wee, (though the yonger bretheren,) the sonnes of *Keturab*, have rich and precious gifts of the spirit bestowed upon us, which at sometime or other, in a higher or lower degree, sweetly move the soule of all Gods servants, and in many of them testifie the truth of that *Minor Proposition*, namely, the sincerity of their faith and repentance.

xvi. The third and last witnesse we will insist on, is that comfort and contentment the Conscience of the party takes in doing good works, and bringing forth the fruits of new obedience. That though hee knowes his best good works are stained with corruptions and many imperfections, yet because they are the end of his vocation, and the Justifiers of his Faith; because thereby the Gospell is graced, wicked men amazed, some of them converted, the rest confounded, weake Christians confirmed, the poore relieved, Devils repining at them, Angels rejoycing for them, God himselfe glorified by them; I say, because of these and other reasons, he doth good deeds with humility and cheerefulnesse, and findeth a singular joy in his soule resulting from the doing thereof. This joy is an excellent witnesse to depose the truth of his Faith and repentance, and to confirme the *Minor* in the former Syllogisme.

xvii. See here though good works on just ground were excluded our Text, yet in due time and their proper places wee have entertained them in our sermon. If good workes offer to crowd into our justification, let us be so bold as to shut the doore against them. But if wee have any to come into our sanctification, thereby also to averre and attest the truth of our Faith and Repentance, let us say to them as *Laban* to *Jacob*, *Why stand yee without? Come in yee blessed of the Lord.* And this joy, conceived from the good workes men doe, is the more pure the more private, the more sincere the more secretly it is carried. I shall ever commend the modesty of *Elisabeth*, who after long barrennesse finding her self with child did not publish her happinesse to the veiw of the world, but hid her self three moneths. If after too long

sterility in goodnesse, thou perceivest thy self at last by God's grace pregnant in pious workes, vent not thy good successe in the Market-place; doe not boast and bragge thereof in discourse to others; but bee contented to enjoy the solid comfort thereof betwixt God and thy owne conscience.

xviii. Soe much for the three witnesses to confirme the truth of the *Minor*. All that I shall adde is this: let us who are or should bee schollars take heed, whom our parents or friends have bred at the Fountaines of Learning and Religion till our portions are almost shrunke into our Education; let us take heed least silly simple people who never read *Aristotle's Organon*, never knew how to mould Argument in mood and figure, make this Syllogisme true in their hearts, by their *supernaturall Logicke*; whilest we, with all our wit and un-sanctified learning, make at the best but a Solœcisme, and thereby put a dangerous fallacy upon our owne soules.

xix. *Objections*: But heere wee must propound and answer some objections, the resolution whereof may tend both to our instruction and comfort. The first is this: whether all the servants of God now living and in the state of grace, are for the present assured of their *Calling* and *Election*; so that if instantly arrested to pay their *debt* to nature, they are as confident of their soules mounting up to heaven and happinesse as of their bodies falling downe to dust and corruption.

xx. *Answer*: Wee divide the congregation of God's servants now surviving into rankes. First, ¹*Mnasons* old disciples, seniour professors of piety; ²*Hannab's*, which have lived many yeares in the Temple, *serving God with Fasting and Prayers night and day*. These by frequent acts have contracted a habit of Piety. Grace by custome is made another nature unto them, especially towards the latter end of their liues; partly because their soules do steale a Glymps, Glance, or *Pisgab*-sight of heaven through the Clefts and Chinkes of their Age or sicknesse-broken-bodies; and partly because, as all motion is swiftest the neereft it comes to the Center: So they, the neerer they draw by death to heaven, God's Spirit and all goodnesse groweth more quick and active in them. Of these

¹ Acts 21. 16.² Luke 2. 37.

wee say that. it is often observed, God deales so graciously with them as to crowne their endeavors with an assurance of salvation. To such I may add those whom I may call *young-old-Christians*, whose profession of Christ, though short, hath beene thick; though young in yeares, yet they have not onely done, but suffered for Christ. Religion hath cost them deare: they have not only been summered, but wintered in piety, have not onely passed prosperity, but have been acquainted with adversity therein. Great travelers in Christianity, which have *cut the line*, and have passed the Torrid Zone of Persecution, and, which is more, of a *wounded conscience*. These also God may admit into the former forme, and out of his undeserved mercy reward them with the Assurance of their salvation.

xxi. But all starres which shine in heaven are not of the first greatnesse; neither are all of *David's* worthies to bee equalled with the first three. Other Christians there are (who in God's due time may mate the former both in grace and glory), Punies in piety, Novices in Religion: Of such I say, not one of a hundred (whatsoever they may erroneously pretend to the contrary) are assured of their *Calling* and *Election*.

xxii. If further it be demanded whether every Saint of God belonging to Election hath not at one time or other in his life, or at his death, this assurance conveyed into his soule, I must confesse that heerein the streames of learned mens judgements runne not onely in different, but contrary channels. Some are of opinion that God is so gracious, and magnifies his mercy so much in his proceedings towards his servants, that the very meanest in the *Family of Faith* have some proportion of this assurance conferred upon them during their abode in this life. Other Divines, no whit inferiour to the former in number, Learning, Religion, and Christian experience, maintaine the opposite opinion: that God sometimes is so pleased to try the patience and humble the hearts of some of his servants that a continuall feare is a constant *covering of their eyes: they goe heavily all the day long*, never daring for feare of presumption to owne and acknowledge any grace in their hearts; alwaies jealous of their owne con-

dition, and sadly suspicious of themselves, least all their holiness prove hypocrisie, and their Piety be more in profession than sinceritie. Those may be compared unto children in their Mothers belly, which have true life in them, and yet themselves doe not know that they live. For my owne part, I conceive this controversie can onely bee decided betwixt God and a mans own Conscience: no third Person can be privie to the secret transactions betwixt them. The last of these two Opinions (so farre as one may conjecture) hath most of charity, and not the least of truth in it. I am perswaded that many a pious soule, dying in the fit of a temptation, hath instantly expected to sinke from his death-bed into hell-fire, when the same by Gods goodnesse hath beene countermanded a contrary way, and sent to blisse and happinesse. Yea, it is more then probable that many sad and afflicted spirits have beene possessed of glory in heaven before they durst ever owne that themselves had any true *Grace* on earth.

xxiii. The next question which comes to be resolved is, whether this assurance once possessed may not afterwards be forfeited. Here the controversie is not whether once the childe of God may relapse into the state of damnation, totally and finally losing all saving *Grace* in his heart, (which desperate Position cuts asunder the sinewes of all Gospel-comfort,) but it is onely enquired into whether the apprehension or *Assurance of his calling* may not in some cases be lost. Wherein our answer is affirmative; and this usually comes to passe on these two sad Occasions:

xxiv. First, when the Party commits some Conscience-wasting sinne, such as *Tertullian* termes ¹*Peccatum devoratorium salutis*; and continues in the same some season without repentance. Indeed every surreptitious sinne, or sinne of infirmity, and especially a complication of many of them together, have a good minde to destroy this *Assurance*. But it is seldome seene that their strength is so great (though they frequently fret and dayly nibble at the cordes of our Assurance) as to share or grind them asunder, a thing usually done by the committing of high and heinous offences. There is a whirle-

¹ [*De Idolatria*, ed. Lut. Paris., fo. 1641, pag. 104 c.]

winde in the *West-Indies* called a *Herricane*, which comes but feldome, and yet too often. For then Raſor-like it ſhaves downe all leuell and flat before it, Trees, and Townes, and Towres; in a word, it is as wild and ſavage as the Natives of the Countrey. No leſſe the impetuous violence and cruelty of a Conſcience-waſting-finne: ſuch as *Lots* Inceſt, *Dauids* Adultery, *Peters* deniall; when they come they make a depopulation of all *Graces* formerly planted in the ſoule; maiming the hand of Faith, breaking the Anchor of Hope, quenching the heate of Charity, darkning the light of knowledge, and totally taking away for a time the comfortable apprehenſion of Gods love to them, and their calling to God. This made *David* petition to God, *Reſtore to me the joy of thy ſalvation*. Wherein three things are implied: Firſt, that once he did poſſeſſe that joy: *Reſtore it*. Secondly, that now hee had loſt it: *Reſtore it*. Laſtly, that the loſſe thereof was not ſo deſperate but with hope by true ſorrow to recover this joy: *Reſtore to me the joy of thy Salvation*.

xxv. The ſecond way to loſe this Affurance is by ſuffering ſome great affliction above the ſtandard and proportion of ordinary croſſes; ſeemingly of a ſadder hue and blacker complexion then what uſually befall other Chriſtians. In ſuch a caſe a ſorrowfull ſoule is ready thus to reaſon with it ſelfe: Once I conceived my ſelfe in a happy condition, thinking my ſelfe eſtated in the favour of God, truely called and by conſequence truely elected to grace here and glory hereafter. But now, alaffe! I perceive my ſelfe utterly miſtaken. I built my hopes on a falſe bottome; I am but a meere formalift, a pretender to piety, yea, a reprobate and caſt-away; otherwiſe God would never afflict me in this faſhion, with ſuch hideous and horrible croſſes, dolefull tribulations, diſmall temptations, ſo that the brimſtone of hell-fire may plainly bee ſented therein. Thus holy *Job*, when God diſcharged whole volleys of Chaine-shot of afflictions againſt him, *one drew on another*, we find him ſometimes venting expreſſions rankly favouring of deſpaire; and no wonder if hee began to ſtagger who had drunke ſo deeply of the bitter cuppes. And now conceiving our ſelves in ſome-measure to haue ſatiſfied the moſt important practicall queries wherewith this doctrine of

Assurance is incumbred, we come to make some profitable application.

xxvi. The *Gracians* had a threefold Song: the *Old men* sung, *We have beene*; the *middle-aged men*, *We are*; the *young men*, *We shall be*. This Song will serve to divide my Auditors at this time. Some sing, *We have beene*. There was a happy time wherein wee were ascertained of our *Calling* and *Election*, but now, alasse poore soules! have lost it. Others sing, *We are* for the present in the peacible possession of such assurance. Others sing, *We shall bee* in God's due time: when his goodnesse and wisdome seeth fit, such an happinesse shall bee bestowed upon us.

xxvii. Wee begin with the first that sing, *Wee have beene*. O that it were in my power as well to help as to pitty you, to amend as to bemoane your condition! It is the greatest misery that one hath once beene happy. All your Song is a *Burthen*. The best advice I can prescribe unto you is this: Seriously consider with your selves which way you lost this assurance of your *Salvation*. Was it by committing a conscience-wasting-sinne? No Divine can commend unto you better or other. Physick than onely ¹*Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and doe thy first Workes*. And although it may please God in his mercy to forgive thy dayly imperfections and manifold infirmities, on thy generall repentance and quotidian prayer, *and forgive us our trespasses*, yet the most comfortable course and surest way to obtaine peace of conscience, after the committing of an hainous offence, is by particular humiliation for it; without which serious sorrow solide comfort is either never given or not long enjoyed.

xxviii. But if thou hast forfeited thy former assurance thorough the pressure of some heavy affliction, learne and labour to rectifie thy erronious judgement, who from the premises haply of God's love, at the worst of his anger, hath falsely inferred a conclusion of his hatred against thee. Consider how God corrects those whom hee loves most, to the

¹ Revel. 2. 5.

intent that all grace may bee encreased and improved in them.

¹Passing by on a night in the streets, I met a youth having a lighted linke in his hands, who was offended thereat, because it burnt so dark and dimme; and therefore the better to improve the light thereof, he beat, bruised, and battered it against the wall, that the wieke therein might be spread out, and the pitch with other combustible matter (which before stifled the light with its over-stiffnesse) might be loosened; which presently caused the linke to blaze forth into a lighter flame. God in like manner deales with thy soul: that thou mayest shine the brighter before men hee doth buffet and afflict thee with severall temptations, which give thee occasions to exercise thy graces which lay hid in prosperity. Such corrections will in conclusion greatly adde to thy spirituall light and lustre. Apply these and the like consolations to thy soule, and remember what *David* saith, *Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning*. Yea, but you will say, my night of sorrow is like the nights in *Greene-Land*, which last full four moneths together. A long night I must confesse; but day will dawne at the last, and last the longer for it.

xxix. Come we now to those that sing *Wee are*, who doe not boast, (that is a bad signe,) but rejoyce that for the present they are possessed of this assurance. And is it so indeed? And dost thou not deceive thy selfe, beholding thy condition through a flattering glasse or false spectacles? Well if thou affirmest it, I dare not deny it. It were no manners nor charity in mee to give thy beliefe the lie; and therefore what you say of your selves, I give credite thereunto. Onely let me stay a little and congratulate your happy estate. *Good successe have you with your honour*. God hath not dealt thus with every one, neither have all his servants so large a proportion of his favour. And now I will take the boldnesse to

¹ [This passage is to be found in John Spencer's *Folio Storehouse of Similies*, 1658, No. 890, page 227. *Wick* is spelled *weike*; "a lighter flame" is printed "a brighter flame"; and the construction of the extract is otherwise altered. The passage is said by Spencer to be "the observation of an excellent Preacher yet living," adding in his margin: "T. F. in *A Ser. of Assurance*." He quotes from S. Greg. Mag. in *Moralia Iob.* (on chap. xxxvi. 15, vol. ii. col. 671 f, ed. fo. 1615, Antwerp): *Aurem cordis tribulatio aperit quam sepe prosperitas claudit.*]

commend some counsell unto you. In the first place, be thankfull to God for this great courtesie conferred upon thee; and know, that all heavenly gifts, as they are got by Prayer, are kept, confirmed, and increased by Praises.

xxx. Secondly, take heed of insulting over such as want this assurance: upbraid not them with their sad condition. Say not unto them, I am certaine of my *Calling and Election*; *Ergo*, I am a Saint, a chosen vessell, eternally to bee saved: Thou lackest this certainty, therefore art a reprobate, a cast away, a fire-brand of Hell, eternally to bee damned. Is this the expresseion of thy gratitude to God, proudly to trample on his servants, and thy brethren? It is hard to say whether that thy inference hath more of profanenesse or falsehood in it. If a Favourite to a great Emperour should say, *All that are not in as high esteeme and credit with the Emperour as my selfe, are so many Traitors*; would not this be accounted not only a vaine-glorious expresseion, but injurious both to his soveraigne and fellow-subjects? How many thousands of them would be willing, yea, desirous, to adventure their lives in a lawfull cause for their Emperours honour, who notwithstanding never had the favour to bee personably known unto him, much lesse to be preferred by him to places of eminent trust and comimand? And may not many be presumed on as cordially affected to Gods glory, which from their hearts love and honour both him and his, compleatly loyall to his heavenly Majesty, who have not as yet been advanced so high, and ingratiated so farre with him as to receive the *Assurance* of their *Calling and Election*?

xxxi. Thirdly, walke humbly before God, and know that this Assurance hath a narrow throate, and may be choaked with a small sinne, if God leave thee to thy selfe. There be two kindes of poyson; the one hot, the other cold. Hot poyson makes speedy dispatch; it sends men post to their graves: Cold poyson is not so active and operative, it kills but at distance; and if in any reasonable time it meets with a seasonable Antidote, the malignity thereof may be prevented; yea, perchance without an Antidote, if falling upon a strong and sturdy constitution, may be mastered by natures own Cordiall; not finally to destroy, but onely to stupifie and benumme.

Presumption is hot poyson: it kills its thousands; makes quick riddance of mens soules to damnation. Despaire, wee confesse, is poyson, and hath kill'd its thousands; but the venome thereof is more curable, as more colde and faint in the operation thereof. Take heede therefore of presumption, lest the confidence of the *Affurance of thy Calling* betray thee to spirituall Pride, that to Security, that to Destruction.

xxxii. Here take notice that the soule of a Saint consists of sacred riddles, and holy contradictions: *Rejoyce* (saith ¹*David*) *before him with trembling*: if rejoycing, how can hee tremble? if trembling, how can hee rejoyce? Oh, that is an unhappy soule which cannot find an expedient betwixt these extremities! that cannot accommodate these seeming contrarieties: *Rejoycing*, when he lookes on a gracious God; *trembling*, when he beholds a sinfull selfe: *Rejoycing*, when looking upward on Gods promises; *trembling*, when looking downwards on his deserts. Ever *triumphing* that hee shall be saved; and ever trembling lest he should be damned: ever certaine that he shall stand; and ever carefull least he should fall. *Tantus est gradus certitudinis*, (saith Saint *Augustine*,) *quantus est gradus sollicitudinis*. He that hath much feare to offend God hath much certainty to continue in his favour: he that feares little, hath little certainty; and he that is altogether feareleffe, whatsoever he proudly presumes to the contrary, hath no assurance at all to persevere in Gods favour. Wee may observe that such as have the shaking Palsie in their heads live to be very aged men: sure I am, that such as have a filiall feare to incurre their heavenly Fathers displeasure hold out to the last, even to that life which hath no end. The heavens themselves are said to have *Motum trepidationis*; and the best and most spirituall servants of God constantly feeble such trembling fits in their owne soules. In a word, Assurance to persevere is a sparkle of heavenly fire, fed with the dayly tinder of feare to offend God.

xxxiii. Nor let any confidently presume on the mysterie of predestination, (which like the Lawes of the *Medes* and *Per-sians* cannot be repealed,) thereon to sinne with indempnity;

¹ Psal. 2. 11.

because once and ever Gods servant, and no feare finally to fall from him. For, besides other answers to quell their pride, let such seriously consider but this particular instance. God granted *Hezekiab* a Lease of his life for fifteen yeares longer; and it was impossible for him to dye till that tearme was expired; so that had *Hezekiab* fed on Toades and Vipers, on the most noxious food for mans nature, he was notwithstanding immortall during the time prefixt; because Truth it selfe had promised it. However if *Hezekiab* proved carelesse in his diet, though certaine of his life, he had no assurance of his health for that season. His intemperance might draw sicknesse on him, so that hee might lose the life of his life, his liberty of walking abroad, comfort in conversing with company, pleasure in tasting his meate and drinke, to be kept constant prisoner on his bed, a languishing as bad as death it selfe. Grant in like manner that Predestination priviledgeth thee from finall Apostacie; yet if carelesse to keepe Gods Commandements, thou maist forfeit all thy spirituall comfort, the *joy of thy Salvation*, have a hell on earth in thy Conscience, having in thy apprehension all the beames of Gods favour ecclipsed, one glimps thereof a servant of God prizeth above millions of worlds.

xxxiv. We come now to these that sing, *We shall be*. It is (say they) not onely vaine but wicked to seeke to better our conditions by telling a lie. Wee should wrong God and our owne consciences to affirme that for the present this Assurance is conferred upon us; but are not in despaire in due time from Gods mercy to receive it. Some counsels I have to recommend unto them.

xxxv. First, doe not envie and repine at their happines to whom this favour is already confirmed; but because God hath lov'd and honour'd them so much, doe thou love and honour them the more, and doe desire and endeavour to bee added to their society.

xxxvi. Secondly, know to thy comfort that were it not more for Gods glory, and thy good, this Assurance had long since been bestowed upon thee. And for severall reasons it is hitherto detained.

1. Perchance because as yet thou hast not fervently sued to God for it. Thy affections are gold weights, not zealously engaged in the desire thereof. Thou seemest indifferent and unconcern'd whether thou receivest this Assurance or no. Now God sets such an estimate and valuation on this Assurance, as a grand gift and favour of the first magnitude, that he will have it sought, and searched, and sued, and prayed, and pressed for, with holy constancy and restlesse importunity, before hee will grant it. *Hannab* called her sonne ¹*Samuel*, *For* (said shee) *I have asked him of the Lord*. Every good thing, temporall, spirituall, inward, outward, every particular grace must be a *Samuel*, craved and requested of God, before the fruition thereof can be sweet to our soules or comfortable to our Consciences. To have a favour before we have requested it, is the ready way to lose it, before wee know the true worth and value thereof.

2. Perchance God as yet with-holds this assurance from thee with intent to render it more acceptable when it is bestowed. Never had *Isaac* beene so welcome to *Sarah*, but because long barrenesse and expectation had set so sharpe an edge on her affection.

3. It may be God in his Providence foresees, should this Assurance be bestowed upon thee, thou would'st play the unthrift and ill husband therewith: And therefore God still keeps it in his own hand, untill thou beest more wise and better able to manage and imploy it. The ²*Prodigall Sonne* having received his Portion from his Father, riotously spent it amongst Harlots. The same may be suspected by thee; and therefore as carefull Parents, jealous of their sonnes thriftinesse, will not deliver unto them all their Meanes at once, but rather confine them for some yeares to a small Pension and moderate Annuitie, intending to open their hands and enlarge their bounty when they see cause; God in like manner will not intrust thee with the grosse summe of thy Assurance to be paid thee all at once, but retaile it out unto thee, by degrees more or lesse;

¹ 1 Sam. 1. 20.

² Luke 15. 12, 13.

now a scruple, now a dramme thereof. And when thou shalt give good Evidence of thy Christian prudence to husband and improve it, the remnant of this Assurance shall wholly be made over unto thee.

xxxvii. Thirdly, wait and attend the time of God. *O tarry the Lords leasure* (when he will be, he can bee at leasure), who in the most fittest minute and moment will confirme this long expected Assurance unto thee. Know this that all the weights and plummets of humane importunity cannot make the Clock of Gods Time strike a minute sooner then he hath set it. No doubt the Virgin *Mary* shared the greatest Interest in our Saviour according to the flesh, to obtaine a reasonable request of him, and yet could not prevaile for the working of a Miracle before his *¹houre was fully come*. Wherefore be thou not like to *Hophni* and *Phineas* the Priests, who contrary to Gods institution, when any man offered a sacrifice, used to send a servant, whilst the flesh was seething, with a *²Flesh-booke* of three teeth in his hand, who thrusting it into the kettle, tooke for his Masters part *whatsoever the Flesh-booke brought up*; and if any advised him to stay till the fat was burnt, according to the custome under the law, hee presently proved impatient; would have no sodden flesh but raw, which if not instantly given him *he would take it by force*. Now such are the ravenous appetites and voracious stomacks of many men, that when they propound any thing to their desires, they will not stay till God hath fitted it for them; but by *booke* or by *crooke*, by any sinister or indirect meanes they will compasse their ends. Such will *feed on raw meat* (as if the heat of their ardent desires would rost it enough for themselves), morsels which perchance sometimes would be pleasant for the Palate to taste, but never wholesome for the stomacke to digest. These are not pleased, though having what they please, if not also when they please: Be not thou of their Diet; know such raw meat will occasion crudities in thy stomacke. Quietly attend till God hath cooked thy meat for thee: thinke not in vaine to antidate; his time is the best time. Know that gene-

¹ John 2. 4.

² 1 Sam. 2. 13.

rally the *Watches* of our *desires* goe too fast ; and therefore to set them right, they must be set backe according to the *Sunne-dyall* of *Gods pleasure*. Wherefore without any murmuring or repining, doe thou willingly and cheerefully waite the happy time, when God shall bee pleased to bestow this Assurance upon thee.

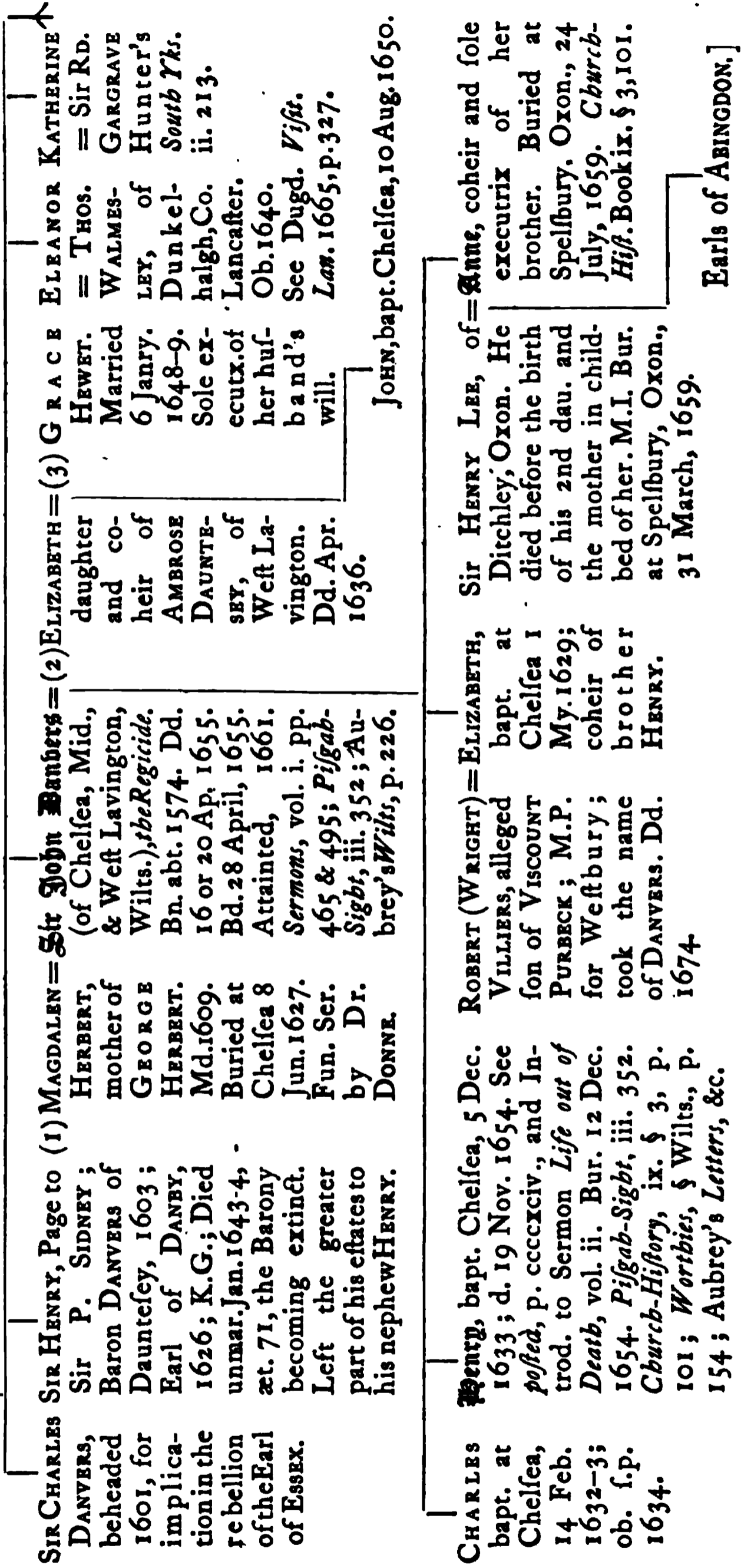
xxxviii. To Conclude with the time. The Schoolemen have a distinction of a two-fold certainty of Salvation ; the one *evidentiæ*, the other *adhærentiæ* : the former is when one evidently and clearely apprehends Gods favour seal'd unto him by his Spirit. This hitherto thou lackest ; but dost diligently labour, dayly pray, and duely wait to receive it. The latter, of adherence or recumbencie, all true Christians ought ever to bee possessed off which hope for any happynesse. Namely when a man casteth himselfe wholly upon Christ, clinging about him with *Jobs* resolution, *Though thou killest mee, yet will I put my trust in thee*. Till we gaine the latter, let us make much of the former, having as much safety, though not so much solace in it ; and which will with as much certainty, though not so much comfort, through Gods mercy, bring our soules to heaven and happynesse. *Amen*.

FINIS.



[Pedigree of the Family of Sir John D'Anvers.

Sir John Danvers, of Dauntsey, Co. Wilts. By right of his Wife, Elizabeth Nevill, 3rd dau. and co-h. of Lord Latimer, he was possessed of Danby, Co. York. The granddaughter of his younger brother Henry became the wife of George Herbert. (See Pedigree in *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey, F.R.S.*, 1862, p. 217.)



A
SERMON
OF
Contentment.

By T. F. a Minister of Gods Word.

Phillip. 4. 11.

*I have learned in whatsoever state I
am therewith to be content.*



LONDON.

Printed by J.D. for John Williams at the
Crown in St. Pauls Church-yard.

1648.

[*Viator*. In the mean time *the blessing of Saint Peters Master be with mine*.

Piscator. And the like be upon my honest Scholer. And upon all that hate contentions, and love *quietnesse*, and *vertue*, and *Angling*.

WALTON'S *Compleat Angler*, Ed. 1653, page 246.]

[Introduction.]



THIS quaint yet admirable discourse was, it seems (page 495), preached in the private chapel of Sir JOHN D'ANVERS at Chelsea, where perhaps the former Sermon on Assurance may have been delivered. D'ANVERS House, Chelsea (which was pulled down in 1696, the present Danvers-street occupying the site), is said to have been built on the site of Sir THOMAS MORE's residence. AUBREY says that the chimneypiece in Sir JOHN's chamber was of marble, and that it had formerly been in Sir THOMAS MORE's chamber, "as S^r JOHN himselfe told me." As was the case with the grounds of the Knight's country residence at Dauntsey House, West Lavington, Wilts, his grounds at Chelsea were laid out in a costly and elegant manner. "Where the gate is now," says AUBREY of the latter, "adorned with two noble pyramids, there stood anciently a gate-house w^{ch} was flat on the top, leaded, from whence is a most pleasant prospect of the Thames and the fields beyond: on this place the L^d Chancellor MORE was wont to recreate himselfe, and contemplate. It happened one time, that a Tom of Bedlam came up to him, and had a mind to have thrown him from the battlements, saying, 'Leap, Tom, leap.' The Chancellor was in his gowne, and besides ancient, and not able to struggle with such a strong fellowe. My L^d had a little dog with him: sayd he, 'Let us first throwe the dog downe, and see what sport that will be'; so the dog was throwne over. 'This is very fine sport,' sayd my L^d, 'fetch him up, and try once more.' While the madman was going downe, my L^d fastened the dore, and called for help, but ever after kept the door shut." The place has associations with other celebrated men, a group of whom centred round LADY D'ANVERS and her two accomplished sons, the HERBERTS. Dr. JOHN DONNE, 1625, with classic references to the retired leisure of Cicero, spoke of the House as his Tusculum. He had been an inmate during a time of general sickness not long before Lady D'ANVERS's death. A second Lord Chancellor, Sir FRANCIS BACON, often resorted thither. Of him AUBREY thus gossips:—"Sir JOHN told me that when his Lo^d had wrote the *Hist. of Hen. 7*, he sent the manuscript copie to him to desire his opinion of it before 'twas printed. Qd. Sir John, 'Your Lordship knowes that I am no scholar.' 'Tis no matter,' said my Lord; 'I know what a scholar can say; I would know what *you* can say.' Sir JOHN read it, and gave his opinion

what he misliked (w^{ch} I am sorry I have forgott) w^{ch} my L^d acknowledged to be true, and mended it. 'Why,' said he, 'a schollar would never have told me this.' . . . I remember Sir JOHN DANVERS told me, that his Lo^p much delighted in his curious garden at Chelsey, and as he was walking there one time, he fell downe in a fowne. My Lady DANVERS rubbed his face, temples, &c. and gave him cordiall water : as soon as he came to himselfe, sayd he, 'Madam, I am no good *footman*.' " (Aubrey's *Letters*, 462-3, 222, 226). Elsewhere the same authority gives us to understand that the pursuit of this favourite "hobby" of ornamental gardening brought on or heightened the extravagance of the proprietor. His brother the Earl of DANBY, in prosecution of a similar taste, gave Oxford its Physic Garden at a cost of £5,000.

The auditors of this Sermon consisted of D'ANVERS and his household. He himself was then a widower, having been wifeless since 1636. But he was meditating matrimony with Mistress GRACE HAWES, his housekeeper. The Knight's daughter ELIZABETH was perhaps already married to ROBERT (WRIGHT) VILLIERS, a disreputable man, who reduced his family to want. ANNE, the other daughter, became FULLER's attached friend ; and as such we shall meet with her name again in these Sermons. HENRY, the only surviving son, already mentioned (page ccclxiv.) as a patron of FULLER's *Pisgab-Sight*, was a youth of a very pleasing disposition. He died of the smallpox, 19th Nov., 1654, having just attained sufficient years to bequeath his large estates to his sister ANNE.

The *Sermon of Contentment* is of great rarity. No copy has been preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or other large collections; and it has escaped the notice of Lowndes. The present edition is taken from a transcript of the copy in Emanuel College, Cambridge, which contains Sancroft's arms, with an inscription : *Ex dono Reverendiss. in Christi Patris WILL. SANC. A. C.* The proof has been compared with another copy, once Mr. PICKERING's, now in possession of E. RIGGALL, Esq., of Bayswater. The volume is unpagged, the signatures being A to C in eights, including title D 2 = pp. 52.]



TO
The Honourable
and truly noble
S^r JOHN D'ANVERS
Knight.

SIR,

THIS *smal Sermon may well bee termed Zoar, for is it not a little one? Yet it bears good proportion to the short text on which it discourseth, little auditory for which it was composed, and your private Chappel wherin it was delivered. As it is smal, so it desired to be secret, and intended no appearance in publike. Good was the counsel which Iasus gave Amaziah, 2 Cro. 25. 19, Abide now at home, especially in our dangerous dayes, when all going is censurable for gadding abroad without a necessary vocation.*

But seeing such was your importunitie to have it Printed that all my excuses to the contrary which I could alledge with truth, and the delays which I could make with manners, might not prevaile: I have chosen rather to be accounted undiscreet then uncivil, and have yeelded to your desire. Surely, Sir, Heaven can never return a denial to your requests whom I presume, (by proportion of your earnest desiring of so smal a matter,) to be zealous in your desires of hie concernment, that nothing

but a grant can give you satisfaction. But the mainest motive, next your importunity, which put me on this publike adventure, was the consideration of my engagements to your noble bounty, above my possibility of deserving it. The Apostle saith it is part of the duty of a good servant, Tit. 2. v. 9. μὴ ἀντιλέγοντας, not answering againe. I must confesse my selfe your Servant, and therefore it ill beseemed me to dislike or mutter against anything you was pleased I should doe. Thus desiring the continuance and increase of all spiritual and temporal happines on your honour, I commend you to the Almighty.

T. F.

A Sermon of Contentment.



I TIM. 6. 6.

But godlinesse with contentment is great gain.

I. **I**N the foregoing verse, St. *Paul* sets down the worldlings prayer, creed, and commandements; which is their daily desire, beliefe and practise, and all contained in three words: *Gain is Godlines.* Now in my text St. *Paul* counter-mines their opinion, or raiseth our antiposition to batter down their false conceit, most elegantly crossing and inverting their words: *But Godlines with contentment is great gain.*

II. Take notice of the unaffected elegancy of the Apostle, how clearly and naturally with a little addition, he turns the worldlings Paradox into a Christian truth. Though Sermons may not laugh with light expressions, yet it is not unlawfull for them to smile with delightfull language: Alwayes provided that the sweetnesse of the sawce spoile not the favouri-nesse of the meat. ¹*The Preacher sought to finde out acceptable or pleasant words*, that so his sound matter might be more welcome to his auditors.

III. Well, here wee have two contrary opinions set on foot together: *Gain is godlinesse*, saith the worldling, whose Gold is his god, looking and telling thereof his saying of his prayers. *Godlinesse is great gain*, saith God himselfe, by the mouth of the Apostle. Now as ²*Peter* in another case, whether it be right to hearken unto man more then unto God, judge yee.

¹ Eccles. 12. 10.

² Acts 4. 19.

IV. 1. The text presents us with a *Bride*.

2. *A Bride-maide*.

3. *Her great portion*.

4. *The present payment thereof*.

(1) *The Bride. Godlinesse.* We need not enquire further into her Pedegree and extraction. She carries her Father in her Name, and relates to God the Author thereof.

(2) *The Bride-maid.* The Virgin her companion that follows her, or her inseparable attendant, Contentment. *Godlinesse with contentment.*

(3) *Her great Portion.* Wherein observe the rich ware, *Gain*; the large measure, *Great gain*.

(4) *The present payment.* Not in expectances or reverfions; but *down on the naile*, presently deposited: *is. Godlines with contentment is great gain.*

Wee begin with the Bride; and in the first place let us put it to the question, What godlines is. To which quere severall answers will be made according to mens severall affections. Aske some Fryer observant what godlines is; and he will tel you, the wearing of a shirt of hair, girdle of hemp, fasting so often in the week, praying so often in the day, with such like Canonical devotions. Ask the tenacious maintainer of some new upstart opinion what godlines is; and he will answer: It is the zealous defending with limb and life of such, and such strange tenets, which our fathers perchance never hard of before; yea, which is worse, such a person will presume so to confine Godlines to his opinion, as to ungodly all others who in the least particular dissent from him. Oh, if God should have no more mercy on us then wee have charity one to another, what would become of us? Indeed Christ tearmeth his own a little flock: ¹*Fear not, little flock.* But if some mens rash and cruel censures should be true, the number of the godly would be so little, it would not be a flock.

5. It is a true but sad consideration how in all ages men

¹ Luke 12. 32.

with more vehemency of spirit have stickled about small and unimportant points then about such matters as most concern their salvation. So that I may say (these sorrowfull times having tuned all our tongues to military phrases) some men have lavished more powder and shot in the defence of some sleight outworks, which might well have been quitted without any losse to Religion, then in maintaining the main platform of piety, and making good that Castle of Gods service and their own salvation. Pride wil be found upon serious enquiry the principall cause hereof. For when men have studied many weeks, moneths, or years, about some additionall point in Divinity, they contend to have the same essentiall to salvation, because it is essentiall to their reputation, least otherwise their discretion be called into question for taking so much pains in vain, and spending so much precious time about a needlesse matter. Hereupon they labour to inhance the value of their own studies, and will have all those mynes gold, which they have discovered; yea all their superstructures must be accounted fundamentall: All their far fetcht deductions and consequential results must be reputed to be immediate and essentiall to godlines; yea, the very life of godlines must be placed in the zealous asserting the same.

6. But it will be the safest way for us to take a description of godlinesse from a pen infallible, impartiall, and unconcerned in our modern distractions. Even from Saint *James himself*. ¹*Pure religion (or godlinesse) and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visite the fatherlesse and widdows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.* This setteth forth the practicall part of Religion, and, as I may term it, the heat of godlinesse. To which, if the speculative part, the light of Godlinesse, bee added, ²*to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent*, then godlines is made compleat. And godlinesse thus defined admits of a latitude, so that it may consist with some errours in judgement, and infirmities in practise; provided that the godly person persists in Faith, Hope and Charity, which hold out the summe of Religion as to the necessary part thereof.

¹ James 1. 27.

² John 17. 3.

As for all particular forms of Church Government, Ceremonies and outward manner of divine worship, most of them admitting of alteration upon emergencies, and variation according to circumstances of time, place, and persons, (though these be more or lesse ornamentall to godlinesse, as they neerer or further off relate to divine institution,) yet it is erronious to fixe or place the life or essence of godlinesse therein. Wee conclude this point with the words of Saint Peter: *¹Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; But in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him:* Yea, in one and the same nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness of what Sect, Side, Party, Profession, Opinion, Church, Congregation soever he be, is accepted with him, as having true godlines in his heart, *which with contentment is great gain.*

7. Come we now to the Brid-maid attending her: *Contentment.* Contentment is a willing submission of ours to Gods will in all conditions. I say willing; for, if it be patience perforce, *What reward have you? What doe you more then others? Doe not even the Publicans and Sinners the same?* Yea, what doe you more then Mules and Horses, which being kept with Bit and Bridle quietly carry their ryders which they cannot cast off? In all conditions patient in adversity, humble in prosperity, thankfull in both; looking neither above our estates, with the ambitious man, to have it higher; nor beyond it, with the covetous man, to spread it broader; nor besides it with the envious man, repyning at the estate of others: but directly on the Portion God hath given us, and fully satisfied with the same. Even justifying Gods proceedings unto us, though wee receive from him what flesh and blood would count hard measure, namely, if his Divine wisdom should so appoint it, *²That with just men we perish with our righteousness, whilest wicked men prolong their lives in their wickednes.*

8. Here we must take notice of the conjunction copulative, *with*: Godlines with contentment. Which furnisheth us with two profitable observations:

¹ Acts 10. 34, 35.

² Eccles. 7. 15.

1. Wheresoever there is true godlineſſe there is contentment.

2. Wheresoever there is true contentment there is godlines.

Like *Saul* and *Jonatban*, ¹*lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they are not divided.* These twin graces alwayes go together. True it is, that Gods children may often have their fits and qualms of discontentment, as ²*Eliab* and *Jonab* had: But this proceeds from the imperfections of grace in them: They are not discontented as they are godly, but as they have a principle of ungodlineſſe in them, the remnant of carnall corruption.

9. On the other ſide no wicked man, whatſoever he pretendeth, can have true contentment.

Remarkable it is that in the ſame chapter wee finde two brethren laying claim to the grace of contentation, but on different, yea, contrary titles.

Eſau ſaid, *Gen. 33. 9: I have enough, my brother; keep that thou haſt unto thy ſelf.* *Jacob* ſaid, *Gen. 33. 11: God hath dealt graciously with mee, becauſe I have enough.* Now *Eſau's enough* was indeed not *enough*, being onely a proud and vain-glorious brag, ſcorning and diſdaining at the firſt (till importunity altered him) to receive a guiſt from his younger Brother, as if it were a diſgrace and diſparagement to his greatnes to admit of any addition or acceſſion of his eſtate from his inferiour. *Jacobs enough* was a true and reall acknowledgement of Gods goodneſſe to him, reſting ſatiſfied with that portion divine providence had allotted him. Such contentment alwaies gos with godlines, and is great gain.

10. Come we now to the Dowery; and before we deſcend to the particulars thereof, take notice in generall of Gods bountifull dealing with his ſervants. God might command us to work and give us no wages; and moſt juſtly enjoyne us to labour all day in his Vineyard, and give us no penny at night. Very good reaſon. Why ſhould we expect to receive profit by him, who return no profit to him? ³*When*

¹ 2 Sam. 1. 23.

² 1 Kings 19. 4; Jonah 4. 1.

³ Luke 17. 10.

yee have done all those things which are commanded you, say, Wee are unprofitable servants; wee have done that which was our duty to doe. ¹*Saul did not give but take a dowry with his daughter; and it is observable that 100 of foreskins onely were required of David, but he gave 200 for her.* Such was the super-errogation of his valour; love and loyalty, especially when joyned together, never give scant measure. God in like manner might expect that wee should give him a portion for the attaining of godlines: All wee can doe, all wee can suffer, is too little to purchase so precious a grace. Yet see the goodnes of God, who knowing he is to deale with such dull workmen who will take pains no longer then they are paid, whets us on with reward in his service.

11. Here I deny not but it is lawfull to look on those blessings and benefits which God reacheth out to us for his service. Moses *himself had respect unto the recompence of reward.* But two things we must take heed of: First, that wee receive this reward in notion and nature of a meere gratuity, not exactly merited by the condignity of our performances, and onely due unto us by the vertue of Gods free promise, and not our deserts. Secondly, that as we look on the reward, so wee look through and beyond it. It being a good Inn for our desires to bait at, but a bad home for them to lodge in. Let us labour to deuest our souls of mercenary thoughts, and learn to serve God for himselfe. Active was the affection of *Sechem to Dinah*, as appears by his request to *Jacob* and his sonnes: ²*Let me finde grace in your eyes, and what yee shall say unto mee, I will give. Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as yee shall say unto me: But give me the Damosel to wife.* Oh, that our hearts were but wrought to this holy temper, that we should desire godlineſſe on any terms, undergo any hardship, though there were neither Hell to punish, nor Heaven to reward. However great is Gods goodnes, who knowing whereof wee are made, and remembring that we are but dust, is pleased to spurre us on in the rase of piety with a reward propounded: godlines with contentment is great gain.

¹ 1 Sam. 18. 25.

² Gen. 34. 11, 12.

12. So much in generall, That there is a Dowry. Now in particular what is the dowry of godlinesse? *It is great gain.*

Objection: Great gain? Of what? Let Saint Paul himself, who wrote this Epistle, tell us, when he cast up his audit, what profit he got by the profession of Piety. ¹*In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths often.* Where is the gain all this while? Perchance it follows. We will try another verse: ²*In journeying often, in perils of waters, in perils of Robbers, in perils by mine own Country-men, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the City, in perils in the Wildernes, in perils in the Sea, in perils amongst false brethren.* Where is the gain all this while? you will say: these were but the Apostles adventures; his rich return (slow but sure) will come at last. Once more we will try: ³*In wearinesse and painfulnesse, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakednesse.* The further we go, the lesse gain we find. *Cushai* said unto *David*, ⁴*May all the Enemies of my Lord the King be as the young man Absalom is!* But if this be gain, May all the enemies of God and goodnes have plenty thereof! It will never sink into a worldlings head that godlinesse is gain, whilest the grandees of piety are found so poore: *Eliab* begging food of a Widdow; *Peter* without gold or silver; our Saviour himself not having where to lay his head.

Answer: It is confest that the doctrine in the text can in no wise be made good according to the principles of flesh and blood. Our Saviour said unto *Pilate*, ⁵*My kingdome is not of this world.* So the sense and interpretation of my text is not of this world; is not carnall, but spiritual; not temporal, but eternal. This will plainly appear, if these two particulars be well weighed:

1. What the world counts gain, is losse.
2. What the world counts losse, is gaine.

What the world counts gain is losse. *For what will it profit a man if he win the whole world, and loose his own soule?* Most poore is the condition of those who have plenty of

¹ 2 Cor: 11. 23.

² Ver. 26.

³ Verse 27.

⁴ 2 Sam 18. 32.

⁵ John 18. 36.

worldly wealth, and are ¹*not rich towards God*. Country people having a peice of light gold use to fill the Indentures thereof with dirt, so to make it the heavier: But wise men wil not take dirt for gold in payment. It seems in like manner that wicked men being sensible that they want waight in the scales of the sanctuary (²*Tekel, thou art waighed in the ballance and found too light*), of set purpose load themselves with ³*thick clay*. But all will not make them currant in Gods fight; for ⁴*riches availe not in the day of wrath*. They are long in getting with much pains, hard in keeping with much care, quick in loosing with more sorrow. Wherefore as the Apostle menfions ⁵*Science falsly so called*, so this is gain falsly so called by men.

13. Secondly, They nicke-name that losse which is gain in very deed. Such were all those sanctified afflictions which Saint *Paul* suffered. It is confest that thornes and thistles had never grown in the world, had *Adam* stood in his integrity; yet some of them since mans fall cannot well be wanted. Holy thistle (we know) hath a Sovereign vertue, and sweet bryer hath a pleasant scent. All tribulations are thorns to flesh and blood (the word imports as much); yet as Sanctified to Gods children in Christ, they become of excellent use, increasing their grace here and glory hereafter. Lynnen new washt though it may dry more by day time, is observed to whiten more in a fair night: Adversity sanctified to a Christian foule doth more improve the same in purity and piety then the constant enjoying of a prosperous condition.

14. But we need goe no further for the proof of the great profit gotten by Gods service then to the words of the Apostle: ⁶*Godlinesse hatb the promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come*. It is reported of *Alexander* that having conquered the World he wept because there was no more left for his valour to overcome: But least Gods children should have any cause of discontentment that their joy may have room enough to dilate it self in, see a life and a life, a world and a world, one here and another hereafter, one in possession, another in reversion allotted unto them.

¹ Luke 12. 21.⁴ Prov. 11. 4.² Dan. 5. 27.⁵ 1 Tim. 6. 20.³ Hab. 2. 6.⁶ 1 Tim. 4. 8.

15. Come we now to the present payment: *is*. Even at this present instant *God hath done great things for us already, whereof we rejoyce*. Excellent is the expression of the Apostle: ¹*Or things present, or things to come, All are yours*. Here some carping curious Criticks may challenge St. *Paul* of impropriety of language; yea, finde both false Grammar and Logick in his words: false Tense, to say future things are; false Logick, for how can things to come be ours, which be not? But know, St. *Paul* spake ²*with languages more then them all*, and had no need to learn the congruity of construction from any other. It is good in law to say, This reversion is mine, because the reversioner is in present possession of the right to it, though not of the profit by it; yea, heaven on earth is actually ours already, the possession of a clear conscience, and the spirit of adoption signs and seals unto us the favour of God, then which, no greater gain.

16. And now as the Eunuch said to *Philip*, ³*See, here is water; what doth binder me to be baptized?* So say I. Behold, here is a Bride, *Godlines*, ready provided; a bride maid, *Contentment*, ready prepared; the great portion presently to be paid. What hinders now but the marriage may instantly proceed, that so we may be wedded and bedded together? But what answered *Philip* to the Eunuch? ⁴*If thou believest with all thine heart, thou maiest be baptised*. So say I. If thou lovest this Bride with all thy Soule, counting nothing too dear to obtain her, the marriages solemnities may instantly goe on. Oh that I had perswasive eloquence effectually to advance this match! The best is, what is wanting in mee, the spokesman, is plentifully supplied in her, the bride.

17. But two things we must beware of. Take heed you mistake not the shadow for the substance, the picture for the person. Saint ⁵*Paul* tels us of some who have the forme of godlinesse, but deny the power thereof. The Poet tels us of many who at first were suiters to *Penelope* the Mistresse, but at last were married to the Maids which attended her. It

¹ 1 Cor. 3. 22.² 1 Cor. 14. 18.³ Acts 8. 36.⁴ Acts 8. 37.⁵ 2 Tim. 3. 5.

is to be feared that many who pretend to love godlinesse it self, fall at last a courting and woeing of the forme, the meer outside and garb of Religion, and content themselves with the same: wherein an hypocrite may equally, yea, exceed the sincerest Saint and servant of God.

Lastly, beware least thy covetous heart rather love the Portion then the Person, have more minde to the gaine then the godlines. We finde how the next kinsman was very ready to redeem the parcel of *Naomies* land which was his brother *Elimelechs*. But as soon as withall he heard hee must ¹take *Ruth* to wife, he fell back from his promise and purpose. Many there be which are very forward to wed the gain, but are utterly unwilling to have the godlines with it. Such a suiter was *Balaam* himselfe: ²*O that I might dye the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!* who was carelesse to live the life of the righteous. But let us labour to have the substance and sincerity of Piety in our hearts, knowing that we are to deale with such a God who prefers a dramme of integrity before a pound of profession. And if wee acquit ourselves upright in his presence, godlinesse with contentment is great gain unto us. I say godlinesse in generall, not restrictively ingrossed to some particular party, but extended according to the dimension of charity to all persons agreeing in the essentials to salvation: ³*In my fathers house there be many Mansions*, as if God had provided severall repositories of happinesse for such as differ in smaller opinions; whilst all agreeing in generall godlinesse may meet in one grand Heaven and place of eternall Felicity.

Amen.

¹ Ruth 4. 6.

² Num. 23. 10.

³ Joh. 14. 2.



The
JUST MANS
FUNERAL.

Lately delivered in a Sermon

at

C H E L S E Y,
before several Persons
Of Honour and Worship.

By

T H O M A S F U L L E R.



Printed by WILLIAM BENTLEY, for
John Williams at the Crown in
S. Pauls Church-yard.

1 6 4 9.

["Publique Calamities charge every man with a rate of sorrow proportionable unto the tenure of his understanding, put him upon a serious enquiry of the Causes and Consequences of them, and exact from him a diligent provision of meanes to stop or divert them. Calamity like the *floud* is now *lifted* up above *our Earth*, and hath almost covered the *highest Hills* of our temporall felicity. Could our sorrow swell as high as that, the sense of our present and impending miseries would drowne us. If we search into the *Causes* of them, we shall find those in ourselves (*our finnes*) ; their sad Consequences are by so much the superabounding matter of our just feare by how much they goe beyond our knowledge, nay, even conjecture, and all our power to prevent them : such is the inundation of miseries now prevailing over the three kingdoms."—Page 1 of Bishop Juxon's *Subjects Sorrow : or, Lamentations upon the Death of Britaines Iofiab King Charles, most unjustly and cruelly put to Death by His owne People, before His Royal Palace, White-hall.* London, 4to. 1649.]

[Introduction.]



A REFLEX picture of the history of the country may be derived from a study of the literary work of FULLER about this time. His *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* was followed in 1647 by his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*. To this period also belongs his seasonable little book on *The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*, 1647-49, in which, affected himself with much bitterness of soul, he had, as he says, "written the sweetest comforts I could for others." Then, after an interval, followed *The Just Mans Funeral*, with relation to the death and execution of King CHARLES, on Tuesday, 30th January, 1648-9. It seems that the astounding news of this tragic event reached FULLER when he was preparing his great book on the Worthies of England. His biographer describes his consternation: "Then indeed such an amazement struck the Loyal pious Doctor when he first heard of that execrable Design intended against the King's person, and saw the villainy proceed so uncontrollably, that he not only surceased, but resolved to abandon 'that luckless work,' as he was then pleased to call it. 'For what shall I write,' said he, 'of the *Worthies of England*, when this Horrid Act will bring such an infamy upon the whole Nation as will ever cloud and darken all its former and suppress its future rising glories!'" (*Life*, p. 39). The same authority relates that under the influence of this event FULLER forsook not only his study, but himself also, disregarding his own concerns; "untill such time as his prayers, tears, and fasting, having better acquainted him with that sad dispensation, he began to revive from that dead pensiveness to which he had so long addicted himself" (page 40).

The result of his reflections upon the event was embodied in the present discourse, which is a vindication of Divine Providence in the misfortunes and deaths of the righteous. The event itself is only darkly alluded to, the preacher's relations to the ruling powers, to whom he was indebted for his restoration to the "liberty of prophesying," having led him to speak thus warily. But the references in it cannot be mistaken. The quarto copy of the Sermon noticed page dxii. contains, after the word "Funeral" on the title-page, the words "(vid. K. CHA: 1.)" = (namely, King CHARLES the First), written in a contemporary hand. A pathetic account of the King's death and burial, derived from authentic sources, was penned by FULLER as his "last *devoir* to my gracious Master," in his *Church-History*, Bk. xi. sect. xi. §§ 35 seq., which, in Mr. BREWER's edition, vol. vi. p. 355, is accompanied with Sir THOMAS HERBERT's minute *Memoirs of the last Two Years of Charles the First*.

The call made by the Preacher for "an anniversary of mourning" (page 528) was perhaps the first public suggestion that was offered for what afterwards became a national fast. The Sermon came from the press on the 27th November, 1649, the British Museum copy (E. 582. 5) being so dated. It was perhaps one of the first of the kind that was printed. Mr. THOMAS CAWTON, sometimes minister of the Gospel at St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange, preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Mercers' Chapel, 25 Feb., 1648-9, "not long after the inhumane beheading of His Majesty, for which he was committed Prisoner to the Gate-house in Westminster;" but it was not published until 1662 (8vo.). Juxon, Bishop of London, wrote an early (anonymous) sermon, afterwards dated "March 12, 1648," which was (as the very accurate *Catal. of Eng. Writers*, 2nd Ed., Lond. 1668, states) printed in "1648." It was entitled *The Subjects Sorrow*, in which "the Divine and Royall Prerogatives, Personall Virtues, and Theologicall Graces of his late Majesty are briefly delivered." At the close of this discourse, the preacher, quoting the saying that the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, prayed that the Lord would in mercy restore to His Church "the seed of his Martyr King Charles the First unto the Government of these Kingdoms, that Religion, Peace, and Liberty, may be restored unto us" (page 32). In the twelve anniversary sermons entitled *King Charles His Funeral*, by Dr. THOMAS SWADLIN (4to., 1661), the first, dated "Anno Dom. 1648" (*i.e.* 1649), was perhaps not then preached or penned. The public anniversaries grew out of the private observance of the day by pious Englishmen. It is said of EVELYN that he was struck with such horror at the King's decapitation that he kept the day of martyrdom as a fast. Necessarily for a time the fasts were not openly celebrated. On the anniversary of the event in 1660 PEPPYS, before rising in the morning, fell a-singing Montrose's verses on the execution of the King, "and put myselfe thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, His Majesty died." Of the next fast, 1661, the same diarist notes that it was the first time that the day had been observed (*i.e.* publicly observed); and he heard an excellent sermon by Mr. MILLS at St. Olave's, on "Lord, forgive us our former iniquities." On the same occasion EVELYN mentions that the solemn fast and day of humiliation had been ordered by Parliament to expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late King. Dr. NATHANAEL HARDY, in his *Loud Call to Great Mourning*, preached on the anniversary of 1662 before the House of Commons, says that since the event itself he had, either upon or near the day, ventured to become a remembrancer of that bloody fact, adding that he had "now lived to see an Yearly Fast enjoyned upon that doleful day."

Chelsea, which is connected with FULLER's remarkable discourse, was at the period in question a resort for some of the London Merchants and members of the Nobility. The Countess of DERBY, *e.g.*, made it her residence when the House of Lords gave her leave to dwell there, 9th July, 1647 (*VI. Report Hist. MSS. Commission*, page 186). With the ALSTON family, who had a house at Chelsea, FULLER was intimate, as also with Dr. HAMEY, the pious Physician whose name is connected with its



The Juſt mans FUNERAL.

Lately delivered in a
SERMON

At
CHELSEY,
before ſeveral Perſons of
Honour and Worſhip.

By
THO. FULLER.

LONDON.

Printed by J. C. for J. W. and G. E.
and are to be ſold at the golden
Ball in Alderſgate-ſtreet. 1652.

church, and with St. Clement's Eastcheap. Here, too, as has been seen (pages cccclxii., cccxciii.), dwelt the family of Sir JOHN D'ANVERS, who in the height of the proceedings against the King was marrying his third wife. Individuals belonging to these and other households were the "Persons of Honour and Worship" (page 507) to whom the discourse was addressed. According to BOWACK, there were in 1664 not more than thirty houses in Chelsea. The place had, however, been chosen for that singular foundation which LAUD derisively called "Controversy College," and which the Papists termed "The Ale-House." It had been used as a prison during the Civil War. The Church, which is dedicated to S. LUKE, was a red brick and stone edifice situated near the river.

The Just Mans Funeral was published *three* several times. The present text has been set up from a copy of the first edition, which was dated 1649, 4to. (pp. ii. + 31), and which is the most accurate edition. A fac-simile of the title-page is at page 507. This exemplar-copy, once Dr. BLISS's, is now the property of G. W. NAPIER, Esq., who entrusted it to the Editor. Dr. BLISS has written in it "of THORPE," *i.e.* purchased from the bookseller of that name; also, "Not in the Bodleian Catalogue, 1843." It has also the autograph of "I. BURLEIGH JAMES." Dr. BLISS's usual marks are found at signature B, before which letter he has added his initial P, with "35," *i.e.* perhaps 1835; underneath is "La." The device of the sun and shield (*postea*, page 533) is a fac-simile of the cut at page 31 of this quarto edition.

In 1652 the Sermon was reprinted in octavo, being, it seems, a joint-issue by two "stationers," JOHN WILLIAMS, who owned the former edition, and GEORGE EVERSSEN. It was appended (under pp. 193-239, sheets O, P, Q) to the *XII. Sermons* on Christ's Temptation, which were published by EVERSSEN alone, and which begin the second volume of this Collection. The title-page to this edition of the Sermon is fac-similed on the former page. The differences in readings are indicated in the foot-notes; but the minor differences, such as the y termination of nouns, &c., it has not been thought necessary to note.

In FULLER's lifetime the Sermon was once more issued by WILLIAMS, viz. in 1660, in the second edition of the folio ΘΡΗΝΟΙΚΟΣ *The House of Mourning . . . in LIII. Sermons*, where it forms Sermon LI., pp. 575-585. It was there printed without careful oversight from a copy of the octavo edition of 1652; and it abounds in errors. Only a few of the variations in reading have been pointed out in the foot-notes (being marked "ed. 1660"); but these variations may be quite as much due to negligence as design. In the 1672 edition of this folio volume of Sermons, *The Just Mans Funeral* occupies the same place as before. For FULLER's second contribution to this excellent old folio, and for further details of the book itself, see the next volume of this Collection of Sermons under *The Righteous Mans Service to his Generation.*]

The Just Mans Funeral.



ECCLES. 7. vers. 15.

All things have I seen in the daies of my vanity: there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness; and there is a wicked man that longeth his life in his wickedness.

1. **T**HE World is a volumne of Gods works, which all good people ought studiously to peruse. Three sorts of men are too blame herein. First, Such as observe nothing at all; seeing, but neither marking nor minding the daily accidents that happen; with ¹*Gallio* the secure deputie of *Achaia*, *They care for none of these things*. Secondly, Such as observe nothing observable. These may be said to *weed the world*. If any passage happeneth which deserveth to be forgotten, their *jet memories* (onely attracting straws and chaff unto them) registereth and retaineth them: fond fashions and foolish speeches is all that they charge on their account, and onely empty cyphers swell the ²*note-books* of their discoveries. Lastly, Such who make good observations, but no applications. With *Mary* they do not *ponder things in their heart*, but onely brew them in their heads, and presently breath them out of their mouth, having onely a rational understanding thereof, (which renders them acceptable in company for their discourse,) but never suffering them to sink into their souls, or make any effectual impression on their lives.

¹ Acts 18. 17.

² [note-books.]

2. But *Solomons* observations were every way compleat. He mark'd what happened: and well he might, who, advantaged with matchless wealth, might make matchless discoveries, and could afford to dig out *important Truths* with mattocks of gold and silver. What he mark'd was remarkable, and what was remarkable he not onely applied to the good of his private person, but endeavoured it might be propagated to all posteritie in the words of my text: *All things have I seen in the dayes of my vanitie: there is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness; and there is a wicked man that longeth his life in his wickedness.*

3. In the handling of *Solomons* observation herein, we will insist upon these four parts, to shew,

- (1) That it is so.
- (2) Why it is so.
- (3) What abuses wicked men do }
- (4) What uses good men should } make, because it is so.

First, that it is so: believe *Solomons* eyes, who professed that he *saw it*. But here it will be demanded, How came he to behold a *righteous man*? With what ¹care and new *eye-salve* had he anoynted his eyes to see that which his father *David* (having a more holy, though not so large a heart) could never discern? ²*Enter not into judgement with thy servant, O Lord: for no flesh is righteous in thy sight.*

4. It is answered, Though such an one whose righteousness is Gods-justice-proof, never was, is, nor shall be in this life (Christ alone excepted, being God and man), yet in a Gospel or qualified sense, he is accounted righteous, who, *juxta propositum justè vivendi*, is so *intentionally*; desiring and endeavouring after righteousness with all the might of his soul. Secondly, who is so *comparatively*, in reference to wicked men, appearing righteous in regard of those who have no goodness at all in their hearts. Thirdly, righteous *imputatively*, having the righteousness of God in Christ imputed unto him. Lastly, righteous *inbessively*, having many heavenly graces and holy endowments, sincere, though not perfect, or evangelically

¹ rare,

² Psal. 143. 2.

perfect *pro hoc statu*, bestowed upon, and remaining within him. Such a *righteous man* as this, *Solomon* saw *perishing in his righteousness*.

5. But in the second place, it will be inquired, How could *Solomon* patiently behold *a righteous man perish in his righteousness*, and not rescue him out of the paws of oppression? Could he see it, and could he suffer it, and be onely an idle spectator at so sad a tragedie? Did his hand sway the Scepter, and was his head invested with the Crown, contentedly to look on so sorrowfull a sight? Could he onely, as in the ¹*case of the barlots*, call for a sword to kill a child, and not call for it here to defend a *righteous man*? *He that is not with us* (saith our Saviour) *is against us*. If it hold in private persons, much more in ²publick Officers. They persecute, who do not protect; destroy, who do not defend; slay, who do not save *the righteous man*, who have power and place to do it.

6. It is answered, in the first place, *Solomons* observations were not all confined to his own countrey and kingdom. Though staying at home in his person, his minde travelled into forraign parts, and in the neighbouring countreys of *Egypt, Edom, Syria, Assyria, &c.*, might behold the *perishing of the righteous* and long flourishing of the wicked. Secondly, his expression, *I have seen*, relates not onely to his ocular, but experimental discoveries: what *Solomon* got by the help of Historie, Studie, and perusal of Chronicles. He that was skil'd in natural Philosophie from the Cedar to the Shrub, was (no doubt) well versed in all civil occurrences from the Prince to the Peasant, from *Adam* to the present age wherein he lived, so much as by any extant records could be collected. To set humane writers aside, the Scripture alone afforded him plentifull presidents herein. Open the Bible, and we shall find (almost in the first leaf) *just Abel perishing in his righteousness*, and *wicked Cain prolonging his life in his iniquitie*. To omit other instances, *Solomon*, by relation from his father, might sadly remember how *Abimelech* the High priest *perished in his righteousness*, with all the Priests, inhabitants of the citie of *Nob*, whilest *Saul* who condemned, and *Doeg* who executed

¹ 1 Kings 3. 24.

² publike.

them flourished long in their iniquitie. So much for the proof *that it is so*.

Come we now to the reasons *why it is so*. These reasons are of a double nature, some fetcht from Nature, others from Religion. For the present we insist onely on the former, reserving the rest till we shall encounter the *Atbeists* in the ¹sequels of our discourse.

7. First, Because good men, of all others, are most envied and maligned, having the fiercest adversaries to oppose them. With the most in the world it is quarrel enough to hate a good man, because he is a good man. ²S. *Paul* faith of himself, ³*I press towards the mark*. And the same is the endeavour of every good man. Now as in a race the formost man who is nearest the mark is envied of all those which come after him, who commonly use all foul play towards him, (juggling him on the side, seeking to trip up his heels; yea, sometimes thrusting him forward on the back that so he might fall headlong by his own weight and their violence,) so often cometh it to pass betwixt rivals in the race of honour and virtue. Ill-minded men perceiving themselves quite outstript by some eminent person who hath got the speed of them, and ⁴dispairing fairly to overtake him, resolve foully to overturn him, by all means possible contriving his destruction.

8. Hence comes those many millions of ⁵devises and ⁶stratagems contrived for his ruin, endeavouring either to

Divert him from } his righteousness.
or Destroy him in }

If the first takes no effect, and if his constancie appears such as *without* ⁷regreet he will persist in pietie, leaving them no hope to *byass* him to base ends, then despairing to *bow him from*, they contrive to *break him in his righteousness*. Thus whilest he hath many enemies which conspire his destruction, seeking with power to suppress, or policie to supplant him; the wicked man, on the other side, hath the

¹ sequele.⁵ devices.² Saint *Paul*.⁶ stratagems.³ Phil. 3. 14.⁴ despairing.
⁷ regret.

generalitie of men (the most being bad as himself) to befriend him: a main cause of his prolonging himself successfull in his wickedness.

9. Secondly, *Righteous men perish in their righteousness*, because not so warie and watchfull to defend themselves in danger, being deaf to all jealousies and suspicions, over-confident of other men, measuring all others by the integritie of their own intentions. This makes them lie at an open guard, not fencing and fortifying themselves against any sudden surprisal, but presuming that deserving no hurt none shall be done unto them. Thus *Gedaliab*, ¹governor of the remnant of the *Jews* after the captivitie, twice received the expresse intelligence of a conspiracie to kill him, yet was so far from giving credit that he gave a sharp reproof to the first discoverer thereof. Yea, when *Jobanan* the son of *Kareab* tendered his service to kill *Ismael*, (sent, as he said, from *Baalis* king of *Ammon* to slay *Gedaliab*,) *Gedaliab* rejoined, ²*Tbou shalt not do this thing, for thou speakest falsly of Ismael*. His noble nature gave no entertainment to the report till he found it too late to prevent it. Whilest wicked men, partly out of policie, more out of guiltiness, sleep like *Hercules* with their club in their hand, stand always on their guard, are jealous of their very shadows and appearances of danger: a great cause of their safety and success, prolonging themselves in their wickedness.

10. Thirdly, *They perish* because of a lazie principle which hath possessed the heads and hearts even of the best men, (who are unexcusable herein,) namely, that God in due time will defend their innocence; which makes them more negligent and remiss in defending themselves. As the Prophet makes mention of ³*a stone cut out without bands*, they conceive their cause will without mans help hew its own way through the rocks of all resistance; as if their cause would stand Centinel for them, though they slept themselves; as if their cause would fix their Muskets though they did it not themselves. Thus the *Christians* in their battels against the *Turks*, having wonne the day by their valour, have lost the night

¹ governour.² Jer. 40. 16.³ Dan. 2. 34.

by their negligence; which principally proceeded from their confidence that God, interested as a Second in every just cause, was in that quarrel concerned as a Principle, and it could not stand in his justice to suffer it to miscarrie.

11. Whereas, on the other side, wicked men use double diligence in promoting their designs. If their lame cause lack leggs of its own, they will give it wings from their carefull solliciting thereof, and will foulder up their crackt title with their owne industrie. They watch for all tides, and wait for all times, and work by all wayes, and sail by all winds; each golden opportunity they cunningly court, and greedily catch, and carefully keep, and thriftily use: in a word, *they are wiser in their generation* ¹*than the children of light.*

12. This may be perceived by the parallel betwixt the wife and the harlot: many wives (though herein they cannot be defended) knowing their husbands obliged in conscience to love them by ²virtue of their solemn promise made before God and the congregation at their marriage, are therefore the less carefull to studie compliance to their husbands desires. They know their husbands, if wronging them, wrong themselves therein; and presuming themselves to deserve love as due unto them for their honesty and loyalty of affections, are the less sollicitous to gain that which they count their own already. Whilst the harlot conscious to her self of her usurpation, that she hath no lawful right to the ³embraces of her paramour, tunes her self to the criticalness of all complacencie to humour him in all his desires. And thus always those men whose cause have [hath] the weakest foundation in pietie, getteth the strongest buttress in policie to support it.

13. Lastly, the *righteous man*, by the principles of his profession, is tied up, and confined onely to the use of such means for his preservation as are consonant to Gods will, conformable to his word; preferring rather to die many times ⁴than to save himself once by unwarrantable ways. Propound unto him a project for his safetie, and as *Solomon* promised ⁵to favour *Adonijab*, so long as he ⁶*shewed him-*

¹ then.⁴ then.² vertue.⁵ favour to.³ imbraces.⁶ 1 Kings 1. 52.

self wortbie, otherwise if wickedness were found in him, he should surely die: so our righteous man onely accepts and embraceth such plots to secure himself thereby as acquit themselves honest and honourable: such as appear otherwise, he presently dispatches with detestation, destroying the very motion and mention thereof from entering into his heart. On the other side, the wicked man is left at large, allowing himself libertie and latitude to doe any thing in his own defence, making a constant practice of doing evil that good may come thereof.

14. Yea, we may observe in all ages that wicked men make bold with religion; and those who count the practice of pietie a ¹burthen, find the pretending thereof an advantage, and therefore be the matter they manage never so bad, (if possible) they will intitle it to be *Gods cause*. Much was the substance in the very shadow of ²S. Peter, which made the people so desirous thereof as he passed by the streets. And the very umbrage of Religion hath a sovereign virtue in it. No better cordial for a dying cause ³than to overshadow it with the pretence that it is *Gods cause*. For first, this is the way to make and keep a ⁴great and strong partie: No sooner the watch-word is given out *For Gods cause*, but instantly GAD, *behold a troop cometh* of many honest, but ignorant men, who press to be lifted into so pious an employment. These may be kild, but cannot be conquered: for till their judgements be otherwise informed they will triumph in being overcome, as confident the deeper their wounds got in *Gods cause* gape in their bodies, the wider the gates of heaven stand open to receive their souls. Besides, the pretending their cause is *Gods cause*, will, in a manner, legitimate the basest means in pursuance and prosecution thereof; for, though it be against Gods word *to do evil that good may come thereof*, yet this old error will hardly be beaten out of the heads and hearts of many men, that crooked ways are made direct by being directed to a streight end; and the lustre of a bright cause will reflect a seeming light on very *deeds of darkness* used in tendencie thereunto.

¹ burden.² Saint Peter.³ then.⁴ good [ed. 1660.]

15. This hath been an ancient stratagem of the worst men (great Politicians) to take pietie in their way to the advancing of their designs. Thus *Rabshakeb* pretended a Commission from God for all the wickedness he committed, and complements blasphemie: ¹*Am I now come up without the Lord against this place to destroy it? The Lord said to me, Go up against this place to destroy it.* The Priests of *Bell* were but bunglers, which could not steal the meat of their Idol, but they must be discovered by the print of their foot-steps. Men are grown more cunning thieves now adays: first, they will put on the shoes of him they intend to rob, and then steal that so their treadings may tell no tales to their disadvantage. They will not stride a pace, nor goe a step, nor stir a foot, but all for *Gods cause*, all for the good and glorie of God. Thus Christ himself was served from his cradle to his crosse; *Herod* who sought to kill him, pretended to worship him; and *Judas* kissed him who betrayed him.

16. By these arts and ²devices it cometh to pass that wicked men prolong themselves in their wickedness. Traiterous *Zimri* indeed continued ³but seven days; that was not long: wicked *Jebojabin* reigned but three ⁴moneths in *Jerusalem*; that was not long: ungodly *Amon* reigned two ⁵years in *Jerusalem*; that was not long: idolatrous *Abab* reigned in *Samaria* twentie ⁶and two years; that was indifferent long: cruel *Herod* the King, who sought to kill Christ, reigned in *Judea* wel-nigh fourtie years; that was long indeed; he prolonged himself to purpose in his iniquitie.

17. Seeing therefore (to recollect what hath been said) the righteous hath most foes, the wicked many friends; the righteous free from, the wicked full of ⁷jealousies; the righteous too often over-careless, the wicked over-carefull in his defence; the righteous limited onely to lawful, the wicked left loose to any means for his owne advantage: No wonder if it often cometh to pass that the *righteous man perisheth in his righteousness, and the wicked prolongeth his life in his wickedness.*

¹ 2 Kings 18. 25.² 2 Kings 21. 19.³ devices.⁴ 1 Kings 16. 15.⁵ 1 Kings 16. 29.⁶ 2 Kings 24. 8.⁷ jealousies.

18. Come we now to the abuses which wicked men make of the righteous mans perishing in his righteousness. And here the whole kennel of Atheists come in with a full crie (oh that there were no more of them on earth ¹than there are in hell, where torture makes them all speak truth!), spending their wicked breath against God and his attributes. Some bark at his Providence, as if he perceived not these things : ²*How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the most high?* Others cavil at his justice, that he has no mind ; others carp at his strength, that he has no power to rectifie and redress these ³innormities. This world (say they) is a ship without a pilot, steered onely with the winds and waves of casualtie ; it is a meer *lotterie*, wherein the best men daily draw the *blanks*, and the worst run away with the *prizes*. And, as ⁴*Abfolom* boasted, if he were king of *Israel*, how far he would out-do *David* in right managing of all matters: so these impudent wretches conceive with themselves the Plat-form of the world had been more perfect might they have been admitted to the making thereof. The moon would have shined without any spots ; roses grown without any prickles ; fair weather should ⁵have never done harm, because rain should onely fall in the night, neither to hinder the pleasure of the rich, or hurt the profit of the poor. Merit should be made the onely standard of preferment ; no *perishing of the righteous man in his righteousness*, when success should onely be entailed on desert. In a word, such Atheists presume all things by them should be so prudently disposed, that nothing, no doubt, in the whole world should be out of order, save themselves.

19. More might be spoken to ⁶highten and ⁷improve the objection, but I am afraid to persist further therein. It is not onely dangerous to be, but even to act an Atheist, though with intent to confute their errour, for fear that our poisons pierce further ⁸than our ⁹antidots. But in answer to this objection, know that God, without the least prejudice to his justice, may suffer *the righteous man to perish in his righteousness*, because

¹ then.² 2 Sam. 15. 4.⁷ prove.³ Psal. 73. 11.⁵ never have.⁸ then.³ enormities.⁶ heighten.⁹ antidotes.

allow him righteous *justicia causæ*, he is not so *justicia personæ*, the best man standing guiltie of many faults and failings in his sight. God needs not *pick a quarrel* with any man, having at all times matter of a just controversie against him. And seeing God hath oftentimes connived at him being faultie, he may condemn him being faultles; for *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, the King of heaven is not limited to any time, but at his own pleasure and leasure may take an opportunitie to punish an offender.

20. Secondly, grant that the cause of the *righteous man* was just in the primitive constitution thereof, yet if it branch it self forth into numerous circumstances appendant thereunto (many whereof may be intricate and perplex); if it be of so spacious and ponderous a nature that it requires many heads and hands as subordinate instruments in several places for the managing thereof: Lastly, if the cause be so prolix and tedious that many years must be spent in the prosecution thereof; the original righteousness of the cause may be altered with the handling of it, and much injustice annexed thereunto; for which God may justly cause it finally to miscarrie. For it is ¹impossible that a cause consisting of such varietie of limbs retaining thereunto, should be carried on without many grand ²errors and mistakes committed therein; and the righteousness of the best man will not spread so broad without shrinking, stretch so long without tiring, applie it self so exactly to each circumstance without some swerving therein. Especially when all the faults of the inferior officers employed under him are chargeable on the *righteous mans* account, the matter of whose cause may justly perish by Gods just anger on the unjust managerie thereof.

21. Yea, God, without the least blemish to his Justice, may suffer the righteous temporally to *perish in his righteousness*, because in the midst of their sufferings his mercie supports them with the inward comfort of a clear conscience. In the time of persecution a woman being big with child was imprisoned and condemned to die, which the night before her execution, was (I cannot say brought to bed) delivered of a

¹ possible.² errors.

child, when her pain (wanting the help of a midwife) must be presumed exceeding great. The Jailor hearing her cry out in her pangs: *If you cry (said he) to day, I will make you shreek worse to morrow, when you are to be burnt at a stake.* The woman replied, *Not so; to morrow my pain will be abated: for to day I suffer as an offender for the punishment justly imposed by God on our sex for our disobedience and breach of his law; but to morrow I shall die for the testimony of the truth in the defence of Gods glory and his true Religion.* Thus it is strange to see what alacrity a good cause infuseth into a righteous man, deriving comfort into his heart by insensible ¹conveiances, so that he ²embraceth even death it self with a smiling countenance, feeding his soul on the continual feast of a clear conscience.

22. Besides this, it clears divine Justice, and comforts the righteous man *perishing temporally in his righteousness*, that his Cause shall be heard over again, and rejudged in ³an other world. If one conceive himself wronged in the *Hundred*, or any inferiour Court, he may by a *certiorari*, or an *accedas ad curiam*, remove it to the *Kings-Bench* or *Common-Pleas*, as he is advised best for his own advantage. If he apprehendeth himself injured in these Courts, he may with a *Writ of* ⁴*Error* remove it to have it argued by all the Judges in the *Exchequer-chamber*. If here also he conceiveth himself to find no justice, he may with an *Injunction* out of the *Chancery* stop their proceedings. But if in the *Chancery* he reputeth himself ⁵agrieved, he may thence appeal to the *God of heaven and earth*, who in another world will vindicate his right, and severely punish such as have wilfully offered wrong unto him. And so much to assert Gods justice in suffering the *righteous man to perish in his righteousness*.

23. Now on the other side, God may without any prejudice to his justice suffer wicked men for a time to thrive in this world, and not suddenly surprize them with punishment, so giving them ⁶*a space to repent*, if they would but make use thereof. Indeed *David* saith, ⁷*Evil shall bunt the violent man*.

¹ conveyances.⁵ agrieved.² imbraceth.⁶ Rev. 2. 21.³ another.⁷ Psal. 140. 11.⁴ *Error.*

to overthrow him. But God is a *fair bunter* : he might in the rigour of his justice knock wicked men down as he finds them *sitting in their forms* : But God will give them *fair law* ; they shall for a time run, yea, sport themselves before his judgments ere they are pleased to overtake them.

24. Know also, to the farther clearing of his justice, that wicked men, notwithstanding their thriving in badness for a time, are partly punished in this world with a constant corrosive of a guiltie conscience, which they carrie about them. The Probationer-Disciple said to our Saviour, ¹*Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest* : what is promised by him is performed by a guiltie conscience, that *Squire of the bodie*, alwayes officious to attend a malefactor. Fast, and *I will follow thee* ; and thy emptie bodie shall not be so full of wind as thy mind of dismal apprehensions : feast, and *I will follow thee* ; and, as the ²*band on the wall*, bring in the sad reckoning for thy large bill of fare : stay at home, and *I will follow thee* : ride abroad, and *I will follow thee* ; or else meet thee in the way with my naked sword, as the Angel did ³*Balaam* : wake, and *I will follow thee* : sleep, and *I will follow thee*, and affright thee with hideous fancies and terrible dreams, as I did King *Richard* the third, the night before his death.

25. I have read of one who undertook in few dayes to make a fat sheep lean ; and yet was to allow him a daily and large provision of meat, soft and easie lodging, with securitie from all danger, that nothing should hurt him. This he effected by putting him into an iron-grate, and placing a ravenous wolf hard by in another, alwaies howling, fighting, ⁴*scenting*, scratching at the poor sheep ; which, affrighted with this sad sound and worse sight, had little joy to eat, less to sleep ; whereby his flesh was suddenly abated. But wicked men have the terrors of an affrighted conscience constantly, not onely barking at them, but biting of them ; which dissweetens their most delicious mirth with the sad consideration of the sins they have committed, and punishment they must undergo, when in another world they shall be called to account.⁵ This

¹ Matt. 8. 19.

² Dan. 5. 5.

³ Num. 22. 23.

⁴ scenting [ed. 1660].

⁵ [This passage, from the beginning of the paragraph, is met with, with a few variations, in Spencer's *Things New and Old*, headed "Conscience spoils the

thought alone makes their souls lean, how fat soever their bodies may appear. And as sores and wounds commonly smart, ache, and throb most the nearer it is to night; so the anguish and torture of a guiltie conscience increaseth the nearer men apprehend themselves to the day of their death.

26. Now not onely wicked men, but even the children of God, because of the corruption of their hearts, too often make bad uses to themselves *of the righteous mans perishing in his righteousness*. These may be divided into three ranks:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) Such as <i>fret at</i> | } Gods proceedings herein. |
| (2) Such as <i>droop under</i> | |
| (3) Such as <i>argue with</i> | |

The first are the *Fretters*: for if the *perishing of the righteous* cometh to the serious observation of a high-spirited man, one of a stout and valiant heart, he will scarce brook it without some anger and indignation, fuming and chafing thereat. Thus *David*, we know, was a man of valour, of a martial and warlike spirit; and he confesseth of himself, that, beholding the prosperitie of the wicked, ¹*his heart was grieved, and he was pricked in his reins*. Nor was it meer grief possessed him, but a mixture of much impatience, as appears by that counsel which in like case in one Psalm he gave himself three several times: ²*Fret not thy self because of evil doers*; and again, *fret not thy self because of him who prospereth in his way*; and the third time, *fret not thy self in any wise*.

27. Our Saviour observeth that there are a sturdy kind of devils that will not be ³*cast out, save by fasting and prayer*. But this humour of fretting and repining at *Gods proceedings berein*, which he understood not, could not be ejected out of *David*, but by prayer no doubt, and that very solemnly; not at home, but in Gods temple: ⁴*When I thought to know all this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the Sanctuary of God, there understood I their end*. O let ⁵men of high spirits and stout hearts not lavish their valour and mispend their

wicked Mans mirth," No. 1345, page 376. He gives the reference "T. Fuller on Christ's Temptat.," i.e. the volume so entitled, to which *The Just Mans Funeral* was appended; and he annexes this parallel passage from Ovid's *Amores*, I. iv. 45: *Multa miser timeo, quia feci multa protervè.*]

¹ Psal. 73. 21.

² Psal. 37. 1, 7, 8.

³ Matth. 17. 21.

⁴ Psal. 73. 16.

⁵ them.

courage, to chafe and fume at such accidents, venting good spirits the wrong way ; but rather reserve their magnanimous resolutions for better services, and (besides their private devotions) address themselves with *David* to Gods ¹publick worship in his house, who in his due time will unriddle unto ²him the equitie of his proceedings.

28. But if men be of low and mean spirits, pusillanimous and heartless natures, and if these narrow souls in them meet with melanchollie and heavie tempers, such fall a drooping, yea, despairing at the *perishing of the righteous* ; they give all over for lost, concluding *there is no hope* ; they rather languish ³than live, walking up and down disconsolate, with soft paces, sad looks, and sorrowful hearts ; all their children they are ready to call and christen ⁴*Icbobods, the glorie is departed from Israel* ; being affected like the Citizens of *Jerusalem* besieged by *Sennacherib*, their hearts are like the trees of the wood, ⁵*moved with the wind*. But let such droopers know that herein they offend God and wrong themselves ; and let them gird up their loins and *tie up their spirits* at the serious consideration that God in due time will raise them out of the dust, *maintain his own cause*, and confound his enemies.

29. The third sort of people, are the Arguers or Disputers, who being of a middle temper, neither haughtie nor ⁶stomachful, neither low nor dejected, and withal being good men, embrace a middle course, neither to fret nor dispute, but calmly to reason out the matter with God himself. Of this ⁷latter sort was the Prophet ⁸*Jeremie*, who thus addresseth himself unto the Lord : ⁹*Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee ; yet let me talk with thee of thy judgements : Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper ? wherefore are they happy that deal very treacherously ?* The good man could not conceive Gods proceedings ; and although he kept to the conclusion, *Righteous art thou, O Lord*, yet *his heart was bot within him*, and he would fain be exchanging an argument with God that all was not right according to his humane capacity. *Job* also was one of these Arguers in the

¹ publike.⁴ 1 Sam. 4. 21.⁷ later.² them.⁵ Isa. 7. 2.⁸ *Jeremiah*.³ then.⁶ stomachful.⁹ Jer. 12. 1.

agonie of his passion: ¹*Ob that one might plead for a man with God, as a man pleadeth for his neighbour!*

30. But let flesh and bloud take heed of entering the lists by way of challenge with God himself. If the ²*synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Silicia, and of Asia, disputing with Stephen, were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake*, much less can frail flesh hope to make good a bad cause by way of opposition against God, the best and wisest Answerer. Remember the Apostles question, ³*Where is the disputer?* But if we should be so bold, in humility, to examine Gods proceedings, let us take heed lest whilest we dispute with God, Satan ⁴insensible prompts us such reasons as are seemingly unanswerable in our apprehensions; so that in stead of being too hard for God (which is impossible) men become too hard for themselves, raising such spirits which they cannot quell, and starting such doubts which they cannot satisfie. Wherefore let not our ignorance be counted Gods injustice; let not the dimness of our eyes be esteemed the durtiness of his actions, being all puritie and cleanness in themselves: Let us, if beaten from our out-works, make a safe retreat to this impregnable castle, ⁵*Jeremie his conclusion, Righteous art thou, O Lord, &c.*

31. Come we now to the good Uses that the godly ought to make of a *righteous mans perishing in his righteousness*. And first, when he finds such ⁶*an one in a swoun*, he ought with all speed to bring him a cordial, and with the good ⁷*Samaritane* to pour oil and wine into his wounds, endeavouring his recoverie to his utmost power, whilest there is any hope thereof. I must confess it is onely Gods prerogative, ⁸*according to the greatness of his power, to preserve those that are appointed to die*. However, it is also the boundant duty of all pious people, in their severall distances and degrees, to improve their utmost for the preservation of dying innocencie from the crueltie of such as would murder it.

32. But if it be impossible to save it from death, so that

¹ Job 16. 21.

² *Jeremiab.*

³ Acts 6. 9, 10.

⁴ a.

⁵ 1 Cor. 1. 20.

⁷ Luke 10. 34.

⁸ insensibly.

⁹ Psal. 79. 11.

it doth expire, notwithstanding all their care to the contrarie, they must then turn lamenters at the funerals thereof. And if the iniquitie of the times will not safely afford them to be *open*, they must be *close Mourners* at so sorrowful an accident. O let the most *cunning Cbyrurgeons* not begrutch their skill to unbowel, the *richest Merchants* not think much of their choicest spices to embalm, the most *exquisite Joyner* make the coffin, most *reverend Divine* the Funeral Sermon, the most *accurate Marbler* erect the *Monument*, and most renowned *Poet* invent the Epitaph to be inscribed on the tomb of *Perishing Righteousness*. Whilest all others, wel-wishers to goodness in their severall places, contribute to their sorrow at the solemn Obsequies thereof; yea, as in the case of *Josiah* his death, let there be an *Anniversarie of Mourning* kept in remembrance thereof. However, let them not mourn like men *without hope*; but let them behave themselves at the interment of his *righteousness* as confident of the *resurrection thereof*, which God in his due time shall raise out of the ashes: It is sown in weakness; it shall be raised in power: it is sown in disgrace; it shall be raised in glorie.

33. Lastly, the temporal perishing of the righteous man in this world minds us of the necessitie of the day of Judgement, and ought to edge and quicken our prayers that God would shortly accomplish the number of his elect, consummate this miserable world, put a period to the dark night of his proceedings, that so that day, that welcome day, may begin to dawn, which is termed by the Apostle, ¹*The day of the revelation of the righteous judgement of God*. Five things there are (besides many ²other) in the primitive part of Gods justice, which are very hard for men to conceive:

First, How the sin of *Adam*, to which we did never personally consent, can justly be imputed to us his posteritie.

Secondly, How Infants, who never committed actual sin, are subject to death, and, which is more, to damnation it self.

Thirdly, How God can actually harden the hearts of some, as he did ³*Pbaraohs*, and yet not be in the least degree accessarie to sin and the authour thereof.

¹ Rom. 2. 5.² others.³ Exod. 14. 4.

Fourthly, How the *Americans* can justly be condemned, to whom the sound of the Gospel was never trumpeted forth, and they by their invincible ignorance incapable of Gods will in his word.

37. Lastly, How God, as it is in the Text, can suffer *righteous men to perish in their righteousness, and wicked men to flourish in their iniquitie.*

In all these, a *thin veil* may seem to hang before them, so that we have not a full and free view of the reasons of Gods proceedings herein; yet so as that under and thorow *this veil* we discover enough in modestie and sobrietie to satisfie our selves, though (perchance unable to utter what in part we apprehend) we cannot effectually remove all the scruples which the pious, nor all the cavils which the profane man brings against us. But at the day of *judgement*, at the *revelation of the righteous judgement of God*, this *veil* shall be turned back, or rather totally taken away, so ¹all shall plainly and perspicuously perceive the justice of Gods dealing in the cases aforesaid. Not that then or there, any new essential addition or accession shall accrue to Gods justice, to mend or make up any former default or defect therein; but his proceedings (which before wanted not clearness in themselves, but clearing to our eyes) shall then be pronounced, declared, and adjudged just, in the presence of ²devils, men, and Angels; so that ignorance shall not doubt, nor impudence dare to denie the truth thereof.

38. But before we take our final farewell of the words in our Text, know they are also capable of another sense, *I have seen the righteous man perish in his righteousness*; that is, I have seen a good man continuing in goodness, and snatched away in the prime of his years, whilst wicked men, persisting in their ³profaneness, have prolonged their lives to the utmost possibilitie of nature. I confess ⁴S. Paul will in no case allow the word *perishing* to be applied to the death of the godly, but startles at the expression, as ⁵containing some Pagan impietie therein, pointing at it, as an Atheistical position:

¹ that all.

² devils.

³ profaneness.

⁴ Saint.

⁵ containing.

¹*Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished.* However, in a qualified ²sence, (not for a total extinction, but temporal suspension of them in this world,) the Prophet pronounceth it of a just mans death, ³*The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to his heart*; Yet, as if suspecting some ill use might be made of that term *perishing*, in the next words he mollifieth the harshness thereof, and (who best might) expounds his own meaning: *The righteous man is taken away from the evil to come.*

39. Indeed, when a just man dieth, with *Abraham*, in ⁴*good old age*, he is not properly said to be *taken away*, but, in Scripture-phrase, to *tarrie till God comes*. Thus, when *Peter* was very inquisitive to know how *John* should be disposed of, Christ answered him, ⁵*If I will that he tarrie till I come, what is that to thee?* *John*, of all the *furie of the Apostles*, died in his bed, a thorow old man, of *temper* and *temperance*, of a strong and healthful natural constitution, moderate in diet, passions, and recreations: ⁶*Abijah* and *Josiah* may be instances [of those who] are cut off by an untimely death; such are properly said to be *taken away*.

40. Now even such men God (not onely without the least stain to his Justice, but in great manifestation of his Mercie) may cause to *perish*; or, if that be too harsh a ⁷tearm, may take them away from the evil to come: And that in three several acceptions.

First, To keep him from that evil of sin which God in his wisdom foresees the good man would commit, if living longer and left to those manifold temptations which future times (growing daily worse and worse) would present to, and press on him. True it is, God could by his restraining and effectual Grace keep him, though surviving in sinfull times, from being polluted therewith: but being a free Agent, he will vary the ways of his working, sometimes keeping men *in the hour of temptation*, sometimes ⁸*from the hour of temptation*. The ⁹latter he doth sometimes by keeping the hour from coming to them, or rather, from coming to the hour; making

¹ 1 Cor. 15. 18.

⁴ Gen. 25. 8.

⁷ term.

² sense.

⁵ Joh. 21. 22.

⁸ Rev. 3. 10.

³ Isa. 57. 1.

1 Kings 14. 13.

⁹ later.

them to fall short thereof, and preventing their approach thereunto, by taking them away in a speedie death. Thus mothers and nurfes suspecting their children would too much play the wantons, disgrace them, and wrong themselves; when much company is expected at their houses, haste them to bed betimes, even before their ordinarie hour.

Secondly, from the evils to sin which other men would commit, and he behold, to the great grief and anguish of his heart, *Lot-like*: for that ²*righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds.*

41. Manifold Uses might be made of the Just ³man thus perishing in his righteousness. First, men ought to be affected with true sorrow ⁴thereat: yet the Prophet saith, *The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to his heart.* Surely his wife or children will (or else the more unworthy), ⁵happily he hath none when dying. His kindred will, except (which is impossible) with *Melchisedech*, he be ⁶*without father, without mother, without descent.* His friends will, though rather the rich than the righteous have friends whilst living, and leave them when dying. But to satisfy all objections at once: By *none*, are meant very few, inconsiderable in respect of those multitudes that pass the righteous mans death unrespected. Parallel to that place in the *Proverbs*: ⁷*None that go to her return again, neither take they hold of the path of life.* Not that adulterie is the sin against the *holy Ghost*, *unpardonable*; but *vestigia pauca retrorsum.* Be thou, by an holy Riddle, *One* among that *None*; I mean a mourner in Sion for the righteous mans death, amongst those very very few, who lay it to their hearts.

Secondly, Men from hence are seriously to ⁸collect and apply to themselves the doctrine of their mortalities, when they see *the righteous man perish in his righteousness.* There is a bird peculiar to *Ireland*, called the *Cock of the Wood*, remarkable for the fine flesh and follie thereof: All the difficultie to kill them is to find them out; otherwise a mean marksman

¹ Evil of sin.⁵ [haply, ed. 1660.]² 2 Pet. 2. 8.⁶ Heb. 7. 3.³ mans.⁷ Prov. 2. 91.⁴ thereat omitted.⁸ recollect.

may easily kill them. They flie in woods in flocks ; and if one of them be shot, the rest remove not but to the next bow or tree at the farthest, and there stand staring at the shooter till the whole covie be destroyed. As foolish as the bird is, it is wise enough to be the embleme of the wisest men in point of mortalitie. Death sweeps away one, and one, and one, and the rest remain no whit moved at, or minding of it, till at last a whole generation is consumed.

¹It fareth with the most mens lives as with the sand in this hypocritical hour-glass: behold it in outward appearance, and it seemeth far more ²than it is, because rising up upon the sides, whilest the sand is emptie and hollow in the midst thereof; so that when it sinks down in an instant, a quarter of an hour is gone in a moment. Thus many men are mistaken in their own account, reckoning upon three-score and ten years the age ³of man, because their bodies appear outwardly strong and lustie. Alas! their health may be hollow; there may be some inward infirmitie and imperfection unknown unto them; so that death may surprise them on a ⁴suddain.

Thirdly, They are to take notice of Gods anger with that place from which the *righteous man is taken away*. Solomon, speaking of the death of an ordinarie man, saith, *5The living will lay it to heart*: But when a *righteous man is taken away*, the living ought to lay it to the very *Heart of their heart*, especially if he be a Magistrate or Minister of eminent note. When the eye-strings break, the heart-strings hold not out long after: and when the *seers* are taken away, it is a sad ⁶symtome of a languishing Church or Common-wealth.

Lastly, Men ought to imitate the virtuous examples of such as are dead. The ⁷cloud and pillar at the Red-sea, was bright toward the *Israelites*, to guid and direct them with the light thereof: but the reverse or back-part thereof, was dark ⁸towards the *Egyptians*. In the best men there is such a

¹ [This paragraph, with a few slight alterations, is to be found in Spencer's *Things New and Old*, fo. 1658, No. 1341, p. 375, entitled "How it is that men are so much mistaken in the thoughts of long life." He quotes from "T. Fuller, *Fun. Serm. at Chelsey*, 1652;" and he adds in the margin the following: *Nihil ita decipit, quàm cum ignorent homines spatia vivendi*. Hieron, Ep. 79.]

² then.

³ of a man.

⁴ sudden.

⁵ Eccles. 7. 2.

⁶ symptom.

⁷ Exod. 14. 20.

⁸ toward.

mixture of light and darknes, who with their virtues have many faults, failings and infirmities. Well, let the *Egyptian* walk by his dark side, follow his faults, whilest the *Israel of God*, all pious people, endeavour to imitate his virtues, directed in their conversations by the ¹lustre of his godly examples. That so as *Herod*, hearing of the fame of Christ, conceived that ²John Baptist was risen again from the dead: so let us labour that our virtuous lives may give just cause for others to conceive that those *righteous men* which have *perished in their righteousness*, those *champions of Christianitie* and *worthie Heroes of holiness* long since deceased, are revived again, and have in us a miraculous resurrection.

¹ lustre.² Matth. 14. 2.

FINIS.

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

VIRGIL, Eclog. 1.

Passages from SPENCER'S KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ. Things New and Old.



[JOHN SPENCER, to whom references have been made *passim*, was the learned Library-Keeper of Sion College, in London Wall, a resort which FULLER happily termed a Ramah for the sons of the prophets in London. As a Lecturer in the city FULLER was entitled to take up quarters at the College; and being engaged in the preparation of works of a great scope, he found the books, then the only public collection in the metropolis, an effective source of help. He seems to have been a particular favourite with SPENCER, who regarded him as an excellent preacher (see *ante* p. 483); and FULLER held SPENCER in regard to the end of his life (see *Worthies*, § Chester, page 189). SPENCER belonged to Uttoxeter, Staffordshire; and though no scholar by profession, had from his childhood conversed with Books and Book-men; and, says his friend, "alwaies being where the Frankincense of the Temple was offered, there must be some perfume remaining about him." He had been placed in the Library by the Rev. JOHN SIMPSON, its Founder. Spencer was Library-Keeper at least as early as the year 1630, when he edited Dr. ROBERT WILLAN's Sermon preached in 1629 at the Funeral of the Right Honourable Viscount SUDBURY, Lord BARNING, entitled *Elijah's Wife. A Prayer for Death*, London, 1630, 4to. The discourse is dedicated by the Preacher to ANNE, Viscountesse of SUDBURY, &c.; and SPENCER adds the following epistle to the reader, dated "From Syon Colledge, Aprill 12, 1630," which explains his own interest in the piece: "Hauing by much importune labour receiued from Noble hands a Coppy of this Sermon; out of a confidence that one passage therein, celebrating our first Benefactor Viscount Sudbury, may do good to the Library of Syon Colledge, whereof I am Keeper, I have aduentured without consent of the Author to put it vpon thy censure, not doubting if I can procure his pardon, to promerit thy thanks. And so Farewell: Thine, *John Spencer*." The passage to which allusion is here made occurs at pp. 40-2 as follows: "He was the first Benefactor to the Library of Syon Colledge, *Samuel* his *Ramath*, when, by the pious care and zealous industry of that graue and Reuerend

Divine M. *John Symson* (who, as *Camillus* was called a second *Romulus*, merits the title of a second Founder (maugre the opposition of an envious *Sanballat*), a most Statelie roome is erected for the benefit of the worthy Preachers of this Honourable City of *London*, but wants the Furniture of bookes. ¹ Bookes are the Riueres of Paradise watering the earth; the deaw of *Hermon* making the vallies fertile; the Arke preserving the *Manna* pot and *Moses* tables; the Monument of ancient labours; the Baskets keeping the deposited Reliques of time so as nothing is lost; the Magazine of Piety and Arts. A Souldier without Armes may be valiant, but not victorious; an Artisan without his instruments may be skilfull, but not famous: *Archimedes* is known by his Spheare and Cylinder. A Preacher without bookes may haue some zeale, but little knowledge to guide it: S. *Paul* himself, although so inspired, found as much want of his bookes as of his cloake in winter. To ayme at Learning without bookes is with the *Danaides* ² to draw water in a sieve. What were it for this wealthy City to reare vp a ³ Library equall to that of *Pisistratus* at *Athens*, of *Eumenes* at *Pergamus*, of *Ptolemy* at *Alexandria*? Were the meanes of your industrious Preachers answerable to their minds, this good and great worke needed no other supply, for they like *Plato* would give 3000 *Græcian* pence for three small volumes of *Pythagoras*, and with ⁴ *Hieronime* empty their purses by purchasing *Alexandrian* Papers, and with *Thomas Aquinas* rather haue *Chrysostome* vpon St. *Mathew* then the huge City of *Paris*. O that you knew the sly and cruell Arts of our Aduersaries in corrupting bookes! so as if the ancient Fathers were now aliue, they could not know their owne elaborate workes: you would at any rate purchase true and ancient coppies for your Preachers, that from them you might receive true and ancient doctrine. Remember the loss at *Heidlebergh*, and seek to repaire it by following his Noble example, who in this particular sheweth what affection hee bare to Religion and Learning."

Things New and Old was published in 1658, being commended to the reader in an address by FULLER himself, dated from his chamber in Sion College, 10 January, 1657-8. He eulogises the compiler's industry; and remarks that while some men's books are mere kites'-nests,—a collection of stolen things, SPENCER's ingenuity was commendable in that "on the margin he hath entred the names of such at whose *Torch* he hath lighted his *Taper*; and I am confident that by such quotations he hath revived the memories of many Worthies, and of their speeches, which otherwise had been utterly lost." The full title is as follows: KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ. Things New and Old. Or, A Store-house of Similies, Sentences, Allegories, Apophthegms, Adagies, Apologues, Divine, Morall, Politicall, &c. With their several Applications. Collected and observed from the Writings and Sayings of the Learned in all Ages to this present. By JOHN SPENCER, a lover of Learning and Learned Men. — *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*. Virgil. Eclog. i. London, Printed by W. Wilson

¹ Vide Sixtum Senens. in proem. Bibliothec.

² Haurit aquam cribris clericus absq; libris.

³ Assidue repetunt quas perdunt Belides vnda. (Ovid.)

⁴ Nostrum marcupium charia Alexandrina euacuarunt. (Hieronim.)

and J. Streater, for John Spencer at Sion Colledge, MDCLVIII. Fo. pp. xiv., 679, and Table xxxv.

FULLER's writings are more largely drawn upon in this old folio than any other writer. There are eighty-three quotations from his works. The only other authors most frequently cited are THOMAS ADAMS, Bishop ARTHUR LAKE, JEREMIAH BORROUGHS, and Dr. D. FEATLEY. A complete list of SPENCER's extracts from FULLER is here set down, with extra headings in brackets to facilitate identification, and with full references to the places whence the citations are made :—

| NO. | PAGE |
|-----|---|
| 13 | 4. Knowledge very usefull in the matter of Reformation [Drake in '88].— <i>Holy State</i> [?] <i>Anteà</i> , p. 305. |
| 42 | 11. The Growth of Sin to be prevented [Pismires and Corn].— <i>Holy State</i> [?] See <i>The True Penitent</i> . <i>Posteà</i> , vol. ii. |
| 58 | 14. God's Infinite Power on the Resurrection of the Body [Peter Martyr's Wife].— <i>Ser. at S. Dunst. East Lon.</i> 1647. <i>Anteà</i> , p. 182 ; and <i>posteà</i> , p. 543. |
| 81 | 20. The Guilt of Innocent blood crying to Heaven for Vengeance [Philip II. and St. Lawrence's Chapel].— <i>Good Thoughts in Bad Times</i> . |
| 119 | 29. Riches have Wings [The Falconer's Cry].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1647. <i>Posteà</i> , p. 544. |
| 249 | 60. Immediate Addresses unto God by prayer find acceptance [The Race of Cushai and Ahimaaz].— <i>Observat.</i> |
| 252 | 61. The Vanity of needless and intricate questions [Frobisher and the Mineral Stones].— <i>Holy State</i> [The Controversial Divine]. |
| 256 | 62. Carelesse Churchmen condemned [Tully on Sluggards].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The Good Parishioner]. |
| 260 | 63. To blesse God for our memories [Staupitius and the Genealogy of our Saviour].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Memory]. |
| 264 | 64. Many seem to be willing, yet are loath to die [A Tomb used as a butt].— <i>Holy State</i> [Of Tombs]. |
| 268 | 65. The way to have our will is to be subject to God's will [The Shepherd and the Weather].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Contentment]. |
| 272 | 66. Hypocrisie may pass for a time undiscovered [Maud, Henry II.'s mother, Two escapes of].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The Hypocrite]. |
| 279 | 67. Others Harms to be our Arms [Lacedemonians and drunken Servants].— <i>Ser. at K. Inaugurat. at Westm.</i> 1644. <i>Anteà</i> , i. 280. |
| 283 | 68. National Judgments call for National Repentance [The Irruption of the Sea].— <i>Serm. at Westm.</i> 1642. <i>Anteà</i> , i. 255. |
| 296 | 72. Not to continue angry [Grecian Bishops and the Sun. Lengthened Lawfuits].— <i>Ser. at S. Clem.</i> 1627. <i>Posteà</i> , i. 544. |

- | NO. | PAGE | |
|------|--------|---|
| 316 | 77. | Not lawful to fight for Religion [Mahomet a Warrior] <i>T. Fuller</i> [qy. in reference only to the last line: "Let Religion sink to Hell rather then we should call to the Devill for help to support it."] |
| 435a | 107-8. | A meer Souldier an Enemy to Peace [Demades the Coffin-maker].— <i>Holy State</i> . ? See <i>antea</i> , i. 252. |
| 440 | 109. | Prayers of the Godly, the unanimity of them [Ptolomy Philadelphus and the Seventy].— <i>Ser. at Savoy</i> , 1642. <i>Antea</i> , i. 258. |
| 509 | 128. | Confideration of God's Omniprefence, to be the Sinner's curb [Camden on Wotton-under-Weaver]. <i>Postea</i> , p. 550. |
| 511 | 128. | Time ill spent [Drake's Loss of a Day].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Life of Drake]. |
| 518 | 129. | An Orthodoxal Christian hath a like Esteem of all Gods Ordinances [Rivalry for the mural crown at New Carthage].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The faithful Minister]. |
| 562 | 141. | Minister to cry down the sins of the time [What sins our Saviour inveighed against].— <i>Ser. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1649. [Cf. <i>Holy State</i> , § The faithful Minister]. <i>Postea</i> , p. 548. |
| 569 | 142. | The Convenience of Virginitie [Simile from the use of a church-porch].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The Constant Virgin]. |
| 571 | 143. | Infirmities to be in the best of God's children, and why so [London merchants and Dunkirk].— <i>Ser. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1649. <i>Postea</i> , i. 549. |
| 579 | 145. | The Scripture not to be jested withal [Edward IV. and the Cheapside Citizen].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Jesting]. |
| 582 | 146. | God slow to anger and of great patience [The Roman Magistrates and the Flagellifer].— <i>Ser. at S. Dunst. East. Lond.</i> 1647. <i>Postea</i> , i. 543. |
| 589 | 148. | Refurrection of the body proved by a natural demonstration [The smith's forge and sparks].— <i>Ser. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1648. <i>Postea</i> , i. 547. |
| 601 | 151. | The Romanists error in the point of the Antiquity of Ceremonies [Mistaking a son for a father].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The True Church Antiquary]. |
| 609 | 153. | The Great difficulty of forgiving one another [Children's pronounciation of the Lord's Prayer].— <i>Ser. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1648 [Cf. <i>Triple Reconciler</i> , p. 143 orig. ed.] <i>Postea</i> , i. 548. |
| 611 | 153. | The great danger of not listning to the Word preached [Cæsar and Artemidorus' petition].— <i>Observat.</i> |
| 620 | 156. | Unworthy Communicants condemned [Children and their new shoes].— <i>Observations</i> . |
| 623 | 156. | The danger of loose Travel into forraign parts [Weeding a Library].— <i>Holy State</i> [Of Travelling]. |
| 668 | 168. | The danger of introducing useles Ceremonies in the Church [Horse-hairs turning to snakes].— <i>Serm.</i> [Cf. also <i>Holy State</i> : § The True Church Antiquary]. |

| NO. | PAGE | |
|-----|------|---|
| 677 | 170. | Sin attendant on the best of religious performances [Ovid and his Father].— <i>Medit.</i> |
| 708 | 178. | Moderation little felt by [Men of moderate stature].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The faithful Minister]. |
| 724 | 183. | A good sermon not to be so much questioned as practised [Venison at table].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The good Parishioner]. |
| 726 | 183. | Strange sins, strange punishments [Sodom drowned].— <i>Meditat.</i> |
| 729 | 184. | The sloathful contractedness of our prayers unto God reproved [Alteration of Jubilee years by the Popes].— <i>Meditat.</i> |
| 742 | 187. | To shun ill Company [Nazarites forbidden to eat grapes].— <i>Good Thoughts.</i> |
| 747 | 188. | Man to be sociable [Contiguity of Islands].—T. Fuller, <i>ut antea</i> [should be <i>Holy State</i> : § Of Company]. |
| 767 | 193. | Deformity of body not to be contemned [The Emperor of Germany and the mis-shapen Priest].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Deformity]. |
| 778 | 196. | The strength of Imagination demonstrated [Children and twig-horses].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Fancy]. |
| 782 | 197. | The danger of Stage-plaies [Zeuxis' picture and the birds].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Recreations]. |
| 798 | 201. | Riches, Honour, &c., the Devils bait [Baits for gnats].— <i>Meditat.</i> |
| 804 | 203. | Married men better Common-wealths-men than Bachelers [London merchants and mariners].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Marriage]. |
| 806 | 203. | The benefit of keeping close to good principles [The best point of observation in a fair].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ |
| 813 | 205. | Gods Power, Wisdom, &c., to be seen in all the Creatures [Arms of the Duke of Rohan].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The Atheist]. |
| 817 | 206. | The encrease of Drunkenesse in England [The depth of the sea near Holland and England].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ The Degenerous Gentleman]. |
| 890 | 227. | God afflicts his children for their good [The Link in London Streets].— <i>T. F. in a Ser. of Assurance.</i> <i>Antea</i> , p. 483. |
| 899 | 230. | Blasphemous language condemned [Cato and the Greek tongue].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond. 1647.</i> <i>Postea</i> , p. 545. |
| 903 | 231. | The justice of God, what it is, and how defined [Edward I. and the yard-measure].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond. 1647.</i> <i>Postea</i> , p. 546. |
| 904 | 231. | Justification by Christ, the extent of it [The Father of the Prodigal] [?] <i>Postea</i> , p. 546. |
| 905 | 231. | How it is that the proceedings of God in his Justice are not so clearly discerned [The stick in the water].— <i>Ut antea.</i> <i>Postea</i> , p. 546. |
| 913 | 234. | God a merciful God [Maiden Affizes].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond. 1650.</i> <i>Postea</i> , p. 551. |

- | NO. | PAGE | |
|------------------------|------|--|
| 918 | 235. | The several expressions of God in his mercies, and why so [Legal language in conveyances].— <i>Ut anted. Posted</i> , p. 552. |
| 920 | 239. | The generality of God's knowledge [Edward VI.'s knowledge of English coasts].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1650. <i>Posted</i> , p. 552. |
| 957 | 247. | Recreation, the necessity thereof [Recreation, second Creation].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Recreation]. |
| 987 | 256. | The great danger of sleighting the least sinne [General Norris' wound].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1650. <i>Posted</i> , p. 553. |
| 1132 | 302. | The Scriptures not to be plaid withall [The font and the chalice].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Of Jestings]. |
| 1334 | 373. | No Man free from Temptations [The Countryman and the Robber on the plain].— <i>On Christs Temptat.</i> <i>Posted</i> , ii. p. 21. |
| 1341 | 375. | How it is that Men are so much mistaken in the Thoughts of long life [The hypocritical hour-glass].— <i>Fun. Serm. at Chelsey</i> , 1652. <i>Anted</i> , p. 532. |
| 1345 | 376. | Conscience spoils the wicked Man's mirth [The fat Sheep made lean].— <i>On Christs Temptat.</i> <i>Anted</i> , p. 524-5. |
| 1346 | 377. | Sathans subtilty in laying his Temptations [The assault of a city].— <i>Ut anted.</i> <i>Posted</i> , ii. 33. |
| 1348 | 377. | A blessed thing to have Riches and a Heart to use them aright [Thomas Sutton's prayer].— <i>Church Hist. of Britain. Anno 1611</i> [Bk. v. § 20, p. 66]. |
| 1154(<i>sic</i>)412. | | Knowledge and Learning to be owned wheresoever they be found [Virgil and Ennius' poetry].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1649. <i>Posted</i> , p. 549. |
| 1353 | 473. | Graces of the Spirit to be held fast in the midst of temporall losses [The shipwrecked man and the standard-bearer].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.</i> 1652. <i>Postea</i> , p. 554. |
| 1371 | 478. | Wise men dying as well as Fools [Paracelsus].— <i>Holy State</i> [§ Life of Paracelsus : merely a reference]. |
| 1557 | 538. | Ranters, Roaring boys, &c., their conversion, not confusion, to be endeavoured [The would-be Donatist Martyr].— <i>Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1559 | 538. | Small buddings of Grace in the Soul, an argument of greater growth [Spring Primroses and Violets].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1561 | 539. | Godly company, the benefit thereof [Slender buildings in London supporting each other].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1565 | 540. | To be more strict in the holy observation of the Sabbath than heretofore ; and why so [Superstitious Almanack of the Sunday].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience</i> [page 89]. |
| 1567 | 541. | Patiently to wait on Gods Good Will and Pleasure [Elijah on Carmel and his servant].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |

| NO. | PAGE | |
|------|------|---|
| 1569 | 541. | Men to pray for others as well as themselves [David's Prayer, Ps. xxv. 2].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1571 | 542. | Prayer for others in the same condition with ourselves, prevalent with God [Beggars Prayers when asking alms].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1605 | 554. | Curious Inquisitors into God's Secrets deservedly punished [Sir William Champney's overlooking his neighbours]. <i>Posted, ii., Grand Assizes.</i> |
| 1636 | 563. | A Great Blessing of God to be gently used in the matter of Conversion [Apprentices and their fathers' trade].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1638 | 563. | The pain of a wounded conscience greatened by the Folly of the Patient.— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1640 | 564. | A good man tedious to bad company [Hunted Deer]. |
| 1642 | 565. | Greatnesse of the Torture of a Wounded Conscience [Adam in Paradise].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1644 | 566. | Patiently to wait God's time for deliverance [Horses broken leg].— <i>Cure of a Wounded Conscience.</i> |
| 1764 | 603. | How to make a right use of the doctrine of Predestination [Cardinal Pool].— <i>Serm. at S. Clem.</i> <i>Posted, p. 554.</i> |
| 1903 | 645. | Ignorance and Wilfulnesse ill-met [The Jews in England]. <i>Serm. at S. Brides.</i> <i>Posted, ii., Short Tract on the History of the Jews.</i> |

Of the above 83 passages from FULLER's works 28 are taken from his sermons. Out of these 28 passages, which include those already quoted in the *Sermons* of this volume, 19 remain to be cited here, being extracts which belong to discourses delivered in London from 1647 to 1652, *i.e.*, those discourses which in the order of time fall into the present volume. The extracts are taken by SPENCER either from FULLER's manuscript sermons, or from printed copies now lost; and several of them were printed in RUSSELL's *Memorials of Thomas Fuller*, 8vo., 1844, pp. 319–25. Two of the passages (§§ 1, 2) are from a sermon or sermons preached at *S. Dunstan's East*; and the remaining seventeen (§§ 3–19) are from sermons preached at *St. Clement's Eastcheap*. FULLER's relations with the latter church have already been noticed, pages cccclxi. *seq. anted*; and will again be referred to pages xi. *seq.* of the next volume. As to his connection with *St. Dunstan's East*, "a parish of many rich merchants," as STOWE tells us, there is only one direct notice of it to be found in our author's works. That occurs in his *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, fo. 1659 (pt. ii. page 49), in reference to a laughable circumstance bearing on his natural powers of *memory*; for even by this time his reputation in this respect was made. His antagonist HEYLYN, in his *Animadversions of the Church-History*, thinking he had found the author in error, had written of him: "If our Author be no better at a pedigree in private Families than he is in those of Kings and Princes, I shall not give him much for his *Art of Memory*, for his *History* less, and for his *Heraldry* just nothing" (*Examen Historicum*, 1659, pp. 75–6). Whereupon FULLER,

writing in 1659, thus replied : " When I intend to expose them to sale, I know where to meet with a francker Chapman. None alive ever heard me pretend to the *Art of Memory*, who in my booke [*Holy State*] have decried it as a *Trick, no Art*; and indeed is more of fancy than memory. I confesse, some ten years since, when I came out of the Pulpit of St. Dunston's-East, one (who since wrote a book thereof [viz. HENRY HERDSON, and *Ars Mnemonica*, 8vo., 1651],) told me in the Vestry, before credible people, That he in *Sydney Colledge* had taught me the *Art of Memory*. I returned unto him, That it was not so; for I could not remember that I had ever seen his face; which, I conceive, was a reall Refutation ! "

In the 19 extracts, which now follow, there is an evident connection between some of the paragraphs, showing that they were taken from separate discourses on special topics. One of the sermons, it is clear, was on Forgiveness (§§ 1, 4, and 9); another on the Resurrection (§§ 2 and 8); and others on the Justice (§§ 6 and 7), Mercy (§§ 14 and 15), and Omnipotence (§§ 13 and 16), of God.]

[§ 1] *God Slow to Anger, and of Great Patience.*

(No. 582; page 146.)

IT is observable that the *Romane*¹ Magistrates when they gave sentence upon any one to be scourged, a bundle of rods tyed hard with many knots was laid before them. The reason was this, That whilst the Beadle or Flagellifer was untying the knots, which he was to do by [*i.e.* in] order, and not in any other hasty or sudden way, the magistrate might see the deportment and carriage of the delinquent, whether he were sorry for his fault, and shewed any hope of amendment, that then he might recall his sentence, or mitigate the punishment; otherwise to be corrected so much the more severely. Thus God in the punishing of sinner, how patient is he! how loath to strike! how slow to anger if there were but any hopes of recovery! How many knots doth he untye! how many rubs doth he make in his way to Justice! He doth not try us by Marshal law, but pleads the case with us, *Why will ye dye, O ye house of Israel?* and all this to see whether the poor sinner will *throw himself down at his feet*, whether he will *come in and make his composition, and be saved*.—T. FULLER, *Ser. at St. Dunst. East*, Lond. 1647.

[§ 2] *Gods Infinite Power in the Resurrection of the Body.*

(No. lviii; page 14) [Cf. *anecd.* p. 182].

IN Queen *Marie's*¹ daies the body of *Peter Martyr's* wife was by the charity of that time taken out of her grave and buried in a dunghill, in detestation of that great Scholar her husband, sometime *Professour of Divinity* in the university

¹ Ludov. Fenestella *de Magistr. Rom.*

of *Oxford*. But when the tide was once turned, and that Queen *Elizabeth* of happy memory swayed the Sceptre of this State, her bones were reduced to their place, and there mingled with the bones of St. *Frideswide*, to this intent, that if ever there should come an alteration of Religion in *England* again, (which God forbid,) then they should not be able to discern the ashes of the one from the other. Though Death hath mixed and blended the bodies of men, women, and children, with the flesh of beasts, birds, and serpents; hath tossed, typed, and turned their ashes both into aire and water, to puzzle (if possible) the God of heaven and earth to find them again. But all in vain: he can call for a finger out of the gore of an Eagle, for a leg out of the belly of a Lion, for a whole man out of the body of a Fish. If the devil, or thy corrupt reason, shall suggest that this is impossible, make no other answer but this: *God is omnipotent; God is infinite.*—THO. FULLER, *Ser. at S. Dunst. East, Lon.* 1647.

[§ 3] *Riches have Wings.*

(No. cxix. ; page 29.)

IT is a tearm amongst Falconers, that if a Hawk flie high, *she lessens, O she lessens* (saith the Falconer); but if she soar yet higher, then he cries out, *O she vanisheth, she vanisheth!* And it is now found to be true by sad and woefull experience, that *Riches* are upon the wing, and have of late by one means or other taken such a *flight* out of many *men's purses*, that they have *lessened* and *lessened* every day more and more, and are now at present by the continuance of time even as good as *quite vanished*.—TH. FULLER'S *Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.* 1647.

[§ 4] *Not to continue Angry.*

(No. 296 ; page 72.)

TWO *Grecian* Bishops, being fallen out about some difference in point of judgement, parted asunder in great anger ;

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1785. Tibi absit quod at resuscitanda corpora, &c. Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 22. Ex. 9. 6. ; Gen. 17. 1.

but the elder of them (for so the wiser is to be accounted) sent unto his Colleague a message, onely in these two words, *Sol ad occasum*, The Sun is about to go down. The other no sooner heard it, but he *reflected* on that of the Apostle, ¹*Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath*; and so they were both friends again. How doth this *amity* of theirs condemn the *enmity* that is amongst many of us at this time? As that deadly feud of the *Scots*, who entailed their Lands on posterity, conditionally, that they should fight against the party that had offended, and never entertain any the least pacification. And such wrangling Law-suits as that of the two noble families, *Barclay* and *Lisle*, which began in the reigne of *Edward the fourth*, and continued to the first year of *King James*, full seven score years. It cannot be denyed, but that a man may with good qualifications go to *Law* for his own; but the length of time in the *Suit*, when the *Grandchild* shall hardly end that which the *Grandfather* began, may draw on a great suspicion in the want of charitable affection.—T. FULLER'S *Serm. at S. Clem. 1627 [1647]*.

[§ 5] *Blasphemous Language Condemned.*

(No. 899; page 230.)

CATO being very much struck in years would by all means study the *Greek* tongue, and being asked by one, why in his old age he would set upon such an exotick language; O (said he) *I am informed that the Greek is a copious and fluent tongue, and withal such a tongue as the Gods speak in; I would therefore learn it, that I may be able to converse with the Gods in their own Dialect.* This was *Catoes* conceit in those darker times of *Nature*; but there is a generation amongst us in these clearer times of *Grace*, *Ranters*, *Roaring boyes*, such as are great proficient in all manner of blasphemous language, such as belch out nothing but oathes, and direful execrations in the very face of Heaven. What can this else be but to practice here on *Earth* what by a sad *Prolepsis* they are sure to come to *hereafter*, that is, to be *roaring boyes and girls*

¹ Eph. iv. 26.

in Hell to all eternity.—T. FULLER'S *Ser. at St. Clem. Lond. 1647.* [Spencer adds this passage from S. Augustine, *Non minus peccant qui blasphemant Christum regnantem in cœlis quàm qui crucifixerunt ambulantes in terris.*]

[§ 6] *The Justice of God, what it is, and how Defined*

(No. 903 ; page 231.)

IN the Raig of King *Edward* the first, there was much¹ abuse in the *alnage* of all sorts of *Drapery*, much wrong done betwixt Man and Man, by reason of the diversity of their measures, every man measuring his cloath by his own yard, which the King perceiving, being a goodly proper Man, took a long stick in his hand, and having taken the length of his own arm, made Proclamation through the Kingdom that ever after the length of that stick should be the measure to measure by, and no other. Thus *Gods Justice* is nothing else but a conformity to his being, the pleasure of his will ; so that *the² counsell of his Will* is the *standard of his Justice*, whereby all men should regulate themselves as well in commutative as distributive Justice, and so much the more righteous than his Neighbour shall every man appear by how much he is proximate to this rule, and lesse righteous as he is the more remote.—THO. FULLER, *Serm. at St. Clem. Lond. 1647.* [The next sentence, No. 904, “Justification by Christ, the extent of it,” may be Fuller’s out of the same sermon.]

[§ 7] *How it is that the Proceedings of God in his Justice are not so clearly discerned.*

(No. 905 ; page 231.)

TAKE a streight stick and put it into the water ; then it will seem crooked. Why ? Because we look upon it through two mediums, air and water ; there lies the *deceptio*

¹ Th. Walsingham, *Hist.*

² Ephe. 1. 5.

visus ; thence it is that we cannot discern aright. Thus the Proceedings of God in his Justice, which in themselves are streight, without the least obliquity, seem unto us crooked ; that wicked men should prosper, and good men be afflicted ; that the *Israelites* should make the bricks, and the *Egyptians* dwell in the *houses* ; that Servants should ride on horse-back, and Princes go on foot : these are things that make the best Christians stagger in their judgements. And why? but because they look upon Gods proceedings through a double medium of Flesh and Spirit, that so all things seem to go cross, though indeed they go right enough. And hence it is that Gods proceedings in his justice are not so well discerned, the eyes of man alone being not competent judges thereof.—T. FULLER, *ut antea*.¹

[§ 8] *Resurrection of the Body proved by a Natural Demonstration.*

(No. 589 ; page 148.)

I HAVE stood in a Smiths forge, and seen him put a rusty, cold, dull piece of Iron into the fire, and after a while he hath taken the same piece, the very same, numerical, individual piece of Iron out of the fire, hot, bright, sparkling. And thus it is with our bodies : they are laid down in the grave, dead, heavy, earthly ; but at the Resurrection *this mortal shall put on immortality* ; at that general conflagration this dead, heavy, earthly body, shall arise living, lightsome, glorious ; which made Job so confident : *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that with these eyes I shall see him, &c.* Chap. 19. 25.—T. FULLER, *Ser. at St. Clem. Lond.* 1648.

¹ In the same margin Spencer adds, as a reference to a similar sentiment, "R. WILLIAMS [i.e. RO. WILLAN'S] *Serm. at Fun. of L. [Sir Paul] Bayning, 1629,*" entitled *Eliahs Wish*, Lond. 1630, 4to. At page 3 in the following passage : "Our eyes behold all things, yet they see not themselves, but by reflection in a looking glass. Here are two looking glasses : one upon the Hearse, informing us that neither Wisdom, nor Honour, nor Wealth, nor Strength, nor Friends, nor Physicke, nor Prayers, are sufficient Parapets to shelter us from the stroke of death. Here is another looking glass in the text [1 Kings, xix. 4], expressing the miserable condition of our lives."

[§ 9] *The great Difficulty of Forgiving one another.*

(No. 609 ; page 153.)

IT is worthy observation, and such as are conversant amongst little children know it to be true, That when they are taught to say the *Lords Prayer*, they are usually out at that Petition, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us*. The reason is, because of the harshness of the sound, the reiteration of one and the same words, the multiplicity of the consonants, and the like. It were to be wished that that which they are so *often out at*, we could be more *frequently in at* ; that what is not easie for their shallow heads to conceive, may not be too hard for our more experimental hearts to practise. But it is hard indeed. Why else did Christ make a Comment on that Petition, passing by the other five, when ¹ he taught his Disciples to pray ? And hence it is that *injuries* are registred in sheets of *Marble* to all Posterity, whilst *benefits* are written in the *sand*, ready to be dashed out by the foot of the next that passeth by.—T. FULLER, *Ser. at St. Clem. Lond. 1648.*

[§ 10] *Ministers to cry down the Sins of the Time.*

(No. 562 ; page 141.)

IT is observable that our Saviour never inveighed against Idolatry, Usury, Sabbath-breaking amongst the *Jews* ; not that these were not sins, but they were not practised so much in that age, wherein wickedness was spun with a finer thread. And therefore Christ principally bent the drift of his preaching against spiritual pride, hypocrisie, and traditions, then predominant amongst the people. Thus it ought to be with the Ministers of the Gospel : in this thing they are to trace their Masters steps ; they are chiefly to reprove the raging sins of the time and place they live in ; yet with this caution, that in publique reproving of sin they ever whip the vice, and let the person go free.—T. FULLER, *Ser. at St. Clem. Lond. 1649.*

¹ Mat. 6. 14.

[§ 11] *Infirmities to be in the best of Gods Children,
and why so.*

(No. 571 ; page 143.)

THE merchants of *London* petitioned Queen *Elizabeth*, that they might but have liberty to leuell the town of *Dunkerk* (a place at that time very obnoxious to the safety of the merchants trade), and they would do it at their own charges. The Queen by the advice of her Councel, returns them an answer in the negative : She could not do it. What ! no suffer them to beat hers and their enemies? Not to fire such a nest of hornets? Not to demolish such a pyratie town as that was? No ; it must not be. And why? She knew well that it would not do amiss that they should be alwayes sensible of so neer and so offensive an Enemy, and so be alwayes preparing and prepared to defend themselves and the State of the whole Kingdom. Which took a right effect ; for hereupon all turn men of war ; hardly a Boat but is man'd out for service, which otherwise might have either rotted in the Harbour, or ridden securely at Anchor. Thus God, when his dear children cry out unto him to be ¹*delivered from the body of sin*, that *sin may not raign in their mortal bodies*, he so far granteth their requests that by the special dispensations of his holy spirit, sin shall not prevail over them. Not but that ²*sin* of infirmity shall still cleave to the best of his children here in this world. Why? because they shall be still upon the guard, in a posture of defence, resisting the Devil, quitting themselves like men, who otherwise might live in all security.—T. FULLER, *Ser. at St. Clem. Lond.* 1649.

[§ 12] *Knowledge and Learning to be owned wheresoever
they be found.*

(No. 1154 ; page 412.)

IT is observed, that the *Egyptians* had Idols and very heavy burthens ; these the *Israelites* detested ; but they

¹ Rom. 7. 24.

² Rom. 1. 26.

had withall vessels of gold and silver (*Exod.* 11. 2), and these according to Gods command they made a Religious use of. ¹ One seeing *Virgil* very studious in a dull piece of *Ennius* Poetry, asked him What he did with that book? He answered, *Lego aurum in stercore*, I am gathering gold out of a dunghill. Thus it is that Knowledge is to be owned wheresoever or in whomsoever it is found : *fas est et ab hoste doceri*, a man may learn of his enemy ; nay, *aliena pericula*, another Man's harms may teach us how to beware. Much of Morality may be picked up from the Heathens ; much of the Knowledge of God from Philosophers ; much of Learning from the Poets ; and much of Divine truth from some of our well-read Adversaries of Rome, of whom it may be said, as it was sometimes of another, ² *Ubi bene, nemo melius ; ubi male, nemo pejus*. Where they have written truth, as in meer speculative points of God, the blessed Trinity, &c., there no man better ; and there it is that as the *Israelites*, so we may go down to the Philistims forges (*1 Sam.* 13. 19) to whet our swords and spears, to be furnished with sharp arguments and solid reasons to the confutation of false and heretical opinions. But where they have roved from the Truth, as in the doctrine of Merit, Indulgences, &c., where you shall be sure alwaies to find a Matthew *sitting at the receipt of Custome*, there no man worse ; and there we may and must forsake them.—T. FULLER, *Serm. at S. Clem.* Lond. 1649.

[§ 13] *Consideration of Gods Omnipresence to be the Sinners Curb.*

(No. 509 ; page 128.)

CAMBDEN in his *Britannia* maketh mention of a great high Hill in *Staffordshire* called *Weever*, under which there is a little Village called *Wotton*. Now this village being seated in so sad a dreary, dolesome place, the Sun not shining into it any further then on the tops of the houses, by

¹ Rob. Holcot in *Sap.*

² Origen.

reason of the height of the hills over-topping it, the people of the place have been observed to chant out this note :

*Wotton under Weever,
Where God came never.*

This now were an excellent place for a rapacious rich man to make a purchase of, and then to plant a colony there, where *God came never* : a good place for drunkards to swill in, for epicures to surfeit in, for the voluptuous to take pleasure in, for the prodigal to riot in, &c. But let them all know that *God* is at *Wotton*, and *God* is with them all, in all places, at all times, every where included, no where excluded : *whither shall I fly* (said ¹*David*) *from thy presence?*—THO. FULLERS *Serm. at Clem. Eastch. Lond. 1650.* [The following passage from Prosper is added in the margin : *Locis præfens simul est Deus omnibus unus.*]

[§ 14] *God a Mercifull God.*

(No. 913 ; page 234.)

THERE happens sometimes in *England* such Assizes as are called the *Maiden-Assizes*, that is, when the offences brought to the bar do not reach to the taking away of life, so that there is not any execution. Whereupon the *High Sheriffe* of the County presents the Judges at their departure with *white gloves*, to wear in commemoration of the *mercies* then shewed to offenders, which perhaps by the strict rule of justice might have been cut off : such an *Assizes* as this God now keeps. We sin daily, we offend hourly, and therefore guilty of death eternally ; but God woe and entreats us to come in, promiseth life eternall, nay, binds it with an oath : *As I live*, saith he, *I will not the death of a sinner*. Let us then return unto him, white hands, candid thoughts, clean hearts, and then rest assured that he will look upon us neither black with revenge, nor red with anger ; but with a smooth brow and smiling countenance receive us into

mercy.—THO. FULLER *Serm. at St. Clem. Lond. 1650.*
[In margin, from Chrysoſt. in *Pſal. 50*: Quid eſt peccatum
ad Dei miſerecordiam? Tela araneæ, &c.]

[§15] *The ſeverall Expreſſions of God in his Mercies, and
Why ſo?*

(No. 918; page 235.)

AS Lawyers in this captious age of ours, when they draw up any Conveyances of Lands, or other writings of concernment betwixt party and party, are fain to put in many æquivoall terms of one and the ſame ſignification, as, *to have and to hold, occupy and enjoy Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Profits, Emoluments*; *to remiſe, release, acquit, diſcharge, exonerate of and from all manner of actions, ſuits, debts, treſpaſſes, &c.*; and all this to make ſure work, ſo that if one word will not hold in Law another may: Thus God, when he ſhews himſelfe to his People in love, he varies his expreſſions as he did to the *Iſraelites, Exod. 34. 6, 7*: *The Lord, the Lord God, mercifull and gracious, long-ſuffering, and abundant in goodneſſe and truth, keeping mercies for thousands, forgiving iniquity, tranſgreſſion and ſin, &c.* Here's an *homonymy* of words, all *Synonymæ*. And why ſo? To *raiſe up* the drooping ſoul, *to bind up* the broken-hearted, that if it chance to ſtumble at one expreſſion, it may be ſupported by another; if one word will not reach another may. His mind is that the poor ſoul may rather *leave* then *lack* when it comes to draw comfort out of the breſts of Mercy.—THO. FULLER *ut antea*.

[§ 16] *The Generality of Gods Knowledge.*

(No. 920; page 236.)

IT is ſaid of King *Edward* the fixth, that he ¹ knew all the *Ports, Havens, Harbours, and Creeks*, in and about the

¹ Sir John Hayward *in vita*.

English Coasts, together with the depth and shallowes of the water ; as also the severall burthens of every ship that could ride there with safety. Yet this was but a *puny knowledge* in that young king, when we look upon the *general knowledge* of God. He *knowes* all things, all creatures ; nothing is hid from his knowledge ; he *knowes* the thoughts of man afar off : he *knowes* what he will think many years hence if he live to it ; he *knowes* the stars by their names. Whereas our eyes are dim, they small, the distance great, yet his infinite essence is a vast *Nomenclator* of them all. Such and so general is the knowledge of our all-knowing God that he knows all things also *Simul, semel, & uno intuitu*, all at once, both things past, present, and to come.—THO. FULLERS *Serm. at St. Clem. Lond. 1650.*

[§ 17] *The great Danger of sleighting the Least Sinne.*

(No. 987 ; page 256.)

GENERAL Norris, one of the Ancients of that noble Family, having (as he thought) received a *sleight wound* in the wars of *Ireland*, neglected the same, presuming belike that the *balsome* of his own body, without calling in for those other Auxiliaries of Art, would have wrought the cure ; but so it was that his arm gangrened, and both arm and life were lost together. Thus it was with him in the body natural, and thus it will be too in the body spirituall ; the least of sin therefore is to be avoyded, the least growth of sinne to be prevented. The Cockatrice must be *crushed* in the egge ; else it will soon become a Serpent : the very thought of sinne, if not thought on, will break out into Action, Action into Custom, Custom into Habit ; and then *actum est de Corpore & Anima*, both body and soul are irrecoverably lost to all Eternity.—THO. FULLERS *Serm. at St. Clem. Lond. 1650.* [In margin : *Principiis obsta.*]

[§ 18] *Graces of the Spirit to be held fast in the midst of Temporall Losses.*

(No. 1353 ; page 473.)

AS it is with a man in a wrack at sea, when all is cast over-board, the *Viſuals* that feed him, the *cloaths* that should keep him warm, yet he swims to the shoare with his *life in his hand*. Or as it is with a valiant Standard-bearer that carries the banner in the time of battel, if he sees all lost he wraps the banner about his body, and chooseth rather to dye in that as his winding-sheet then let any man take it from him or spoyl him of it ; he will hold that fast though he lose his life with it. Thus ¹ *Job* in all his troubles is said to hold fast his integrity, chap. 2, verse 4. And so must all of us do, hold our *spirituals* whatever becomes of our *temporals*: when Wife and Children, and Friends, and liberty, and life, and all's a-going, say unto peace of Conscience, to Innocence and Integrity, as *Jacob* said to the angel, (whether they be those *Summer-graces* of Prosperity, as Joy and Thanksgiving ; or the *Winter-graces* of Adversity, as Patience and Perseverance ; or the grace of Humility that is always in season,) *We will not let ye go* ; for indeed there is no blessing without them. There's not a man upon the face of the earth, but if he be of an heavenly temper and spiritual resolution will in the greatest *storm*, in the hottest *assault*, wrap himself round about with his *integrity*, and will not let it go until he *go along with it*.—T. FULLER, *Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.* 1652.

[§ 19] *How to make a right use of the Doctrine of Predestination.*

(No. 1764 ; p. 603.)

CARDINAL POOL, a good man, though a Papist, being desired by one to tell him how he might come to understand the former part of S. *Paul's* epistles, which are

¹ Jos. Caryl, *in locum*.

for the most part *Doctrinal Positions*, made this answer :
“ By a careful practising of the latter part of the same epistles, which consist much in *precepts*, and *directions* how to lead a life in all godliness and holiness of conversation. And thus if any man desire to know the former part of *Predestination*, whether his name be written in the book of life, whether he be of the election of grace, whether he be predestinated to life eternal, let him but look into the latter part of *Predestination*, the means as well as the end of *Predestination*; whether his conversation be in heaven; whether his life be suitable to the profession of the Gospel of Christ, and though he meet with many rubs in the way, and through frailty stumble and fall, yet riseth again and presseth on to the mark of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Thus if a man do, he may conclude himself to be within the number of the elect: and this is the right use that is to be made of the doctrine of predestination. But it is otherwise with too too many in these all-questioning dayes of ours: for whereas S. Paul presents us with a chain let down from heaven, *Rom. 8, Election and Predestination* at one end of the chain, and *Glorification* at the other end thereof; both which ends God keepeth fast in his hand. As for the middle links of the chain, *Calling and Justification*, those he leaves for them to lay hold on; but they cannot be quiet, but must be tugging and labouring to wrest those parts out of Gods hands, and so misse of the right use and comfort that is to be found in the abstruse, yet sweet doctrine of predestination.—T. FULLER, *Serm. at S. Clem. Lond.*

